

**BETWEEN CULTURE AND EMPIRE:
READING SELECT NOVELS OF JOSEPH
CONRAD**

SUBMITTED BY

RAJADIPTA ROY

10/10/13

001/031/67

SUPERVISOR

PROF. G. N. ROY



**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
(Ph. D.) IN ENGLISH UNDER THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL**

2013

Th
823.912
R888b

272014

06 JUN 2015

Dedicated to the memory of my father, the late Dipak Kr. Roy, who did not give me the time to say how much I owe to him.

Contents

Acknowledgements	I
Preface	II
Chapter - I: Introduction	1 – 44
Chapter - II: <i>Heart of Darkness</i> : The White Truths of Power	45 – 88
Chapter- III: <i>Lord Jim</i> : The Redemption of the European Hero	89 – 129
Chapter - IV: <i>Nostramo</i> : Conrad's Vision of the Capitalist Model of Improvement	130 – 173
Chapter - V: <i>The Secret Agent</i> and <i>Under Western Eyes</i> : Sceptical Studies in Revolutions	174 – 207
Conclusion	208 – 215
Bibliography	216 - 243

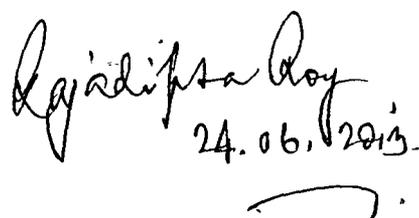
Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. G. N. Roy, who patiently guided me through the entire process of writing this dissertation, and did everything in his power to see to it that my writing reflected my intentions. I express my sincere and heartfelt gratitude to him for agreeing to take on such a taxing project as this at a time when his own teaching and research commitments were already considerable. His assistance and support at every stage have been invaluable, and no attempt to describe them on my part could do them sufficient justice.

It gives me great satisfaction to thank my family for their unfailing patience and support. My deep and lasting thanks go to my mother, Smt. Pratima Roy, for always being there as an unrelenting source of inspiration. I take this opportunity to remember my father, Sri Dipak Kumar Roy, who passed away in the early days of my research studies. I am singularly grateful to him for making me believe I could do anything I set my mind to. It has always been an honour to be his son, and I still fall back upon that memory in my trying times. My parents in law, Smt. Anjali Gupta and Sri N. B. Gupta, my sister Anuranita, and my little son Agnidipto had always been outstanding in their support.

I would also like to extend my appreciation to Dr. N. S. Das, Principal to Sukanta Mahavidyalaya, who had been excellent in responding promptly to all my requirements of leave. I must acknowledge the service of the staff of the British Council Library, Kolkata, whose generous help in lending me books made this dissertation possible.

Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Anindita. Whenever I was adrift amidst my own seas of uncertainties while writing this dissertation, she was always the lighthouse guiding me back home. Proper acknowledgement of my debt to her cannot be adequately expressed here. Suffice it to say that but for her support and enthusiasm, the text that follows would not have been possible.


24.06.2013

Preface

Joseph Conrad travelled extensively among peoples and races in the colonies all around the globe and narrated his first hand experiences of these crucial cultural interfaces in fictions in the heydays of the European empire. He was a Pole by birth and had adopted British citizenship by choice - facts both of which are equally important to understand his ambivalent attitude to the issues of race, culture and imperialism. Conrad's ideological standpoint is not thoroughly against or in favour of imperialism, and this inconclusive intellectual propensity often locates him writing between culture and empire. In fact, his intellectual attitudes to culture and empire have been the object of an ever-increasing flow of writings. It has been so hard to give him his due and to utter the final verdict concerning his real attitude as regards imperialism and races. His own fiction has provided evidence for both *aficionados* and denigrators. Although Conrad himself declared that he was content to 'sympathize with common mortals', no matter where they lived, this claim has been far from convincing for many critics. Many have seen him as accepting blindly the arrogant attitude of the white as put forth by Victorian sociologists and anthropologists; many, on the other hand, have defended him vehemently. But, as this thesis argues, there are inherent factors in Conrad's fiction and, most likely, in his character, that preclude the reaching of any final judgment on that head. The inconclusiveness is something essential to Conrad's intellect, and that is reflected in his fiction. The focal point in the thesis indeed is that this feature of ambivalent 'between-ness' is more pronounced in Conrad's texts than either of the two extreme readings of his fiction. The ground for such an ideological enigma, as has been argued, is to be found in the fact that Conrad as a liberal humanist recognizes the cultural difference of the races, but finally facilitates the empire to sustain the capitalist power structure by stereotypical representations of the cultures in his novels. Conrad is disillusioned in criticising the atrocious practices of the imperialists in the colonies. Yet, the obfuscation of the possibility of transcendence for any ethnically or politically different non-European and revolutionary culture seems to be a matter of deliberate ideological choice for Conrad. This thesis examines, thus, the configurations of imperialism, capitalism and political alternatives like the

revolutions and anarchies and their cultural representations in the novels of Joseph Conrad beginning from the premise that imperialism is rationalised through a dualistic model of self/other and functions as a hierarchy of domination/subordination.

In chapter one, Conrad's ideological location with regard to imperialism and its cultural consequences are discussed in their socio-historical and biographical contexts. Chapter two argues that *Heart of Darkness* configures the European model of imperialism as a split between light and darkness, between civilization and savagery. The chapter investigates the historical background to imperialism by focusing on the textual production of history in a variety of written forms which comprise the diary, travel writing, government report, and fictions. It considers how versions of history/knowledge are constructed through the writings of empire. In Chapter three, on *Lord Jim*, the character of the protagonist is analysed as a product of the imperial ideology and his failure is explored through the binary applications like Europe/ non-Europe, centre/ margin etc. The fourth Chapter, dealing with *Nostromo*, considers the cultural justification of the model, where capitalism, as the factor of imperialism, seems corrosive in its effect on individual morality and ethical values. The fifth one notices an ideological split within Europe as the growing activities of anarchic and revolutionary groups have been putting up relentless challenges to the existing capitalistic social system. Conrad's deliberate subversion of these activities in *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes* does away with the possibility of any ideological alternative to that particular social system. The Conclusion tries to locate Conrad as an ideologue, torn between the extremes of culture and empire.

CHAPTER- I

Introduction

“It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew.”

(Homi K. Bhabha: *The Location of Culture*)

The exact ideological location of Conrad as an important author writing of culture and empire is notoriously difficult to pinpoint. While undertaking to read Conrad's ideological position as revealed in his major works it is anticipated in this Ph. D. thesis that the vast array of current poststructuralist and postcolonial perspectives will facilitate us to read his novels in their biographical and cultural contexts. His novels are riddled with ideological ambivalence, and his private correspondences refract the political conditions of his time pretty clearly. But Conrad continually refuses to adhere to any particular coherent political stand. He addresses the issue of power politics of his age in his novels, broadly speaking, in three different ways:

- 1) In contributing to and critiquing the hegemonic discourse of empire through the tales of romance and adventures, set in the colonized territories of Africa and Asia (in novels like *Heart of darkness* and *Lord Jim*).
- 2) In involving the imperial hegemonic intent intimately to the newly emerging global capitalism, felt pretty directly during the last and first decades of respectively the 19th and the 20th centuries (in a novel like *Nostromo*).
- 3) In dealing with ideas like anarchy and revolution which pose up a kind of counter-discourse to the hegemony of European imperialism in the early decades of the 20th c (in novels like *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes*).

An attempt would also be made to locate the precise aspect of the ideological transactions between select novels of Conrad and the imperial socio-cultural texts and travel narratives produced in the period. It was a period that saw the expansion of capitalism, imperialism and colonialism in the world arena. Through this kind of a reading, it is aimed to pinpoint the relationship between Conrad's novels and his life, between the cultural themes and the imperial period during which they were written, and between the novels and the non-literary texts written in the same period. The study will thus help us to understand Conrad's approach to the pervasive ideas of the 19th century as well. Thus, we can determine to what extent Conrad's texts are the products of the prevalent imperialistic attitude of the age and to what extent they are against the ideology.

Nineteenth-century European colonial power exerts its domination not only by means of material, military and technological superiority but also by means of the manipulation of the colonial subject's self-image and representation in discourse. The control of the colonial subject's representations constitutes an effective instrument of coercion. In reality, the ideological representation of the colonial subject as a deviant "other" was a key strategy of colonial discourse. The ideological representation of the colonized nation as a deviant "other" can also be mapped out in the records of Conrad's own experiences in Africa. Conrad describes Africa in his *The Congo Diary* with an unparalleled repugnance in his tone. In an entry, entitled 'Friday, 1st of August, 1890', in the *The Congo Diary* he comments on the end of his Congo expedition in the following words: "Mosquitos – frogs- beastly! Glad to see the end of this stupid tramp. Feel rather seedy" (Conrad, vol. 4, 2004: 136). *The Congo Diary* registers Conrad's disillusioned vision of Africa, the place that he always fantasized as a little boy to go to. Every aspect of real Africa seemed to repel him in a ghastly way. He notes his first hand reactions in direct terms in the *Diary* which, in due course, played a great role to create a stereotypical nation of dark, amorphous Africa in *Heart of Darkness*. In an entry of 'Friday, 4th July, 1890', Conrad writes, "In the evening three women, of whom one albino passed our camp; horrid chalky white with pink blotches; red eyes; red hair; features very negroid and ugly. Mosquitos. At night when the moon rose heard shouts and drumming in distant villages. Passed a bad night" (131).

Conrad uses synonyms to the pejorative adjectives like ‘ugly’ and ‘horrid’ for about several times to narrate his first hand experience of Africa in *The Congo Diary* which helps to fix “otherness” on Africa. The “otherness” of the Africans in *Heart of Darkness*, the Malays in *Lord Jim*, the South American anarchists (who resist imperialism in the region) in *Nostromo*, or in the failure of the anarchist or revolutionary political ideals in *The Secret Agent* or in *Under Western Eyes* are deftly made stereotypical through Conrad’s chosen impressionistic style. Indeed, in *Heart of Darkness* the narrative disruptions signal a failure in imperial modes of cognition. Its ‘knowledgeable’ terms of enlightenment lack the capacity to comprehend the ‘knowledgelessness’ of dark Africa. Hearing the strange music of drums in the forest, for instance, Marlow admits in *Heart of Darkness*,

Whether it meant war, peace, or prayer we could not tell... We were wanderers on a prehistoric earth, on an earth that wore the aspects of an unknown planet... The prehistoric man was cursing us, praying to us, welcoming us- who could tell? We were cut off from the comprehension of our surroundings. (Conrad, 1994: 56)

To recognize the true nature of this “prehistory” in Marlow’s description of the colonial landscape and to appreciate Conrad, dealing with the theme of empire in its cultural as well as political, economic and historical contexts, it is important to focus on the milieu of the imperial knowledge production system of the age. Conrad, in one way or another engages in dialogues with texts like *The Expansion of England in the Nineteenth Century* (1883) by John Seeley, *The English in the West Indies* (1888) by James Anthony Froude, *The True Conception of Empire* (1897) by Joseph Chamberlain and *Imperialism: A Study* (1902) by John Atkinson Hobson among many such writings of the period. Our attempt to read Conrad in close relation to the context of imperialism and its culture may be defended by the poststructuralist view of history in the sense that texts are considered aspects of culture rather than something that is related to culture. Cultures are not used to relate texts to their worlds because cultures are already texts, persons, practices and rituals. Therefore, a text is not an expression or reflection of its world; it plays an active part in producing

and acting within that world. Thus, “texts constitute patterns of behaviour, the value of symbols and organize understanding” (Colebrook, 1997: 68). J. Hillis Miller, though called a formalist critic, is among those who do not separate literature from its context. He states:

Works of literature do not simply reflect or [they] are not simply caused by their contexts. They have a productive effect in history. This can and should [...] be studied. To put this [in] another way, the only thing that sometimes worries me about the turn to history now as an explanatory method is the implication that I can fully explain every text by its pre-existing historical context. But the publication of these works was itself a political or historical event that in some way or another changed history. I think that if you don't allow for this, then literature is not much worth bothering with. (1991: 152-153)

This approach to culture and cultural artefact was borrowed from Clifford Geertz, an American cultural anthropologist, who asserts that human beings are cultural products and should be so studied (Geertz, 1973: 51). Therefore, the historicity of Conrad's texts and ideology may best be appreciated through a reading of both literary and non-literary texts produced in the cultural currency of imperialism in the age of empire. Said understands imperialism as “the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory. Imperialism is simply the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire” (1994: 8). Discussing the facts about imperialism Said claims that in Europe itself at the end of the nineteenth century “scarcely a corner of life was untouched by the facts of empire; the economies were hungry for overseas markets, raw materials, cheap labour, and hugely profitable land, and defence and foreign policy establishments were more and more committed to the maintenance of vast tracts of distant territory and large numbers of subjugated people” (7). Said not only shows the economic aspects of imperialism but also focuses on the idea of the dominance of one culture over another. He pays attention to the privileged role of culture in the modern imperial

experience and takes note of the extraordinary global reach that the classical nineteenth and early twentieth century European imperialism has attained. Archibald Paton Thornton argues in his *Doctrines of Imperialism* that “imperialism is itself a comment, made by the controlled about their controllers, and made in the assurance of impunity” (1965: 27). In *Imperialism in the Twentieth Century*, he defines an imperial policy as “one that enables a metropolis to create and maintain an external system of effective control” (Thornton, 1977: 3). He also argues that this control may be exerted by political, economic, strategic, cultural, religious and ideological means or by a combination of some or all of these (5). Hobson, a university lecturer in 1900 and a participant in socialist, liberal and ethical causes, defines imperialism in *Imperialism: A Study* as the most powerful movement in the most effective politics of the Western world; and he sees it as a political and economic theory which first emerged in England during and immediately after the Boer War. Hobson discovers and discusses the general principles which underlie imperialist policy; and he illustrates that policy studying the progress of British imperialism especially in the nineteenth century. Focusing on the economic taproots of imperialism Hobson claims that imperialism is a policy which was created by a nation’s manufacturers, merchants and financiers who wanted to use their government to dispose profitably of their economic resources and thus to secure their particular use of some distant undeveloped countries. He shows the international consequences of capitalist under-consumption and over-savings as the causes of imperialism (Hobson, 1965: 71-93). He claims that,

]E]very improvement of methods of production, every concentration of ownership and control seems to accentuate the tendency. As one nation after another enters the machine economy and adopts advanced industrial methods, it becomes more difficult for its manufacturers, merchants, and financiers to dispose profitably of their economic resources, and they are tempted more and more to use their governments in order to secure for their particular use some distant undeveloped country by annexation and protection.

The process is inevitable [...] Everywhere appear excessive powers of production, excessive capital in search of investment. [...] It is this economic condition of affairs that forms the taproot of imperialism. (80)

Colonialism, which is almost always recognized as a consequence of imperialism, and which is sometimes thought to be preceding imperialism, is the implanting of settlements on distant territory. Hobson sees colonialism as a natural overflow of nationality and argues that the test of colonialism is the power of colonists to transplant the civilization they represent to the new natural and social environment in which they find themselves. He emphasizes the idea that theoretically one of the aims of colonialism is “to represent true European civilization in a distant territory but practically there has always been a conflict between the colonial deeds and the imperial ideas” (6) because, as he observed, in most colonies, a civilization distinct from that of the “mother country” was marked out as a result of the presence of subject or “inferior” races and alien, climatic and other natural conditions (6-8). The political and economic structure of a colonial society was seen by Hobson to be wholly alien to that of the “mother country”. In Hobson’s opinion, the main reason for the disparity between a civilization marked out in a colony and the civilization of the mother nation is “a debasement of a genuine nationalism” (6-8). Thus, Hobson sees colonialism as a nation’s “attempts to overflow its natural banks and absorb the near or distant territory of reluctant and inassimilable peoples” (6).

In most of his novels Conrad portrays European men in colonial situations far removed from their usual social customs. Thus isolated, his characters are brought into conflict with the forces of good and evil within themselves and with the non-European social codes of their locale. The impact of isolation on a western individual, the codes of culture that European civilization designs for itself, the moral ambiguities of human existence coming in contact with the different non-European societies, generally illustrate the complicated nature of cultural as well as ideological realization on the part of Conrad’s characters about the issues of the Empire and its power relations. The typically European perception of Enlightenment links power with knowledge and spawns a scope of hegemonic discrimination of cultures in the Empire. The societies dominated by the Empire are often depicted as primitive and

lacking in any knowledge production system and therefore considered 'dark', as against the 'modern' and 'enlightened' society of the imperial nation. The very idea of the Empire, in fact, guarantees a dominant power position to the colonizing nations of Europe in the late 19th century and to its capitalist counterpart, America, in the early days of the 20th century. Conrad writes within the bounds of this matrix of power in the empire, a historical situation of which Hobsbawm speaks in the following words:

A world economy whose pace was set by its developed or developing capitalist core was extremely likely to turn into a world in which the 'advanced' dominated the 'backward'; in short into a world of empire. But, paradoxically, the era from 1875 to 1914 may be called the Age of Empire not only because it developed a new kind of imperialism, but also for a much more old-fashioned reason. It was probably the period of modern world history in which the number of rulers officially calling themselves, or regarded by Western diplomats as deserving the title of, 'emperors' was at its maximum. (2010: 56)

By the time of the first serialization of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* in 1898, the larger parts of the globe were being occupied by the empires of sorts, and the cultural conception of any narrative, whatsoever, was deemed virtually impossible without some kind of consciousness of the prevalent imperial power relations. Hobsbawm further hints at the hegemony of empires over their occupied territories in the imperial system in the specific age and points out:

In a less trivial sense, our period is obviously the era of a new type of empire, the colonial. The economic and military supremacy of the capitalist countries had long been beyond serious challenge, but no systematic attempt to translate it into formal conquest, annexation and administration had been made between the end of

the eighteenth and the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Between 1880 and 1914 it was made, and most of the world outside Europe and the Americas was formally partitioned into territories under the formal rule or informal political domination of one or other of a handful of states: mainly Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, the USA and Japan. (57)

Seeley, another 19th century critic of imperialism, describes the nature of imperialism and colonialism in similar terms:

When a State advances beyond the limits of nationality its power becomes precarious and artificial. This is the condition of most empires, and it is the condition of our own. When a nation extends itself into other territories the chances are that it cannot destroy or completely drive out, even if it succeeds in conquering them. When this happens [...] the subject or rival nationalities cannot be properly assimilated, and remain as a permanent cause of weakness and danger. (1961: 73)

It is known that the British Empire was not confined to the self-governing colonies in the second half of the nineteenth century. It included a much greater area, a much more numerous population in distant tropical territories, where the native population vastly outnumbered the white inhabitants. Chamberlain claims that in these territories, the sense of possession gave place to the sense of obligation. The British people as the colonizer subsequently felt that their rule over these territories could only be justified if the British rule added to the happiness and prosperity of the natives. Chamberlain himself approved of the idea of colonialism insofar as it brings “security and peace and comparative prosperity to countries that never knew these blessings before” (1961: 212). He believed that it was the work of civilization which was being carried out in the colonies and it was their national mission. He also saw

the colonies as scopes “for the exercise of the faculties and qualities” which made of the British “a great governing race” (212-213).

As has already been observed, in the discourses about imperialism and colonialism, the vocabulary of the 19th century imperial culture is stuffed with such words and phrases as ‘inferior’ or ‘subject races’, ‘subordinate peoples’, ‘dependency’, ‘expansion’, ‘authority’, ‘power’, ‘profit’, ‘civilization’ and ‘the mission to civilize the colonized’. Archibald Thornton’s comments on imperialism, which are related with concepts of ‘power’, ‘profit’, ‘expansion’ and ‘civilization’, are worth mentioning. For him, imperialism is a matter of power. He claims that within imperialism operate,

[T]he processes by which the power of a metropolis expands. Expansion is born of confidence. It carries its own dynamism. It explodes among the passive, apparently without harm to itself. It changes the polity, it changes the social structure; above all, it changes the mind and life-style of those among whom it comes. Expansion lives without rules and happens where it can. (Thornton, 1977: 29-30)

Thornton states that this power may be ideological, political, cultural, economic, or religious; but it is oppressive in all cases. He believes that the economic systems, however different their ideologies are, have had power over millions of people and that it has been a power which could be enforced. The world of the 19th century grew and prospered within a framework built by the great Powers insisting on their privileges, setting their margins and calculating their options. Especially in the later twentieth century, “money was reckoned as a power and modern imperialism was the product of this power” (31).

In fact, an awareness of the mechanism of empire and subsequently of imperialism became central to the knowledge of the European self. Conrad and many others critiqued the physical ways of dominance in an empire but always depended on the cultural categories fashioned by the same imperial system for their criticism. In most cases they did not question the episteme, but put the practice to question.

Hobsbawm describes these literary artists as “intermediaries” (2010: 80) writing between their experiences of the exotic culture and an awareness of the empire, and analyses the inherent culture of the empire as

[P]enetrated and dominated by these contradictions. It was an era of unparalleled peace in the western world, which engendered an era of equally unparalleled world wars. It was an era of, in spite of appearances, growing social stability within the zone of developed industrial economies, which provided the small bodies of men who, with almost contemptuous ease, could conquer and rule over vast empires, but which inevitably generated on its outskirts the combined forces of rebellion and revolution that were to engulf it. Since 1914 the world has been dominated by the fear, and sometimes by the reality, of global war and the fear (or hope) of revolution – both based on the historic situations which emerged directly out of the Age of Empire. (9-10)

Even the idea of revolution to revert the position of power, usually ascribed to imperialism and championed by gross capitalism, is a production of the empire. Conrad addresses this aspect of the revolutionary culture rather from a pessimistic viewpoint in novels like *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes*. The gloominess of the author’s tone in these two novels has to do with his realization of the incapacity of a conception of resistance, either in the form of anarchy or revolution, completely free from the idea of empire. Hobsbawm observes this power politics in the discourse of the empire and writes:

What is more, the cultural and intellectual life of the period show a curious awareness of this pattern of reversal, of the imminent death of one world and the need for another. But what gave the period its peculiar tone and savour was that the coming cataclysms were

expected, misunderstood and disbelieved. World war would come, but nobody, even the best of the prophets, really then understood the kind of war it would be. And when the world finally stood on the brink, the decision-makers rushed towards the abyss in utter disbelief. The great new socialist movements were revolutionary; but for most of them revolution was, in some sense, the logical and necessary outcome of bourgeois democracy, which gave the multiplying many the decision over the diminishing few. And for those among them who expected actual insurrection, it was a battle whose aim, in the first instance, could only be to institute bourgeois democracy as a necessary preliminary to something more advanced. Revolutionaries thus remained within the Age of Empire, even as they prepared to transcend it. (10-11)

The contradictory and often interdependent aspect of the empire ensures the mechanism of power that is central to its existence. An idea of resistance is an intrinsic part of power play as the binaries of the dominating and the dominated are sustained by it. Conrad in his attempt to illustrate the confrontation of cultures in his texts touches upon this scope of reading empire as power. Power, according to Foucault, should be understood as something felt not physically, but ideologically. He suggests that:

... (i) [T]hat power is co-extensive with the social body; there are no spaces of primal liberty between the meshes of its network; (ii) that relations of power are interwoven with other kinds of relations (production, kinship, family, sexuality) for which they play at once a conditioning and a conditioned role; (iii) that these relations don't take the sole form of prohibition and punishment, but are of multiple forms; (iv) that their interconnections delineate general conditions of

domination, and this domination is organized into a more- or- less coherent and unitary strategic form; that dispersed, heteromorphous, localized procedures of power are adapted, re- enforced and transformed by these global strategies, all this being accompanied by numerous phenomena of inertia, displacement and resistance; hence one should not assume a massive and primal condition of domination, a binary structure with ‘dominators’ on one side and ‘dominated’ on the other, but rather a multiform production of relations of domination which are partially susceptible of integration into overall strategies; (v) that power relations do indeed ‘serve’, but not at all because they are ‘in the service of’ an economic interest taken as primary, rather because they are capable of being utilized in strategies; (vi) that there are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed right at the point where relations of power are exercised; resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. It exists all the more by being in the same place as power; hence, like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated in global strategies. (Foucault, 1980: 142)

Empire, in the age when Conrad had been writing, thus appropriates the role of an institution of power, which was not operating politically only, but culturally too. It was “being utilized in strategies”, and its “domination is organized into a more- or- less coherent and unitary strategic form”. The idea of empire, according to Hobsbawm, “was not only an economic and political but a cultural phenomenon. The conquest of the globe by its ‘developed’ minority transformed images, ideas and aspirations, both by force and institutions, by example and by social transformation”

(2010: 76). Culture, indeed, is the focus of the imperial discourse, knowledge and representation of which facilitates the empire to continue its hegemony over the colonized civilizations, ideologically described as savages. The historians of the empire, in general, accept that the cultural agenda of the expanding empire cover not solely the acquisition of colonies but also a variety of relationships between dominant and subservient states. Therefore, imperialism is regarded as an act of dominating another nation's economic, political and even military structure, in one word, the whole culture of the colony, without actually taking governmental control. On account of the fact that any study of imperialism must concern itself with the culture of the state, it would be appropriate here to explore how the imperial ideology, as specified by Hobsbawm, shaped itself in Britain in the phase of new imperialism in practice from 1875 to 1914. Jingoism appeared in the 1870s and any British victory or setback might call it forth. The public schools and the universities, the music halls and the press became agencies of the new imperialism. The patriotic songs emanating from the music halls were far from being free of social control and manipulation and one publication, *Pall Mall Gazette*, almost solely led the campaign for Gordon's mission to the Sudan in 1884. Through jingoist effusions, the British thought of themselves as the owners of 'an empire on which the sun never sets'. The British Empire was seen by its advocates at its height with the images of continuity and worldwide spread.

In the perspective of the statement made above, the beginning of British imperial writing may be traced back to the publication of Sir John Seeley's eloquent lectures on *The Expansion of England in the Eighteenth Century* in 1883. The lectures were in their own day something of a sensation. On publication, they became an immediate best-seller, selling 80,000 copies in their first two years in print. The volume remained continuously in print until 1956. They were lectures with a purpose and a message. *The Expansion of England* is a work which is believed to have contributed more than any other single utterance to the change of feeling respecting the relations between Great Britain and her colonies. The book is a colonialist primer justifying British imperialism. Throughout the lectures on which the book is based, Seeley argued that "history, in particular the period 1688-1815 covering the rise of British colonial power, offered lessons for the present" (quoted in Elridge, 1984: 3-4).

He evaluated the colonial condition of England, first looking at the quantity of the population living in English colonies. Giving some figures of the population in each colony, Seeley conceded, “The total makes a population roughly equal to that of all Europe excluding Russia” (1961: 74). Seeley declared that,

[T]he simple obvious fact of the extension of the English name into other countries of the globe [is], the foundation of Greater Britain. [...] We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind. While we were doing it, that is, in the eighteenth century, we did not allow it to affect our imaginations or in any degree to change our ways of thinking; nor have we even now ceased to think of ourselves as simply a race inhabiting an island off the northern coast of the Continent of Europe. We constantly betray in our modes of speech that we do not reckon our colonies as really belonging to us. (73)

Froude, an English historian, wrote *The English in the West Indies* in 1888. The book is a travelogue interspersed with political and social commentary. Froude, in the book, presents his response to the topical issue of constitutional government for the colonies. As an English imperialist, he saw no benefit in colonial autonomy, “Dark Parliament” as he called it. During his travels to the Antilles, Froude had the opportunity to observe the daily life of the natives on some of the islands. He gave information about their family and social lives in his Western perspective:

Morals in the technical sense they have none, but they cannot be said to sin, because they have no knowledge of a law. They are naked and not ashamed. They are married as they call it, but not parsoned. The woman prefers a looser tie that she may be able to leave a man if he treats her unkindly. Yet they are not licentious [...] Many die in this way by eating unwholesome food, but also many live, and those who do live grow

up exactly like their parents [...] There is evil, but there is not the demoralising effect of evil. They sin, but they sin only as animals, without shame, because there is no sense of doing wrong. They eat the forbidden fruit, but it brings with it no knowledge of the difference between good and evil [...] They are perfectly happy. In no part of the globe is there any peasantry whose every want is so completely satisfied as her Majesty's black subjects in these West Indian islands. They have no aspirations to make them restless. (Froude, 1961: 113)

Chamberlain, in *The True Conception of Empire*, divided England's imperial history into three phases. The first phase is the eighteenth century during which English became a great imperial power and the colonies were regarded, not only by English power but also by every European power that possessed them, as possessions valuable in proportion. The second phase came after the War of Independence in America. Chamberlain remarked that the war awakened England and gave way to the idea that the colonies could be held for England's profit alone. Chamberlain saw the 1890s as the third phase of England's imperial history. In that period, by the instinctive good sense and patriotism of her people, England reached the true conception of empire. He explained that conception as such:

We no longer talk of them (the self-governing colonies) as dependencies. The sense of possession has given place to the sentiment of kinship. We think and speak of themselves as part of ourselves, as part of the British Empire, united to us, although they may be dispersed throughout the world, by ties of kindred, of religion, of history, and of language, and joined to us by the seas that formerly seemed to divide us. (Chamberlain in Boehmer, 1984: 212)

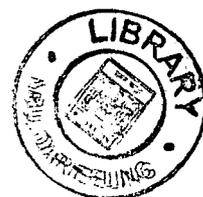
Hobson, in *Imperialism*, discovered and discussed the general principles which underlay imperialist policy and illustrated that policy studying the progress of British imperialism especially in the 19th century. In the book, the economic origins of imperialism have been traced with statistical measurements of imperialistic methods and results. He also investigated the theory and practice of imperialism regarded as a “mission of civilization”, imperialism’s effects upon “lower” and alien peoples and its view of things and the disorderly, irrational, selfish reality of events. Hobson, discussing the political significance of imperialism, saw imperialism as antithetical to democracy, peace and social reform. He claimed that those living in colonies and protectorates did not have any of the political rights of British citizens and they were not trained in the arts of free British institutions. The British Empire was accepted as an educator of free political institutions in the 19th century. Observing the imperial practice of his time, Hobson claimed that the British Empire did not perform its responsibilities towards the inhabitants of the colonies. He severely criticised the British Empire in following words:

Where British government is real, it does not carry freedom or self-government; where it does carry a certain amount of freedom and self-government, it is not real [...] We have taken upon ourselves in these little islands the responsibility of governing huge aggregations of lower races in all parts of the world by methods which are antithetic to the methods of government which we most value for ourselves.

The question just here is not whether we are governing these colonies and subject races well and wisely, better than they could govern themselves if left alone, or better than another imperial European nation could govern them, but whether we are giving them those arts of government which we regard as our most valuable possessions. (Hobson, 1965: 116-117)

The discussion made so far is intended to clarify that writings of the empire were offering the literary artists of the day enough scope both to critique and espouse the issues of imperial ideology. It has also been observed that, in the discourses chosen, the concept of European cultural and economic superiority was shadowed by self-contradiction and self-doubt though subversions in turn helped to maintain the interest of the empire by keeping within the practice of writing of and in the imperial culture. Even in the words of one as imperially ebullient as Chamberlain, there are examples of fracture, momentary admissions that Britain's greatness may, one day, collapse. Joseph Conrad, being a lifelong mariner in the service of the British Merchant navy and a loyal British citizen at once, becomes an apotheosis of this historical practice, addressing mutually opposite issues inherent in the culture of the empire. Culture, if understood in Edward Said's terms as "a sort of theater where various political and ideological causes engage one another", is a perfect playground of the imperial power politics that shapes and re- shapes it relentlessly (1994: xiii). Said informs:

All cultures tend to make representations of foreign cultures the better to master or in some way control them. Yet not all cultures make representations of foreign cultures *and* in fact master or control them. This is the distinction, I believe, of modern Western cultures. It requires the study of Western knowledge or representations of the non- European world to be a study of both those representations and the political power they express. Late- nineteenth- century artists like Kipling and Conrad, or for that matter mid- century figures like Gerome and Flaubert, do not merely reproduce the outlying territories; they work them out, or animate them, using narrative technique and historical and exploratory attitudes and positive ideas of the sort provided by thinkers like Max Muller, Renan, Charles Temple, Darwin, Benjamin Kidd, Emerich de Vattel. All of these developed and



272014
06 JUN 2015

accentuated the essentialist positions in European culture proclaiming that Europeans should rule, non-Europeans be ruled. And Europeans *did* rule. (100)

The dynamics of power existing between culture and empire in the age of the empire, according to Bhabha, “problematizes the signs of racial and cultural priority, so that the ‘national’ is no longer naturalizable. What emerges between mimesis and mimicry is a *writing*, a mode of representation, that marginalizes the monumentality of history, quite simply mocks its power to be a model, that power which supposedly makes it imitable” (2009: 125). Conrad writes between this mimetic and mimic space and his novels are intertextually related to the other non-fictional writings of the empire. His fierce indictments of the colonizing enterprise are nuanced with his appropriation of the “other” cultures as degenerates in passive tracts of dark, primitive, uncivilized territories of the earth. The pre-supposed notion of degeneracy and backwardness on the part of the cultures in the Congo, in the Malay Archipelago or in the South Americas is a strategy of marginalisation. Bhabha defines the process as a method of cultural obliteration and says:

The objective of colonial discourse is to construe the colonized as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction. Despite the play of power within colonial discourse and the shifting positionalities of its subjects (for example, effects of class, gender, ideology, different social formations, varied systems of colonization and so on), I am referring to a form of governmentality that in marking out a ‘subject nation’, appropriates, directs and dominates its various spheres of activity. Therefore, despite the ‘play’ in the colonial system which is crucial to its exercise of power, colonial discourse produces the colonized as a social reality which is at once an ‘other’ and yet entirely knowable and visible. It resembles a form of narrative whereby

the productivity and circulation of subjects and signs
are bound in a reformed and recognizable totality.
(101)

Thus theorized, it is seen that Conrad's texts are best located between the two extremes of culture and empire. The signs of civic ethics, enlightened morality and culture-specific knowledge of European civilization are continually doubled by the unsettling representations of the instinctive, spontaneous and non-specific qualities of the non-European civilizations in his novels. Thus, a critique of the hegemonic civil codes of utilitarian and capitalist Europe besides a certain consciousness of the symbolical immensity of the darkness of Africa, Asia and Latin America authenticate Conrad's acute awareness of the linkage between the representation of "the other" and the complex process of "otherisation" produced by the imperial episteme of power. The current study attempts to locate the hybrid ideological position of Conrad, writing in between the power relation of culture and the Empire in the novels of his major phase (1898-1911).

There is a huge amount of diametrically opposite critical responses to the works of Joseph Conrad. The last several decades have seen a major shift in the author's reputation. His status as an archetypal modernist whose discursive narrative practices represent the turmoil of a literary culture at war with its past has been shaken by an assessment of the racial and gender assumptions underlying his tales. Conrad has narrated his tales of adventures in such an era of capitalist expansion, when to celebrate adventure is synonymous with celebrating the Empire and its colonial enterprises. Some critics have seen egregious excess of colonialism in his works while others are there to hold him as a liberal-humanist with capacities of "imagining the unimaginable" - civilizers as savages. The polemical polarities have increased the mass interest in Conrad's politics since the middle of the 20th century. Cedric Watts points out this feature of 'doubleness' in a Conrad text in his seminal book *A Preface to Conrad* (1982) and directs our attention to the very nature of the man writing between two zones of awareness – culture and the Empire. Watts says that Conrad,

[W]as a double man. 'Homo duplex has in my case more than one meaning', he wrote to a Polish friend. 'Homo duplex': the double man. The phrase will serve as a theme for this book. Sometimes it seems to me that if any God presides over Conrad's best work, it is the god Janus. Janus is the two-headed god: he looks in opposite ways at the same time; he presides over paradox; and he is the patron of janiform texts. (7)

John W Griffith tries to sort out the problem of polarities in the Conrad polemics and brings to the surface the dialectics of the much famous psychic and ideological "janiformity" of the author in his influential research work *Joseph Conrad and the Anthropological Dilemma: Bewildered Traveller* (1995). Albert Guerard in his *Conrad the Novelist* (1958) enlists the ambivalence of his ideological position which renders a ready key to the multifaceted forms of cultural, political and moral implications of a Conrad novel. Guerard dramatically enlists the paradoxes in the author in the following manner:

A decided fear of the corrosive and the faith-destroying intellect – doubled by [i.e. coupled with] a profound and ironic skepticism;

A declared belief that ethical matters are simple – doubled by an extraordinary sense of ethical complexities;

A declared distrust of generous idealism – doubled by a strong idealism ...;

A declared commitment to authoritarian sea-tradition – doubled by a pronounced individualism ...;

A declared and extreme political conservatism, at once aristocratic and pragmatist – doubled by great sympathy for the poor and the disinherited of the earth ...;

A declared fidelity to law as above the individual –
doubled by a strong sense of fidelity to the individual;

Briefly: a deep commitment to order in society and in
the self – doubled by incorrigible sympathy for the
outlaw, whether existing in society or the self. (44)

Abdul R. JanMohamed, in his essay “The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature”, argues that colonialist literature is divisible into two broad categories: the “imaginary” and the “symbolic” and further states,

The second type of ‘symbolic’ fiction, represented by the novels of Joseph Conrad and Nadine Gordimer, realizes that syncretism is impossible within the power relations of colonial society because such a context traps the writer in the libidinal economy of the ‘imaginary’. Hence, becoming reflexive about its context, by confining itself to a rigorous examination of the ‘imaginary’ mechanism of colonialist mentality, this type of fiction manages to free itself from the Manichean allegory. (1986: 85)

There are critics, likewise, who regard Conrad as a ‘secret sharer’ (a term, used by Conrad himself) of imperial ideologies. Chinua Achebe, in his famous essay entitled “An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad’s Heart of Darkness”, claimed that Conrad was a thoroughgoing “racist” (1977: 794). The nub of Achebe’s criticism of Conrad is Conrad’s representation of Africa and Africans:

A Conrad student informed me in Scotland that Africa is merely a setting for the disintegration of the mind of Mr. Kurtz.

Which is partly the point. Africa as setting and backdrop which eliminates the African as human factor. Africa as a metaphysical battlefield devoid of

all recognizable humanity, into which the wandering European enters at his peril. Can nobody see the preposterous and perverse arrogance in thus reducing Africa to the role of props for the break-up of one petty European mind? But that is not even the point. The real question is the dehumanization of Africa and Africans which this age-long attitude has fostered and continues to foster in the world. (782-94)

Although Chinua Achebe has gone quite far yet the severity of his critique is unable to satisfy the critical gaze of Edward Said. Said asserts that Achebe “does not go far enough in emphasizing what in Conrad’s early fiction becomes more pronounced and explicit in the late works, like *Nostramo* and *Victory*... Conrad treats [the local Indians and the ruling-class Spaniards in *Nostramo*] with something of the same pitying contempt and exoticism he reserves for African Blacks and South East Asian peasants” (1994: 165-166). Said becomes even more drastic in deprecating Conrad’s racism when he says of his and Flaubert’s work that it is, “despite its ‘realism’, ideological and repressive: “it effectively silences the Other, it reconstitutes difference as identity, it rules over and represents domains figured by occupying powers, not by inactive inhabitants” (166). Said attacks Conrad indeed not as an individual but as one of a huge number of biased and colonial writers of fiction and nonfiction. He depicts him as a liberal humanist, trying to purge the notions of atrocious imperialism and adds:

Conrad’s tragic limitation is that even though he could see clearly that on one level imperialism was essentially pure dominance and land-grabbing, he could not then conclude that imperialism had to end so that ‘natives’ could lead lives free from European domination. As a creature of his time, Conrad could not grant the natives their freedom, despite his severe critique of the imperialism that enslaved them. (3)

To many, it appears that Conrad does not merit the place awarded him in the canon of the English and world novel. Mukhtar Chaudhary, for instance, has this to say: “Joseph Conrad’s position as a great writer is questionable. The reason is that racial details found in his work, and often ignored or shrugged off by [many] commentators, make him look like a partisan spirit instead of an objective observer of human situation...The human hierarchy in Conrad is, in descending order in value and worth, the British, the Continental European, and the rest” (2003: 41). Chaudhary rather deprecates the practice of those who hold Conrad as a great artist:

They will see that Conrad does not treat ‘race’ and ‘colonialism’ as local colours or as a detail in his setting, but as part of the universal meaning that great literature is supposed to communicate. He is so conscious of this detail of human experience that he is unable to transcend it even when he is aiming at presenting a moral or ethical issue having universal relevance across geographical or racial lines. (42)

Naturally, it is *Heart of Darkness* that has attracted the most comments and analyses in this connection. This amazing novella has attracted both condemnation and admiration in equal proportion to its great popularity in all languages and parts of the world. Both friends and foes of Conrad find this little work worthy enough to invite their attention the most. About this novella, many scholars adopt rather the same viewpoints as Achebe’s finding Conrad guilty of placing the Africans at a lower level morally and humanly than the Europeans. James M. Johnson, for instance, deploras Conrad’s painting of Africa as inherently evil. In his words: “His version of evil – the form taken by Kurtz’s Satanic behaviour – is ‘going native.’ In short, evil is African in Conrad’s story; if it is also European, that’s because some number of white men in the heart of darkness behaves like Africans” (Johnson, 1997: 370- 371). He failed miserably, according to Johnson, because “Conrad’s use of Africa in *Heart of Darkness* reinforces the dominant racial paradigm enunciated by Spencer in *Principles of Sociology* – and by Victorian anthropology generally” (112). But why is the world unlikely to be imagined without the white man taking it upon himself to look after it, to order it as he wills? Said muses upon the possibility of an independent

national culture free of the colonial hegemony of the empire and observes: "Conrad does not give us the sense that he could imagine a fully realized alternative to imperialism: the natives he wrote about in Africa, Asia or America were incapable of independence, and because he seemed to imagine that European tutelage was a given, he could not foresee what would take place when it came to an end. But come to an end it would" (1994: 28). Patrick Brantlinger suggests that Conrad does not try to exonerate himself and further observes, "Conrad must have recognized his own complicity and seen himself as at least potentially a Kurtz-like figure. In the novella, the African wilderness serves as a mirror, in whose 'darkness' Conrad/Marlow sees a death-pale self-image" (1985: 377). Brantlinger does not let Conrad get away with it by his just portraying a morally corrupt West. The difficulty with this ingenious inversion, through which 'ideals' become 'idols,' is that Conrad portrays the moral bankruptcy of imperialism by showing European motives and actions to be no better than African fetishism and savagery. He paints Kurtz and Africa with the same tar brush, "while Conrad/Marlow treat the attribution of 'evil' to the European invaders as a paradox, its attribution to Africans he treats as a given" (371-372).

The general trend of most condemners is that Conrad failed to go beyond the racially superior attitude of the Victorians, that his fiction reinforces the dominant racial paradigm which was enunciated by the current anthropology and sociology and which was never challenged by Conrad. Nor is the verdict better about Conrad's other fiction than *Heart of Darkness*, as evident in Said's remarks and as Robert Ducharme has it: "I think it can be demonstrated that his novel *Lord Jim* contains what may fairly be called a defence of traditional Western cultural values and practices" (1993: 4). Sarah Cole observes in her essay, "Conradian Alienation And Imperial Intimacy": "As the language and the logic of imperialism have increasingly been subjected to critical investigation, Conrad's texts have come to mark an important moment in a literary tradition defined not by its heroic break with bourgeois conventionality, but by its adherence to a Western, male world hegemony" (1998: 251).

Even though literary critics on the whole have not adopted Chinua Achebe's bracing denunciation of Conrad as a 'bloody racist,' they nevertheless have revalued Conrad's work in the context of a discursive economy that functions in both overt and subtle ways to justify imperialism and racial hierarchy. Localization of Conrad in the

meta-text of imperialism is seen by Benita Parry in her *Conrad and Imperialism* (1983) as a process of reciprocal discourse formation. The currents and cross-currents of Conrad criticism down the ages are sufficient to show that his texts are woven out of the complex awareness of imperialism as a phenomenal shaping power of human psyche in modern, enlightened Europe. Scholars, sceptic to Conrad's ideological status between the cultures he is writing of and the imperial 'gaze' that he is writing from, can be Western or from the Third World, and so can his defenders be. Many can see him as even-minded, fair, and having a sympathetic attitude to all races and nations. It is revealing to see how differently one can read the same *Heart of Darkness* from the perspective of the indignant scholars mentioned so far by quoting from a Sri Lankan Scholar, D. C. A. Goonetilleke who thinks that Conrad has "a sense of racial equality and a balanced critical sense" (1991: 16). He adds somewhere else:

Writing in the heyday of Empire, the age of Joseph Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, Conrad subverts majority imperialist sentiments and opinion from the beginning, revealing an aspect of his modernity. Suggestions of darkness in Britain's past and present history are confirmed by Marlow's opening words, 'And this has also been one of the dark places of the earth.' (69)

He further says about *Almayer's Folly*: "Racial superiority is refused. Conrad's criticism of Lingard's sense of white racial superiority is implied in the excess of Lingard's consciousness of his adopted daughter's colour and in his defensiveness" (16). If anything, it seems to Goonetilleke, that it is the non-whites who are favoured by Conrad: "The naturalness and reality of the Africans differ strikingly from the alienness and frightening absurdity of the [French] man-of-war" (72).

That Conrad attains balance is substantiated by Brian Spittles: "Conrad constantly stressed both the difference of foreign cultures – seeing them in their own right, with their own values, not simply as amusing, or barbaric, variations from

European definitions of civilization – and a possible fundamental unity of human experience” (1992: 17).

In most cases scholars who condemn Conrad's stance concerning imperialism do so concerning race- representations; and in the same way those who defend his attitude to the empire, also defend his attitude to the “other”. Therefore, when Benita Parry champions Conrad's attack on imperialism, it is almost certain that the attack necessarily be understood in terms of the author's attitude to races, “by revealing the disjunction between high-sounding rhetoric and sordid ambitions and indicating the purposes and goals of a civilisation dedicated to global ... hegemony, Conrad's writings [are] more destructive of imperialism's ideological premises than [are] the polemics of his contemporary opponents of empire” (quoted in Brantlinger, 1985: 365). Along the same line of thought, Ian Watt says that *Heart of Darkness* is “an early expression of what was to become a worldwide revulsion from the horrors of Leopold's exploitation of the Congo” (1981: 130). To his admirers, Conrad appears to merit applause on his exposure of the cultural creed of the Empire in its colonialist intervention on at least two scores. He first shows that the colonial mission is not that of bringing light to the benighted savages but one of the procedures of darkening through perverting the West's image of itself as bearer of light and civilization. On the other hand he finds the cause of the unspeakable horror in the natural wilderness of the non- European countries. It is of course not only the opposition of the colonised and the coloniser but rather the opposition between modernity and primitivism, between immorality and morality, between culture and nature that is being critiqued in the textual discourses of Conrad. But to Goonetilleke, Conrad appears to be able to see an individual from the colonies as more than an inferior “other”. “I agree with Kettle,” he says, “when he states that ‘Dain Waris in *Lord Jim*, Hassim in *The Rescue*, are presented with the greatest simplicity and dignity; indeed they are among Conrad's few characters (apart from women) who can be said to be idealized” (1991: 52-53).

There are of course all sorts of conclusions here, but when all is said it remains a fact that there were very few British fiction writers before World War I as critical of imperialism as Conrad was. Conrad was surely among the very few who did criticize and expose the ironies embedded within the idea of the Empire. But he

does that only after essentializing the same idea in terms of imperialism's "other" in the cultures of the tropical countries and in the cultures of the anarchists and revolutionaries who challenge to capsize the capitalist social structure. No wonder then that one finds as many champions of Conrad on that score as condemners. Many of both the camps are listed by Tom Henthorne. He calls the Western attitude to other nations as 'rotten' (2000: 204). He especially quotes McClure, who finds that "Conrad rejects the superiority of Western society" (quoted in Henthorne, 2000: 204). McClure, as is quoted in Henthorne's article, interprets the ending of *Lord Jim* as an indictment on imperialism's destructiveness (204). To both McClure and Eloise Knapp, Conrad is anti-racist and anti-imperialist, but to Henthorne, Third-World nations deserve more: "Natives are not only capable of independence, but their revolution is inevitable" (204). He challenges Achebe's great misreading of Conrad, because the overturn is definitely coming in those regions. Henthorne foresees an alternative regime to emerge when imperialism will come to its end. According to him *Heart of Darkness* suggests that such consciousness will emerge and that "the people of Africa will eventually strike back" (205). Henthorne goes so far as to find "revolution in virtually all of [Conrad's] colonial fiction" (205). He goes farther than most when he states that in *Lord Jim*, as in all of his early colonial fictions, Conrad develops alternative perspectives of imperialism through non-European characters in order to expose the inherent contradictions of the imperialist system and the inevitability of its end. Such a focus was unusual in the 1890s as the remark of one contemporary reviewer, quoted by Henthorne, suggests unequivocally that "Conrad, beyond all others, has identified himself with the standpoint of the natives, has interpreted their aspirations, illumined their motives, and translated into glowing words the strange glamour of their landscape" (206). To Henthorne, the white man cuts a figure most unfavourable to the West: "As in much of [his] colonial fiction, Conrad uses white protagonists to challenge European assumptions of racial superiority" (207). A very different reading we have here of Jim's and Kurtz's characters. We have a complete subversion of the myth of the white man as a supernatural power. "Ultimately," Henthorne says, "Conrad debunks this myth as he did in *Heart of Darkness*. As Eloise Hay suggests, Kurtz is perceived by the Africans not as a god, but as a man backed by "overwhelming force" (207).

The white imperialist will argue of course that he is there to civilize, but that becomes absolutely ludicrous because, for instance, “the fact that Kurtz professes the desire of ‘humanizing, improving, instructing’ his subjects even as he corrupts them makes the attack upon European imperialism all the same devastating.” (207) The image of the white is not much better in Conrad’s other colonial fiction. In *Lord Jim*, for instance, “[the] cowardliness of Jim and the other white officers is all the more damaging to the colonial system because it stands in sharp contrast to the actions of the Malay helmsmen who ‘remained holding the wheel’ during the crisis” (208). The existence of “the other” in Conrad is even more forcefully enunciated by Brian Spittles:

For Conrad the Far East, South America, Central Africa were not peripheral areas; they too were the core of human experience. Events and experiences there were not of merely secondary interest as measured against the centrality of European culture... Conrad constantly stressed both the difference of foreign cultures – seeing them in their own right, with their own values, not simply as amusing, or barbaric, variations from European definitions of civilization – and a possible fundamental unity of human experience. (1992: 17)

To such researchers as Spittles and Henthorne, Conrad’s claim, suggested at the beginning of this paper, that he was ‘content to sympathize with common mortals, no matter where they live’ would sound quite justified. Conrad’s own summing up of imperialism in Africa, based on personal experience, was that it was, as he declared in his *Last Essays*, ‘the vilest scramble for loot that ever disfigured the history of human conscience’ (1968: 17).

Joseph Conrad was a narrator of the experiences of the empire in all its facets- its missionary intentions, its wrong-headedness and in its inherent ironies. In fact, Conrad reflects the discourse of imperialism in mutually opposite ways. The non-fictional writings of the author suggest that he was quite aware of the differences

in cultures of the ruler and the ruled. The accounts of his journeys to Africa and Asia reveal him as a man of liberal humanist values. Conrad appears to be extremely loyal to the ideologies of British Empire in those regions, but he can never withstand the brutalities of the rulers in a colony. O. P. Grewal in his article “The Conservative Attitudes of Henry James and Joseph Conrad” discusses the conservatism of Conrad in the following vein:

The liberalism Conrad inherited from Poland was also idealistic in many respects. His intense dislike for the crass materialism of the nineteenth-century plutocrats derives from this idealistic liberalism. But since liberalism in Poland had developed as a part of nationalism, the Polish liberals thought of fulfillment of the self not as an isolated endeavour of some exceptional individual but closely identified it with the fate of a whole nation... As a consequence Conrad became more firmly aware of the social nature of man than James could ever hope to be. For him, as for Burke, to use Raymond Williams’s words, ‘the embodiment and the guarantee of the proper humanity of man is the historical community’... His schooling in the British Merchant Service further strengthened his conception of society as a joint communal venture which promoted the individuality of each member and brought his humanity to perfection through a common discipline and shared hardships. (1998: 97-98)

These essential features of the conservative ethics induce Conrad to uphold the importance of “a common discipline and shared hardships” as redeeming values in the characters of Marlow in *Heart of Darkness*, Jim in *Lord Jim*, Charles Gould in *Nostromo* or Razumov in *Under Western Eyes*. Each of these novels narrate incidents counterproductive to the principal discourse of imperialism, and yet, in each of them these characters are made to save the heroic values of the Western civilization, of Capitalism, and, indeed, of the Empire consistently. The present study thus departs

from the existing practices of pinpointing Conrad either as an apologist or as a critic of the imperial discourse. It focuses on the ambivalent attitude of the author and tries to establish the fact that Conrad gave expressions both to the strengths and weaknesses of the discourse of imperial power.

Edward Said states in *Culture and Imperialism* that “we live in a world not only of commodities but also of representations, and representations- their production, circulation, history, and interpretation are the very elements of culture” (1994: 56). Indeed, the “trafficking” and manipulation of the colonial subject's discursive representations and images in discourse are at the center of his/her ideological figuration as a deviant “other”. The colonial subject thus becomes permanently circumscribed to a fixed signifying position. Homi Bhabha considers fixity “as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, which is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition” (1994: 66). The stereotype can then be conceptualized as the crystallization of the notions of fixity that informs colonial discourse. The power, underlying the stereotypical representations of a subject nation/individual can be analyzed in terms of this colonialist discourse. It is therefore within this framework that the present study tries to explore the cultural representation of power relations in a Conrad novel from a postcolonial angle. To illustrate such representational constructs, the present thesis aims at a discursive study of such texts of Conrad as the *Heart of Darkness*, *Lord Jim*, *Nostramo*, *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes* - novels that reveal the author's hybrid ideological position in narrating cultural discourses anthropologically and politically.

It is a truism to repeat that colonial discourse is fundamentally based on a binary formulation of the dominated and the dominant grounded on dichotomies such as self/other, coloniser/colonised and East/West. Said claims that the terms of the dichotomy Occident/Orient, as well as the images and representations they involve are imperial constructs that have a history and a tradition (2003: 5). The critic further argues that the most important trait of the relationship between Occident and Orient or West and East is that it was and still is one of “power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony” (5). In colonial discourse the West becomes the

“enlightened self” that defines the “benighted other” represented by the non-Western world. The West thus is the norm and the East is made to stand for deviance. Consequently the positive term of the dichotomy draws its authority and power by means of debasing, degrading and excluding the negative term. The hierarchy of the empire in its colonies is therefore culturally sanctioned even in the texts of an apparently disillusioned writer like Conrad. Conrad sees through the fiasco of imperial progress in the colonies but maintains the rhetoric of ethical difference in the tales that ultimately justifies inequality and dominance in the non-European cultural spheres. Ranajit Guha elaborates the issue as such:

[P]olitically that difference is spelled out as one between rulers and the ruled; ethnically, between a white and blacks; materially, between a prosperous Western power and its poor subjects; culturally, between a higher and lower levels of civilization, between the superior religion of Christianity and indigenous belief systems made up of superstition and barbarism-all adding up to an irreconcilable difference between colonizer and colonized. (1997: 3)

In the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (1976) Foucault observes that the very birth of the classical age in Europe witnesses the birth of different power exercising techniques and apparatuses to subjugate (dominate) the scopes and wills of individuals having counter-impulses. As for Conrad, this great technology of power functions in organization with the idea of monarchical capitalism of which imperialism is but a close exercise. Foucault elaborates the power orientation of capitalism of the 19th century in the following words: “This bio-power was without question an indispensable element in the development of capitalism; the latter would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes” (1998:140-141). The appointment of Marlow to control Kurtz, the incessant inner urge of Jim to rehabilitate himself to the heroic standards of the society, the crisis of territorial authority of Almayer or the concentrated effort of Charles Gould to establish capital generating industries in the remote Sulaco are all

but expressions of paradigmatic power relations in the novels of Conrad. The remarkable fidelity, as Conrad himself claims them to have to their respective ideals may be termed after Foucault as methods of ‘reinforcements’.

Conrad’s adoption of British citizenship and his choice of English as the fittest medium for his expression were deliberate and strategic. A clear awareness of the imperial superiority and imperial power politics underlie the fact of Conrad’s tremendous British affinity. This affinity gives a significant hint to locate useful paradigm of power in the novels of Conrad. Conrad has always been euphoric about the imperial glory of the British Merchant Navy, of which he himself was an officer. He pays his tribute to the institution in his essay “Confidence”, published in the *Golden Daily Mail* in 1919, in the following words- “I may permit myself to speak of it in these terms because as a matter of fact it was on that very symbol that I had founded my life and (as I have said elsewhere in a moment of outspoken gratitude) had known for many years no other roof above my head” (Conrad, vol. 3, 2004: 161). This affinity to power is further reflected in Conrad’s various utilizations of canonical imperialist documents in his novels. His works establish a dialogue, to use Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism, with the colonial and imperial documentary works, existing in contemporary England.

Conrad is heavily indebted to H.M.Stanley’s *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures and Discoveries in Central Africa* (1874), Alfred Russel Wallace’s *The Malay Archipelago* (1894) and Arthur Maudsley’s *Reports From The Ports of Mexico and Chille* (1907) for ascertaining authentic colonial atmospheres in *Heart of Darkness*, *Lord Jim* and *Nostromo*. His novels can therefore be described as dialogic and intertextual as meaning is partly built by the dialogue established with other literary works. The documentary works, mentioned above, are monologic, for they offer a single totalizing perspective that centralises meaning and exerts a violent homogenisation. The dialogue between his texts and the canonical colonial documentations mentioned above clarifies the cause of Conrad’s psychosocial ambiguity. The liberal humanist ideology of the author encounters a face- off in his representation of the colonized culture as his textual resources are mostly drawn from the writings of the empire. Conrad’s liberal-humanist anguish stems out of his heavy reliance on the literature of imperialism. His novels describe the experience of

colonialism in the non-European regions from the perspective of imperial power. At the same time he also records the European anxieties for the failure of that power in isolation.

Conrad's narrator Marlow implies in *Heart of Darkness* that the only thing that redeems English imperialism and colonial policy is the discourse of improvement. Conrad evidently privileges the voice of imperial power incarnated in Marlow. From the very beginning, Marlow establishes a sort of cultural difference between the English and the African worlds. The "civilized" English audience on the deck of the *Nellie* functions as the counterpart of the silenced "savage" Africans depicted as forces of nature that form parts of a nightmarish landscape of the African jungle. The Western world is thus erected as the measure of the colonial world that is represented as deviant, primitive and incomprehensible. This measure makes Jim's ideals of European heroism sustain strongly even at the expense of his death in *Lord Jim*. Almayer finds bliss in his singular defiance against the rule of the Malaysian Babalatchi in *Almayer's Folly*. The South Americans in *Nostramo* are portrayed as cunning anarchists. The idiom of power assumes a strong materialist paradigm of Capitalistic progress in this novel. The ironic localization of the capitalistic power against the milieu of South American dictatorship becomes more telling in this context. Martin Price observes in his essay "The Limits of Irony: *Lord Jim* and *Nostramo*":

In *Nostramo* Conrad's irony becomes more inclusive, enfolding the political history of a nation as well as the motives of individuals. The central irony is that of 'material interests'. They alone seem to possess the power to bring order to Costaguana. They require stability for their profitable operation, and they bring peace through their great financial power, through bribery or an improved standard of living. The danger of 'material interests', in turn, lies in their use of the power they acquire, making men instruments of an institution and sacrificing them when they fail to be useful. (1986: 195)

The anarchists in *The Secret Agent* and the revolutionaries in *Under Western Eyes* are portrayed as pursuers of wrong ideals as they resist and challenge the reigning discourse of imperialism. The voices of Verloc (*The Secret Agent*) and Razumov (*Under Western Eyes*) are completely silenced by the violent imposition of an alien situation and their individualities are utterly suppressed by the ideological construction of their identities. Conrad is able to construct exotic “other”-s in the lady of the jungle accompanying Kurtz in the African wilderness, Babalatchi, Verloc and Razumov on account of the bond existing between power and knowledge during the golden age of the British Empire. The mechanism of power functioning in the process of a textual replication of the colonial culture is explained well by Said in *Orientalism*. Having discussed at length the relation between imperialism and orientalism, Said argues that “the political and cultural circumstances in which Western Orientalism has flourished draw attention to the debased position of the Orient or Oriental as an object of study” (2003: 96). Thus, the representations of the non- European cultures as objects of study in Conrad’s texts help in upholding the strength of the Western culture to a large extent. The symbolic and abstract nature in Africa, the Malay Archipelago and the South Americas is therefore raw or primitive data that wait to be transformed into finished and concrete knowledge for one Marlow, Jim or Charles Gould in Conrad’s texts.

How earnest Conrad’s effort was to do justice to various nations and groups will never be finally determined. Many do accept that he tried his best to be balanced and fair, and at times, as some have asserted, may be biased in favour of the non-white. To Achebe and like-minded scholars, Conrad was a thoroughgoing racist. And as will be seen in the following paragraphs, his novels and tales provide ample evidence to both. In large part, it depends how one wishes to read him. In sheer number, the whites in Conrad’s work who are a disgrace to their race and nations are more perhaps than non-western whites who are so. A cursory contrast of the English Donkin and the black Wait in *The Nigger of the ‘Narcissus’* would show who of the two is the more impressive, superior and capable. We have the Negro as “calm, cool, towering, superb ... naturally scornful, unaffectedly condescending” (Conrad, 1968: 18), while the white English Donkin is less respected by everyone; he is cowardly, cheeky and abject and it is of no use for him to brag, ‘I am an Englishman’ (12). It is

observed by critics like Jocelyn Baines that *Lord Jim* and Conrad's other imperial fiction came just before a major shift in perspective was about to take place. In *Lord Jim*, as Christopher GoGwilt tells us, one comes across "...an uncertainty of cultural contexts which began to eclipse the self-assured English claim to lordship (of one kind or another) overseas. In that uncertainty we might also recognize a growing awareness of cultural differences which began to unsettle the nineteenth century's consolidation of European imperial and colonial assumptions" (1995: 47).

It is often noticed that Conrad was just ahead of his time in perceiving that imperialism was something of the past practice of atrocious dominance and that it was no more than greedy scramble for the wealth of the world. It is just as GoGwilt says about the Patna inquiry in *Lord Jim*: "The whole of the Patna inquiry might be read as the progressive revelation of the underlying material interests of an international capitalist imperialist" (51). It might be supposed that the inflated ego of the white man would have collapsed under its own weight had it not been aided by the impression he often created on the minds of the native. Thomas Pakenham tells us as much in *The Scramble for Africa* (1993) about Arthur Hodister, one main model of *Heart of Darkness's* Kurtz: "For the last ten years Arthur Hodister's charismatic reputation had spread from the heart of darkness to the heart of Brussels....To the simple Africans, his white skin and neat black beard gave him the air of a god" (434). This classic case of internalization of the colonial values on the part of the colonized is exemplified best in the character of Dain Waris in *Lord Jim*. The system of internalization of borrowed values is observed by Goonetilleke in Conrad's presentation of the native and he highlights: "There are coloured people who believe in white superiority because of their psychological backwardness and subordinate position" (1991: 10).

The cultural hegemony is often maintained in this given process in a narrative replete with the issues of the empire. For a concrete example, Goonetilleke refers to Dain Waris in *Lord Jim*. He is "content to accept unquestioningly Jim's foreign overlordship as if it were the natural order of things; the other members of his community hold Jim in even greater awe" (49-50) Even the admiring Goonetilleke can say that although "Marlow trenchantly criticizes 'the conquest of the earth,' [he] still ... finds justification for British imperialism .. its 'efficiency and its idea'" (66).

Similarly, in *Nostromo*'s state of Costaguana, it is evidently by adopting European ideas that Decoud is seen to have the width of outlook and detachment which permit him to identify a practical means of ensuring the survival of Sulaco and the Blancos (i.e. the whites) – separating Sulaco from the helpless rest of Costaguana. In *Nostromo*, in fact, it is of course the white man, Mr. Gould, who draws the future for Sulaco, himself being the ultimate leader. The English are idealized by the Italian Viola, by Decoud, and by others; it is the English (Captain Mitchell) who are ranked as the first champion of the idea of progress among the other Europeans.

The anthropological understanding of different groups of people in the colonies in and around the 1870s, when Conrad migrated to the west, was mostly an artefact of the persisting culture of the empire. One extension of Darwin's evolutionary theory in vogue at the time ranked nations from the lowest to the highest, England being at the top of civic and cultural scale. But it was not to last long. As James J. Johnson asserts:

The ascendancy of evolutionary ideas in the field of anthropology was very pronounced in the 1860s and 1870s but was relatively short-lived. By the end of the century, as James Clifford points out, 'evolutionist confidence began to falter, and a new ethnographic conception of culture became possible. The word began to be used in the plural, suggesting a world of separate, distinctive, and equally meaningful ways of life' (Clifford, 92-3). (1997: 120)

When Conrad was being acquainted with the English scene, racialist propositions such as the innate superiority of the English over all races were often put forward – for instance, as Goonetilleke asserts, “by Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain – to justify imperialism” (1991: 10). English writers of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, as Sarah Cole tells us, produced a tremendous array of literature (including fiction, poetry, exploratory narratives, polemics, and official documents) that “helped to rationalize Britain's global domination” (1998: 253). In the middle of the nineteenth century, adds James M. Johnson, “Non-Europeans traditionally occupied

an inferior position in the European view of the world” (1997: 115). It was a strict European centrality that the nearer one is to it the higher. Johnson goes on to say:

For McLennan, Darwin, and Wallace, distance from the European present becomes virtually synonymous with distance from the European centre. This conflation of time and space is also evident in Spencer’s anthropological writings...Like his colleagues, Spencer achieves an understanding of the human past by turning away, momentarily, from the European centre. Peoples such as the Bushmen, the Tasmanians, the Fuegians are denied a legitimate position within their own historical narratives so that the evolutionary master-narrative, with its final focus on contemporary Europe, can be completed. (117-118)

One may see this centrality put to practice in Leopold II’s inhuman dealing with the natives of the Congo. As Tony C. Brown points out: “In *fin de siècle* Europe, accounts of grotesque atrocities occurring in Leopold II’s Congo Free State were appearing in an ever increasing quantity. A notable effect of this was the recurrence of an image of the Congo as an abject zone of horrors” (2000: 16). To read the end of Darwin’s *The Descent of Man* (1871) before or after reading *Heart of Darkness*, one will not fail to see the obvious connection. In one of Darwin’s last paragraphs he says:

There can hardly be a doubt that we are descendants from barbarians. The astonishment which I felt on first seeing a party of Fuegians on a wild and broken shore will never be forgotten by me, for the reflection at once rushed into my mind – such were our ancestors.. He who has seen a savage in his native land will not feel much shame, if forced to acknowledge that the blood of some more humble creatures flows in his veins. (quoted in Johnson, 1997: 114)

To many, Conrad just accepted mindlessly the dominant philosophy. Thus, Johnson quotes: "V.Y. Mudimbe points out that due to the force of dominant ideologies, many schools of anthropology "repress otherness in the name of sameness, reduce the different to the already known, and thus fundamentally escape the task of making sense of other worlds" (72- 73). Johnson goes on to say: "Conrad's version of the anthropological encounter (the contact, or confrontation, between different cultures) participates in precisely the narrow and reflexive gaze isolated by Mudimbe" (112). Indeed, Conrad did not do much to fathom the reality about Africa; he mostly accepted the negative image of Africa, the dark continent of the European imagination. And that goes for his other exotic novels and tales. For the sympathizers, Conrad was presenting, for instance in Kurtz, the white at his worst. Critics like Sarah Cole gives onus on Conrad's imperialist complicity against his modernism. As she states: "[H]e is either condemned for ascribing to popular notions of racial supremacy and difference, or, alternatively, his guilt is partially mitigated by his formal commitment to ambiguity, fragmentation, linguistic indeterminacy, and other strategies typically understood as modern" (1998: 252). If the above provision is accepted, then one can agree with Lionel Trilling as he observes: "No one, to my knowledge, has ever confronted in an explicit way [Conrad's] strange and terrible message of ambivalence toward the life of civilization" (quoted in Brantlinger, 1985: 378). Spittles tries best to define the source of the difficulty of locating Conrad politically in a fixed position: "It is a feature of Conrad's fiction... that linguistic and structural ironies often make it difficult for the reader to know exactly what the author's attitudes are towards the themes... Conrad was never either a consistently straightforward conservative or a convinced progressive. He judged cases individually, on their merit" (1992: 14).

Joseph Conrad's life as that of a Pole, writing in English and living as a British citizen may be looked upon as a definite source to his psychosocial ambivalence, struggling to accommodate within an ideological space between culture and empire. It is undeniable that Conrad writes for a mass of English readers, and the English imperial ideology of the age was characterised with both high nationalism and a subtle sceptic outlook on its 'civilizing missions' carried out in the colonies. Conrad's location as an author is unmistakably between these two contrary positions

which stemmed out of his insecurity of finding himself almost all his life between two different national characters and national ideologies – his background of living under Russian subordination in Poland and his citizenship in a dominating imperial power in Great Britain. Althusser claims that literature, as one of the institutions, participates in making state power and ideology familiar and acceptable to the state's subjects and reflects the values, customs, and norms of the dominant interests in its society (1984: 1-6). Althusser's premises that "ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence", and that "Ideology has a material existence" (quoted in Ryan, 1996: 17, 19) lead him to set down two conjoint theses: "1 there is no practice except by and in an ideology; 2 there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects" (21). Following this idea of interdependence between ideology and the individual's "real conditions of existence", we may cast a look upon the biographical context of Joseph Conrad. His life, indeed, does go some way to help understand some of the mysteries of Conrad's famous inconclusiveness as writer betraying multivalent experiences of the empire.

Joseph Conrad had a chequered life and he directly drew materials for his writings from his life loaded with experiences. He was born on December 3, 1857 near Berdichev, in the Russian-ruled province of Padolia. Christened Josef Teodor Konrad Nalecz Korzeniowski, he was the first and only child of Apollo and Evelina Nalecz Korzeniowski. His parents were Polish revolutionaries and passed a considerable portion of their lives in Russian prison. Conrad lost his mother at an early age and on May 23, 1869 his father died. At his funeral, which took the form of a great patriotic tribute, the eleven-year-old Conrad walked at the head of the procession (Sherry, 1972: 15). Conrad's life now underwent a conspicuous change. He came under the influence of his uncle Thaddeus, who was in every way the opposite of Apollo and who had always regarded his brother-in-law as a sentimentalist. Thaddeus was in charge of Conrad's education and financial affairs. Uncle Thaddeus's influence continued to exert itself through his letters after Conrad left Poland and his philosophy, even phrases from his correspondence, appeared afterwards in Conrad's novels. "Thaddeus was the type of benevolent guardian figure that Conrad dealt with in the character of Stein in *Lord Jim* and Captain Lingard in the Bornean novels" (16). In 1872 Conrad told his uncle that he wished to go to sea, a

confession, which evoked a reaction of shocked and bewildered incredulity. It was not until 1874 that Thaddeus agreed to send him off to the Merchant Marine. According to Sherry, behind the desire to leave Poland and to join the merchant navy, there was “the inspiration of Conrad’s reading of adventure and travel literature and his interest in geography” (17). Besides, Conrad must have been influenced by the fact that as the son of a political prisoner, he “risked conscription in the Russian Army for possibly as many as twenty-five years” (17). Conrad’s decision to leave Poland and become a sailor has provoked much controversy. Among them there is a psychological approach. According to this theory Conrad’s desertion of his country created in him a feeling of betrayal and of guilt which he never overcame. C.B. Cox explains this psychological burden of Conrad and argues: “[H]e had abandoned the cause for which both his parents had sacrificed their lives. Therefore, the desire for atonement and self-justification dominated his life” (1977: 6). In an essay, Conrad repeats a story illustrating his wish of adventure. He says “looking at a map as a child” he had put his finger on a spot in the very middle of the then white heart of Africa and said that some day he “would go there” (Conrad, 1924: 11). Another reason that was advanced for Conrad’s desire to go to sea is regarded as his position as the son of a Polish patriot who had been imprisoned by the Russians for revolutionary activities. Baines finds a relationship between Conrad’s desire to go to sea and his leaving Poland and claims that he would have been unconscious of suffering under any disadvantage if he had been living in Austrian Poland (1960: 30-31). It has also been argued that parallels can be drawn between Conrad’s leaving Poland and the important moments of crisis in his novels. For example, Jim’s jump over the side of the *Patna* can be seen as an unconscious symbolic representation of Conrad’s action in leaving Poland. Baines draws attention to Conrad’s use of the word ‘jump’ to describe his own case. He says: “It seems likely that in Conrad’s eyes to have remained in Poland would have been tantamount to resigning himself to a climate where everyone and everything he had cherished had crumbled, and where he himself might well be the next perish” (33). A parallelism between Jim’s efforts to vindicate himself after his desertion of the *Patna* and Conrad’s own life can be drawn as well and it may be asserted that “Conrad never felt at home in any environment, and a sense of alienation is continually expressed in his fiction” (Cox, 1977: 7).

Almost all the important characters of Conrad's novels are modelled upon several real life persons that he came across in his long career at sea. In 1874, when his uncle finally granted his consent, Conrad left Poland for Marseilles and on her visit to the West Indies in 1875 he was listed as an apprentice. In 1876, he sailed again to the West Indies as a steward on the *Saint-Antonia*. Sherry agrees that it was a memorable voyage for Conrad for the first mate was a Corsican called Dominic Cervoni who was to impress Conrad greatly at that time and to figure, later on, in *Nostramo*. Sherry writes, "Cervoni was the type of heroic wanderer and adventurer, the embodiment of fidelity, resource and courage, that Conrad so admired" (1972: 22). In 1878, four years after leaving Poland, Conrad abandoned France, sailing for England in the British ship *Mavis*, bound first for Constantinople and then for Lowestoft, where she arrived on 18 June 1878 (26). During the next eleven years Conrad sailed on many British ships and in 1890 he made his terrible trip to Congo at the heart of Africa.

Conrad's Congo experience seems to be "the most devastating of his life" and Conrad recognized this when he said later to his friend Edward Garnett: "Before the Congo, I was just a mere animal" (quoted in Sherry, 1972: 63). "Before the Congo, I was just a mere animal" is rightly interpreted by Jean-Aubry as such: "For his first fifteen years at sea he had lived almost without being aware of it, carried along by the ardour of his temperament in response to an almost unconscious desire for adventure without ever thinking about the reasons for his or other people's actions" (1957: 175). He married Miss Jessie George in 1896, settled in England and pursued his career as a modernist writer of exceptional merit but moderate financial fortune till the 3rd of August, 1924 when he died of heart attack in his own house. A feeling of cultural exile remained always living in Conrad and that feeling gave birth to his famous ideological inconclusiveness as is evident in his texts. The biographical contexts to examine the ambivalent ideology of a complex author like Joseph Conrad pays well when it provides necessary key to his psychosocial dilemma. Looking for the rift in Conrad's psyche, Catherine Rising says:

The gap between Raskolnikov and Razumov [in *Under Western Eyes*] roughly parallels that between Dostoevsky, son of a Russian military doctor – a

member of the hereditary nobility of Moscow – and Conrad, the orphan son of an exiled Polish revolutionary. As such, Conrad was a pariah entitled to no future in his native Russia beyond twenty-five years' compulsory military service... [Dostoevsky] presents a milder face of Russian society than that seen by Conrad, who like his creature Razumov felt himself, and was, an alien... For the traumatized and displaced Conrad, a Pole turned English novelist – as for the displaced teacher of languages who narrates *Under Western Eyes* – words are, and stubbornly remain, 'the great foes of reality'. (2001: 25)

The point here is that in our attempt to account for Conrad's scepticism and elusiveness it is quite natural to understand him as Catherine Rising has done in the light of some of his characters like the teacher of languages in *Under Western Eyes*. While living in England, or, for that matter in any part of the world other than Poland, Conrad lived in exile. One can draw on a generalization about exile in modern thought put forth by Nico Israel:

Exile informs most of the significant strands of modern social and philosophical thought ... a misty halo of exile seems to surround the spectral figure of Conrad himself. The author, the familiar biographical yarn goes, lived "three lives," each of them, in a different sense, exilic: born in the Russian-occupied Ukraine to a family of aristocratic Polish political refugees, he travelled the world as a mariner before becoming a naturalized British citizen, eventually, one of his adopted country's most famous novelists. Lonely and misunderstood as a child, as an adolescent, and as an adult, on land and on sea, Conrad apparently suffered from a peculiarly acute form of national and psychological deracination. Given his impressive exilic pedigree and

employment experience, it is not especially astonishing that Conrad's novelistic portrayals of such figures as Marlow, Jim, Decoud, Razumov, Verloc, and Heyst tend, in many critical accounts, to become with Conrad's own biographical narrative, producing a composite persona regarded as the exilic ne plus ultra of Anglo-American modernism. (1997: 1-3)

Conrad's early experiences and memories were never abandoned. Quite late in his career he wrote *Under Western Eyes*, and in the "Author's Note" to this work there is an urgent exhortation to West to work against the tyrannical power which had colonized his own country. He attacked in that Note both the Russian tyranny and the resistance trying to bring it down; they were a "senseless desperation provoked by senseless tyranny" (1968: viii). A little further down he adds: "The ferocity and imbecility of an autocratic rule rejecting all legality and in fact basing itself upon complete anarchism provokes the no less imbecile and atrocious answer of a purely Utopian revolutionism encompassing destruction by the first means to hand" (x).

Beth Sharon Ash observes that Conrad's crucial ambivalence, his "betweenness", is "an artifact of his inability, in a variety of ways, to properly mourn lost objects" (1999: 16). She further locates the origin of this psychosocial dilemma in Conrad's life and says that his works, "like his life, attempts to hold on to a sense of continuity, but often at the expense of the unfolding of discursive truthfulness" (16). In consequence, Conrad finds himself at ease in the aesthetic space of "irresolution" and "denial" that is necessitated by a cultural desire of remaining within the mid-point of irreconcilable opposites. To conclude, it may be said that Conrad's texts are featured with an awareness that resists but continues to live within the margins of imperialism. An innate textual hybridity, operating on two levels at once, immediately situates Conrad between the two extremes of the empire and culture. Conrad began to publish his novels at a time when imperialism was becoming increasingly popular with the British public. Conrad's market was also very limited geographically as he could not expect readership in his homeland. Since the middle of the 1890s Conrad's dependence on the fortune of his books increased and he committed himself to the profession of writing. In consequence, he evolved a style of

narrative that could reach a larger range of reader which played on the two levels of culture and empire. His novels stand as exotic tales of empire that legitimizes imperialism and subverts it at the same time. His hybridity consists in the fact that he, "...neither believes in the cultural superiority of the colonialist nations, nor rejects them outright... [his] viewpoint disturbs imperialist assumptions to the precise degree that it reinforces them" (Eagleton, 1976: 135). The in-between space in Conrad's psychological approach to his socio-cultural subjects is thus a product of his acute sense of personal exile, not only geographically but linguistically too. This exilic by-product combines with an ideological dilemma in him. Beth Sharon Ash describes the cultural location of the author in the following terms:

Conrad's idiomatic negative refusal of choice, his viewing of the world in terms of irremediably opposed alternatives that can not be embraced or given up, colo[u]rs his relation to culture as chronically ambivalent and melancholic. It also suggests an internal world where conflict, the tension between mutually informing experiences of otherness and sameness within the self, becomes contradiction, the tension between disconnected aspects of self where mutual exchange and transformation become not only difficult but dangerous to the survival of needed psychosocial provisions. (1999: 15-16)

In view of the above study, we can with conviction place Conrad ideologically between culture and empire. Conrad may be found not as an atrocious "colonialist", but at best as a "colonial" writer par excellence (Boehmer, 2006: 2-3). Colonialism and a critique of colonialism may be found featuring in his fictions contrapuntally given the discursive regime under which he was working.

CHAPTER- II

Heart of Darkness: The White Truths of Power

“To encounter the nation as it is written displays a temporality of culture and social consciousness more in tune with the partial, overdetermined process by which textual meaning is produced through the articulation of difference in language; more in keeping with the problem of closure which plays enigmatically in the discourse of the sign.”

(Homi K. Bhabha: *Nation and Narration*)

Since its publication in the *Blackwood's Magazine* in the year 1898, *Heart of Darkness* has remained Joseph Conrad's most famous short novel in the context of readership. The novel is seen as a virulent indictment on the creed of colonialism. Its overt symbolism in this regard and the impressionistic style of narration are also highly praised by the critics. There is, in fact, a strong tendency in the field of modern literary criticism to read *Heart of Darkness* as a critique that epitomizes the humanist response of the Western civilization to the colonial discourse of the empire. The other school, finding itself especially in force since the publication of Chinua Achebe's famous critique of the text in his article "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*", seeks to depict it as a veritable colonial narrative, undermining the scope and size of the African culture and civilization. In locating Conrad between empire and culture my aim would be to read *Heart of Darkness* as an emblematic text of Conrad, the ideologue, one who is aware of the failure of the cultural superiority of the empire and yet cannot escape the narrator's obligation in fashioning out a tale of an exotic adventure in a "dark continent" for his readers in imperial England. The ideological struggle going on inside the abstract impressionistic narrative strategy in *Heart of Darkness* affects the thematic and formal structures of the novella which is played out in the friction between lyric and narrative modes. The struggle of ideas may also be seen in the tension between artistic and imperialist practices. Thus, *Heart*

of Darkness offers a unique opportunity for gauging not only the aesthetic relations among genres, but also the interpenetrations of genre and history, of literature and social practices. The text deals with Conrad's firsthand experience as well as reported knowledge of the state of Congo, ruled by King Leopold II of Belgium in and around the eighth decade of the 19th century. On the surface he is satiric and sardonic in his estimate of the innate fallacy of the empire's 'civilizing mission' in the specific region of the earth. But a deep reading unravels the fact that Conrad covertly reiterates a virtual colonial conviction that African culture is degenerate and needs to be civilized. Griffith relates the logic of this incumbent depiction to the desire of an imperial hegemony and writes:

The degenerate nature of Africa and Africans could be both overtly and covertly connected with colonialism in a complex tautology. The degeneration of the 'primitive' provided, after all, a perfect excuse for the rehabilitating influence of Europe. Thus, the perceived incapacity for self- government, following out this circular argument, necessitated foreign domination, a justification upon which King Leopold II depended. By the same token, the ability of Europeans to rule was founded upon their resistance to degeneration. (1995: 73)

The journey of Marlow in *Heart of Darkness* is, in reality, a journey to the core of that degenerate world that has an awful power even to disintegrate the mind of Kurtz, one of the finest children of Western civilization. Conrad does not put to question this imperial premise of ascribing labels of corrosion and degeneracy to non-Western cultures and proceeds further to explore an unconscious quantity of the same decomposing element within the agency of the empire itself. The reason for accepting the idea of degeneracy as a fixed dynamic of African identity "lay in the belief that the lack of any written manuscripts on African history implied a history-less past" (74). And Griffith further examines Conrad's intimacy with a remarkable volume of colonial documentations of the period in relating an ideal sense of African-ness that is unmistakably framed in the popular imagination of the English society. He writes:

Degeneracy, in fact, is predicated on a historical blankness. Africans were perceived, as the anthropologist Theodor Waitz put it, as ‘those who have no history’. Historians of anthropology such as Johannes Fabian and Talal Assad have recently re-examined this theme of the ‘historylessness’ of the African past as a European imposition of blankness onto Africa in order to ease conquest. Indeed, Said criticizes Conrad for acknowledging the darker ironies of imperialism without being able to attribute to other cultures a sense of hegemony.... (73)

Conrad’s dilemma, his ambivalent position between empire and culture, is pathologically elaborated by Griffith as he quotes from Said’s *Culture and Imperialism* at length. Said (as quoted in Griffith) reads that,

[I]t is no paradox, therefore, that Conrad was both imperialist and anti-imperialist, progressive when it came to rendering fearlessly and pessimistically the self-confirming, self-deluding corruption of overseas domination, deeply reactionary when it came to conceding that Africa or South America could ever have an independent history or culture, which the imperialists violently disturbed but by which they were ultimately defeated. (74)

This part of the thesis aims to read *Heart of Darkness* alongside important events in Conrad’s life to clarify the relation between his life and the text and thus to indicate that Conrad’s pessimistic ambivalence in the novel stemmed from his bitter experiences in the Congo. Next, the text will be placed within the imperialistic and colonial culture of writing of Conrad’s era in order to pinpoint his response to issues of the empire and the colonized cultures. Knowing that past can be known by means of the written documents, some travel and adventure accounts dealing with the issues of imperialism and colonialism and written in the same period, i.e., during the

expansion of imperialism have been chosen for the synchronic reading which aims to view the place of Conrad's text in the English colonial discourses. Through such a reading, it is also aimed to observe the ways of representation of both the colonizing and the colonized in both Conrad's text and the select non-literary texts. But before engaging into the dialogue between *Heart of Darkness* and the travel and adventure narratives of the empire of the period the plot of the novella may be noticed briefly to help our study. The novel is divided in three parts, the first part forming a background to the journey of Marlow, the protagonist, from a European port to the central territory of the Belgian Congo. On an evening, in the dim light of a dying sun aboard the cruising yawl the *Nellie* on Thames, five men, along with Marlow, are seen waiting for the turn of the tide in the river. Charles Marlow, making most of the leisure and the wait, meditates aloud on the colonial past of England and shocks everybody with his well-known observation that even England once used to be a colony of the Romans in the ancient days. As the others are listening to him in intent silence, he proceeds to relate a unique story of one of his expeditions to the heart of Africa up the river Congo. Once, long ago, being jobless for a while, he secured the position of a river steamboat captain with the help of an influential aunt and set out on a journey to the Congo. The steamer moves very slowly, making many stops along its way, giving full exposure of the dark and dense jungles and landscapes of Africa to the young man. They first come across a French gunboat, firing frantically into the forests and bushes on the banks. The absurdness of the firing aiming at an absent 'presence' of unknown enemies strikes Marlow as the first feature of the sheer illogicality of the presence of the Europeans on that dark and unfriendly ambience of void and uneasiness. On the mouth of the Congo, however, Marlow disembarks and boards another steamer of a Swede captain. From the captain he comes to know of another Swede who has hanged himself out of the lag of his prolonged stay in Africa, the 'Dark' continent. He reaches the Company station to witness a scene of nasty waste full of broken and derelict machines and dying slaves. The accountant of the Company, appearing grossly unsuitable in his starched white shirts among a host of dirty and emaciated black men and women, informs Marlow of Kurtz describing the latter as a very remarkable person. Marlow continues with his journey with a pack of sixty natives and one other white man to the heart of the darkness. His way to the central station impresses him of the absolute inappropriateness of the European

mission carried on in Africa. After fifteen days of strenuous trekking through overgrown roads and signs of unnecessary European brutalities, Marlow reaches the central station only to be informed by the Company manager that the boat he is supposed to command has sunk to the bottom of the river and that he has to repair it first to go further into his mission. The whole boat business takes three months to be fixed offering Marlow an occasion to witness a complete display of insanity and inhumanity among the European colonialists in Africa.

Part II opens with Marlow listening unintentionally to the manager and his uncle discussing on Kurtz. It is told that Kurtz is a man of morals and courage. He is taken almost as an apogee of European civilization that has made a good fortune out of ivory trade. Their conversation comes to an end as they become conscious of Marlow's presence. The repaired boat sets forth on its journey to Kurtz's inner station with a mixed crew of white men and two groups of natives through the course of a treacherous river that gives Marlow an impression of cruising into the depths of the world travelling back in time. The persistent primitiveness of everything around begins to disturb Marlow psychically. He feels he is being watched by a sinister, brooding presence that is incomprehensible and invisible but can be felt always as an impending doom. Upstream, Marlow and his men arrive across a wooden abandoned hut on the bank, stacked with firewood. He investigates and finds a book titled, *An Enquiry into Some Points of Seamanship* and advances to the innermost part of the Central Congo. Two days later, he is awakened in the early morning on a horribly loud and anguished cry and clamour coming out of the dense fog and mists. A deadly panic catches on everybody on board as Marlow rightly remains calm and assures everybody that the natives of the river bank would not strike pointlessly. Once the fog lifts, they start on their sail and arrive at an island on the river at a distance of approximately one and a half mile. To pass the island Marlow takes his way through a channel which is extremely narrow and the boat almost brushes against the bushes on shore. At this point, a group of natives attack them and shower a volley of arrows and kills the helmsman of Marlow. They scatter, however, on the sound of the boat's whistle and after a while Marlow comes across a white man standing on shore and beckoning at them. This man is dressed as a clown, a harlequin, and is the same

person of the earlier abandoned hut and the owner of the book found by Marlow back there.

The most symbolically loaded portion of the whole narrative is reached now as the third part of the story begins with the harlequin's description of his wobbly relationship with Kurtz. He reports that he knows Kurtz for almost two years and depicts Kurtz as having mysterious power over the natives of the locality. It is told that Kurtz is adored as a demigod by the natives and he can even kill people without any resistance from anybody in these parts of the forest. But Kurtz is in ill health for quite some time of late and should be taken away from this savage village of the natives as soon as possible. Marlow looks at Kurtz's house in the village and is appalled by the hideous fact that the fencing of the house is decorated with human skulls on the top of the polls. Then Kurtz appears on a stretcher led by his subject natives. The waiting packs of the natives part their gathering deferentially to make way for Kurtz. Kurtz is lanky and bald and as white as ivory. Marlow hands him over the Company orders and returns to the boat. The harlequin gets back to the jungle and Marlow watches a magnificently clad native woman appear on the scene. This woman is Kurtz's African mistress. At the midnight it is discovered that Kurtz has disappeared from the boat. Marlow chases and stops him before he reaches a native fireside. He finds the ailing Kurtz crawling on all four on his way to the fire. He dissuades the helpless and transformed man and is finally able to get him back to the boat. The next day, as they leave, the natives gather round the shore to see Kurtz for the last time. Marlow blows the whistle and everybody rushes back to the jungle in a panic, save the magnificent mistress of Kurtz who remains on the shore as long as she sees Kurtz on board. Kurtz converses with Marlow on his journey downstream and tells him of his plan to marry his Intended back home in Europe. But his physical and psychic conditions worsen and one night, while the boat is stopped, he comes into an agonizing frenzy, utters his final words, "The horror! The horror!" and dies onboard (Conrad, 1994: 63). He is buried by the pilgrims. The extreme futility and the bizarre experience of the amorphous reality of the dark land make Marlow ill. After a considerable stretch of time, returning to Brussels, Marlow comes to the office of the Company with Kurtz's papers and documents and learns a lot of the past glory of Kurtz's character. It is seen that Kurtz is still regarded as one of the finest European

men with imagination and poetic skills among his acquaintances. Marlow meets Kurtz's Intended and on being asked about the last words uttered by her lover, he intentionally lies. Not being able to utter the heinous truth of Kurtz's degeneration, he tells the Intended that it was her name that Kurtz took with his passing breath. The effect of the deliberate lie to sustain the myth of European civilization creates a gloomy trance over the listeners of Marlow's exotic tale onboard the *Nellie*. Evening sets in as everybody remains silent. Conrad rounds off the tale with another thought provoking imagery, leaving Marlow sitting in a posture in silence similar to the "pose of a meditating Buddha" (70).

An overview of the plot provides generous suggestions to Conrad's engagement with the travel and adventure narratives of the empire in the second half of the 19th century. To understand Conrad's affiliation to the imperial discourse and to appreciate, at the same time, his subversive treatment of the same discourse we may cast a look upon the biographical elements in *Heart of Darkness*. It is indeed important to indicate that the literary text is not solely a creation of the author but a cultural production like its author. Therefore, in our attempt to read the text in the context of the author's own situations in life and ideology, we may make progress by asserting that *Heart of Darkness* is a novel which parallels closely Conrad's own life because some impressions from Conrad's own life can be seen in it. In the novel Conrad reflects on his own experiences which he gained before and during his Congo trip, through Marlow, the autobiographical hero of *Heart of Darkness*.

As Marlow was fascinated, in his boyhood, with the delightful mystery of the Congo and is fascinated again with the snake-like Congo when he sees a map of the Congo in a bookseller's window in Fleet Street before he is appointed to a steamboat for his Congo experience (12), Conrad had been fascinated with not only the polar regions but also the torrid zones in the world. Such was the appeal of Africa that his first friends in the "world of mentality and imagination", he claimed in one of his essays, were Africa and the African explorers:

And it was Africa, the continent out of which the Romans used to say some new thing was always coming, that got cleared of the dull imaginary wonders

of the dark ages, which were replaced by exciting spaces of white paper. Regions unknown! My imagination could depict to itself these worthy, adventurous and devoted men, nibbling at the edges, attacking from north and south and east and west, conquering a bit of truth here and a bit of truth there, and sometimes swallowed up by the mystery their hearts were so persistently set on unveiling. (Conrad, 1924: 13)

Marlow, the narrator in *Heart of Darkness* tells that he was fascinated with Africa when he was a child (Conrad, 1994: 11-12). Besides, Conrad's situation and mood when he was waiting for the command as captain to the West Indies and New Orleans by the Antwerp ship-owners (Walford and Co.) can be attributed to Marlow, who says at the beginning of the novel:

'I have a lot of relations living on the Continent, because it's cheap and not so nasty as it looks, they say.'

'I am sorry to own I began to worry them. This was already a fresh departure for me. I was not used to get things that way, you know. I always went my own road and on my own legs where I had a mind to go. I wouldn't have believed it of myself; but, then – you see – I felt somehow I must get there by hook or by crook. So I worried them. The men said "My dear fellow," and did nothing. (12)

Although Conrad had obtained British citizenship, and had been released from being a Russian subject, he still needed a visa to go to Poland to see his uncle Thaddeus, whose health was uncertain. While he was waiting for the document that would permit him to go to Poland, he led a life of leisure which he had grown completely unaccustomed to. Meanwhile, Conrad had not given up the idea of going back to sea. The memory of the *Otago* was always in his heart. It is said: "Days and

months passed without bringing him the least hope of command” (Jean-Aubry, 1957: 150). Conrad was, then, in exactly the same situation as Marlow is. Marlow describes his search for a job after coming back from the Orient:

‘I had then, as you remember, just returned to London after a lot of Indian Ocean, Pacific, China Seas –a regular dose of the East –six years or so, and I was loafing about, hindering you fellows in your work and invading your homes, just as though I had got a heavenly mission to civilize you. I was very fine for a time, but after a bit I did get tired of resting. Then I began to look for a ship –I should think the hardest work on earth. But the ships wouldn’t even look at me...’ (Conrad, 1994: 11)

Conrad’s and Marlow’s situations are similar to each other’s in the sense that Marlow is summoned by the company hurriedly and Conrad was suddenly appointed captain and promised the command of one of the Upper Congo steamboats in 1889. Before Conrad came to Brussels to join the ship he was in Lublin where he spent forty-eight hours with his Zagorski cousins. He barely had time to go back to London to pack his belongings, bought a few articles and returned to Brussels to sign his contract. Conrad described his frantic situation and his effort to gather his equipment and say goodbye to his friends before leaving for Africa in following words:

If you only knew the devilish haste I had to make!
From London to Brussels, and back again to London!
And then again I dashed full tilt to Brussels! If you had only seen all the tin boxes and revolvers, the high boots and the tender farewells; just another pair of trousers! –and if you knew all the bottles of medicine and all the affectionate wishes I took away with me, you would understand in what a typhoon, cyclone, hurricane, earthquake –no!-in what a universal cataclysm, in what a fantastic atmosphere of mixed

shopping, business, and affecting scenes, I passed two whole weeks! (quoted in Jean-Aubry, 1926: 41)

This experience of Conrad is reflected in *Heart of Darkness* through Marlow, the protagonist who represents Conrad himself. Marlow says about the reasons for the company's sudden hurry to engage him as a captain:

'I got my appointment – of course; and I got it very quick. It appears the Company had received news that one of their captains had been killed in a scuffle with the natives [...] It was only months and months afterwards, when I made the attempt to recover what was left of the body, that I heard the original quarrel arose from a misunderstanding about some hens [...] through this glorious affair I got my appointment, before I had fairly begun to hope for it.

'I flew around like mad to get ready, and before forty-eight hours I was crossing the Channel to show myself to my employers, and sign the contract. In a very few hours I arrived in a city that always makes me think of a whited sepulchre [...] I had no difficulty in finding the Company's offices [...] A narrow and deserted street in deep shadow, high houses, innumerable windows with venetian blinds, a dead silence, grass sprouting between the stones. (Conrad, 1994: 13-14)

And then Marlow gives his unforgettable account of his visit to the Company's office. As Jean-Aubry remarks, the details and scenes recounted by Marlow such as the women dressed in black, knitting in the outer office like impassive Fates; the huge, many-coloured map of Central Africa; the interview with the managing director which lasted only a few seconds; the compassionate secretary; the visit to the doctor and his aunt are "all extraordinarily vivid and all bearing the imprint of a biting irony and at the same time they are nothing but the memory of actuality" (1957: 160).

As is known, Marguerite Poradowska was an important figure in Conrad's life. In 1890 Conrad visited Mme. Poradowska and her husband Alexander in Brussels on his way to the Ukraine. Conrad arrived in Brussels just two days before Alexander died. It is known that Conrad and Marguerite were drawn together by this tragic event. Marguerite became Conrad's closest correspondent, confidante and friend during the next five years. In *Heart of Darkness*, Marlow describes how he desperately sought the assistance of a female relative after he appealed in vain to his male friends for help in securing a berth:

The men said 'My dear fellow,' and did nothing. Then –would you believe it? –I tried the women. I, Charlie Marlow, set the women to work –to get a job. Heavens! Well, you see the notion drove me. I had an aunt, a dear enthusiastic soul. She wrote: 'It would be delightful. I am ready to do anything, anything for you. It is a glorious idea. I know the wife of a very high personage in the Administration, and also a man who has lots of influence with,' etc. She was determined to make no end of fuss to get me appointed skipper of a river steamboat. (Conrad, 1994: 12)

Marlow's female relative's help suggests Marguerite's help for which Conrad was deeply grateful. Conrad had the first chance to go to Africa when he was in Brussels after leaving the Ukraine. The event which required his immediate presence in the Congo was that the Danish captain of the *Otago* had been murdered by Africans during a trivial quarrel. Conrad was offered to replace the dead master of the *Otago*. In May 1891, Conrad left Brussels for Africa. He was eager for work in Africa but inexperienced. One important point to note here is that Conrad at first believed the high-minded propaganda about bringing the benevolent light of civilization to the dark continent and that only after he had reached the Congo and seen "the brutal exploitation of the resources and the people did he discover the disappointing reality" (Meyers, 1991: 96). Conrad wrote in one of his last essays about the disparity between his idealized expectations and the disappointing reality of his first trip to Africa:

A great melancholy descended on me. Yes, this was the very spot. But there was no shadowy friend to stand by my side in the night of the enormous wilderness, no great haunting memory, but only the unholy recollection of a prosaic newspaper “stunt” and the distasteful knowledge of the vilest scramble for loot that ever disfigured the history of human conscience and geographical exploration. What an end to the idealized realities of a boy’s daydreams! (Conrad, 1924: 17)

It is evident then that the “idealized” daydreams of the private self meet with the shattering and disturbing realities of the public experience and locate Conrad narrating between the empire and culture of the age. *Heart of Darkness*, in most respects, appears to be a remarkably faithful transcription of the narrator’s cultural ambivalence. In the novella Marlow had the feeling of being turned into an ‘impostor’. Marlow observes several dead porters along the trail and say of the region: “The population had cleared out a long time ago” (Conrad, 1994: 28). Conrad himself went on several of the expeditions as he recorded in his diary and saw three African corpses, including “a skeleton tied up to a post, and a youth with a gunshot wound in the head” (quoted in Najder, 1978: 13). Marlow remarks that he saw “the body of a middle-aged negro, with a bullet-hole in the forehead” (Conrad, 1994: 29). The company created by a Belgian financier Albert Thys, the *Compagnie du Chemin de Fer du Congo*, was obliged to send recruiting expeditions farther and farther afield to find carriers. Finally, in order to cope with the shortage of labour needed for the railways, which was essential to King Leopold’s planned economic exploitation of the country, Leopold’s officials resorted to three solutions: “importing workers from other African colonies, putting the Congolese ‘criminals’ on chain-gangs, and at last using forced or slave labour” (Hawkins 1981: 98). Conrad probably saw or heard about these colonial affairs and had Marlow say, just before he steps into the “grove of death”, “they were called criminals, and the outraged law [...] had come to them, an insoluble mystery from the sea” (1994: 22-23).

Besides his own experiences in the Congo, a British explorer called Casement whom “Conrad met on the Lower Congo had a profound impact on Conrad’s attitude towards the Congo and on his fictional portrayal of his grim experience in Africa” (Meyers, 1991: 99). Casement has been described by Meyers as “a tall, extremely handsome man, with fine bearing, a muscle and bone thinness, wrinkled forehead, face deeply tanned from long tropical service” and “idealistic and unselfish” and as a man having “considerable charm, but was also high-strung and unstable, subject to periods of intense melancholy and self-pity” (98-99). Conrad shared a room with Casement for two weeks and soon became very friendly with him. Writing in 1903 to his anti-imperialist friend, Cunninghame Graham, Conrad described Casement’s careless courage and his habit of travelling unarmed and unattended through the dangerous jungle:

There is a touch of the Conquistador in him too; for I’ve seen him start off into an unspeakable wilderness swinging a crookhandled stick for all weapons, with two bulldogs [...] and a Loanda boy carrying a bundle for all company. A few months afterwards it so happened that I saw him come out again, a little leaner, a little browner, with his stick, dogs, and Loanda boy, and quietly serene as though he had been for a stroll in park [...] He could tell you things! Things I’ve tried to forget; things I never did know. (99)

Conrad’s account of Casement’s serene stroll through the “unspeakable wilderness” may suggest that Casement may have been the model for “the elusive and inexplicable Russian in motley” in *Heart of Darkness* (99). Casement reported in his *Congo Diary* (1903), a long factual document, the atrocities committed upon what Casement himself called “the poor, the naked, the fugitive, the hunted, the tortured, the dying men and women of the Congo” (1959: 96). The facts written in Casement’s diary include details of the inhuman atrocities committed by the colonialists on the Africans who were bound with thongs that contracted in the rain and cut to the bone; had their swollen hands beaten with rifle butts until they fell off; as chained slaves were forced to drink the white man’s defecations; were lined up behind each other

and shot with one cartridge, and so on. Casement also gives an anecdote in the diary about a boy who described to Casement how he was wounded during a raid on his village: "He fell down, presumably insensible, but came to his senses while his hand was being hacked off at the wrist. I asked him how it was he could possibly lie silent and give no sign. He answered that he felt the cutting, but was afraid to move, knowing that he would be killed, if he showed any sign of life" (164).

Casement's investigation stood as one of the great humanitarian achievements and helped to extinguish the cruel and exploitative colonialism in the Congo. "Through Casement's revelations of the atrocities, the Congo Reform Association forced King Leopold II to surrender his personal ownership of the Congo" (Meyers, 1991: 100). One significant point to note here is that from 1865 till 1908 the Congo was not a possession of the state of Belgium but the private property of King Leopold II. Casement was an important figure taking an active role in the creation of the Congo Reform Association. "Through Casement's triumph, the Congo became a colony of Belgium" (96).

Casement's *Congo Diary* substantiates the accuracy of the conditions described in *Heart of Darkness* as the latter stands in a dialogic relationship with the former one. Conrad, like Casement, was one of the first men to question the Western notion of progress, to attack the hypocritical justification of colonialism and to reveal in documentary form the savage degradation of the white man in Africa. The conditions described in Conrad's text such as the chained gangs, the grove of death, the payment in brass rods, subtle and obscure references to cannibalism and the human skulls on the fence posts are similar to the conditions described by Casement in his *Congo Diary*. Meyers points out that Casement himself confirmed that Conrad did not exaggerate or invent the horrors that provided the political and humanitarian basis for his attack on colonialism (101). Therefore Conrad's text may be read in terms of the scenes depicting the white man's atrocious acts upon the natives in Africa and may be studied to prove the idea that Conrad having been affected by the real situation of the natives, reflected their condition; and his text was nourished by his own experiences in the Congo. Besides, because Casement's *Congo Diary* gives facts about the condition of the natives, it would be appropriate to compare the scenes in both Casement's and Conrad's texts to show how far Conrad reflected the real

condition of the natives. In his text Casement reported that in Coquilhatville, a native settlement half-way between Kinchassa and Stanley Falls, “two men were chained together and made to carry heavy loads of bricks and water, and were frequently beaten by the soldiers in charge of them” (1959: 190). Marlow describes the chained slaves he saw when they were building a railway:

A slight clinking behind me made me turn my head. Six black men advanced in a file, toiling up the path. They walked erect and slow, balancing small baskets full of earth on their heads, and the clink kept time with their footsteps. Black rags were wound round their loins, and the short ends behind wagged to and fro like tails. I could see every rib, the joints of their limbs were like knots in a rope; each had an iron collar on his neck, and all were connected together with a chain whose links swung between them, rhythmically clinking. (Conrad, 1994: 22)

Casement also reported that many Africans including chiefs died in their chains. In a grove of death similar to that in Conrad’s text, Casement found “seventeen sleeping sickness patients, male and female, lying about in the utmost dirt” and “Most of them were lying on the bare ground – several out in the pathway in front of the houses, and one, a woman, had fallen into the fire” (1959: 100).

In the novel Marlow’s starving African crew are paid in brass rods instead of money or even food. Marlow states that “the theory was they were to buy their provisions with that currency in river-side villages” (Conrad, 1994: 37). But the theory does not work and Marlow ironically says, “[Unless] they swallowed the wire itself, or made loops of it to snare the fishes with, I don’t see what good their extravagant salary could be to them” (37). A similar scene can be found in Casement’s report: “In most parts of the Upper Congo the recognized currency consists of lengths varying according to the district. [...] Such as it is, clumsy and dirty, this is the principal form of currency known on the Upper Congo” (1959: 104).

Cannibalism was a common point in most of the documents of the 19th century European explorers narrating their experiences of Africa. Casement authenticated incidents of mercenary soldiers who “took a woman and cut her throat, and divided her and ate her” (152). Although Marlow did not witness any cannibalism in the Congo, he was horrified with the idea of eating human flesh. He narrates:

Their headman, [...] stood near me. “Aha!” I said, just for the good fellowship’s sake. “Catch ‘im,” he snapped, with a bloodshot widening of his eyes and a flash of sharp teeth – “catch ‘im. Give ‘im to us.” “To you, eh?” I asked; “what would you do with them?” “Eat ‘im!” he said [...] I would no doubt have been properly horrified, had it not occurred to me that he and his chaps must be very hungry. (Conrad, 1994: 36-37)

It is true that Conrad has never depicted any explicit act of cannibalism in *Heart of Darkness*. But he addresses the issue and keeps the reader guessing always as he eventually indicates to the reactions of a part of the natives onboard. In due course, when the helmsman of Marlow’s steamer is shot dead by the arrows of some attacking group a sharp difference of attitude is suggested by Marlow in the pilgrims and the other group of natives onboard. Marlow drops the dead body of the helmsman into the river and narrates:

All the pilgrims and the manager were then congregated on the awning- deck about the pilothouse, chattering at each other like a flock of excited magpies, and there was a scandalized murmur at my heartless promptitude. What they wanted to keep that body hanging about for I can’t guess. Embalm it, may be. But I had also heard another, and a very ominous, murmur on the deck below. My friends the woodcutters were likewise scandalized, and with a

better show of reason – though I admit that the reason itself was quite inadmissible. Oh, quite! I had made up my mind that if my late helmsman was to be eaten, the fishes alone should have him. He had been a very second-rate helmsman while alive, but now he was dead he might have become a first-class temptation, and possibly cause some startling trouble. (46-47)

Marlow, as an agent of enlightened West, does not allow the woodcutters to cause “some startling trouble”, but also does not rule out the possibility of cannibal practices in Africa altogether. Conrad criticizes the empire’s representation of Africa as a morally degraded dark country. At the same time he follows the matching imperial culture of writing Africa in suggestive and symbolical terms of darkness, degeneracy and abominable practices. The scene in which Marlow is horrified to see human skulls decorating Kurtz’s fence, is similar to the scene in which Casement was shocked seeing the skulls “lying about in the grass surrounding the post, which is built on the site of several large towns, human bones, skulls and in some cases complete skeletons” (quoted in Singleton-Gates and Girodias, 1959: 118). In Marlow’s case, although Kurtz was satisfied with the skulls only, the scene is terrifying enough when Marlow comes to understand that the things on the posts are shrunken human skulls:

I had suddenly a nearer view, and its first result was to make me throw my head back as if before a blow. Then I went carefully from post to post with my glass, and I saw my mistake. These round knobs were not ornamental but symbolic; they were expressive and puzzling, striking and disturbing [...] They would have been even more impressive, those heads on the stakes, if their faces had not been turned to the house. Only one, the first I had made out, was facing my way [...] I returned deliberately to the first I had seen –and there it was, black, dried, sunken, with closed eyelids –a head that seemed to sleep at the top of that pole, and,

with the shrunken dry lips showing a narrow white line of teeth, was smiling, too, smiling continuously at some endless and jocose dream of that eternal slumber. (Conrad, 1994: 52)

Casement reported on the fanatical and unscrupulous Europeans taking the ivory trade entirely from the hands of the natives of the Upper Congo. He wrote: “The praiseworthy official would be he whose district yielded the best and biggest supply of the commodity; and, succeeding in this, the means whereby he brought about the enhanced value of that yield would not, it may be believed, be too closely scrutinized” (quoted in Singleton-Gates and Girodias, 1959: 110). Europeans in Casement’s report are prototypes of Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*. It is generally accepted that Kurtz embodies the unscrupulous European in Africa looting the ivory and exploiting the natives there. As already indicated, most of the facts reported by Casement in his text are reflected in one way or another in *Heart of Darkness*. Conrad questions the value of European civilization in his text as Casement did in his diary. It is observed that during “...his Congo experience, Conrad had an encounter with a man Camille Delcommune in Kinchassa. Delcommune was the Société Belge’s manager. Marlow’s encounter with the manager in *Heart of Darkness* parallels Conrad’s “contentious encounter” with Delcommune (Meyers, 1991: 102). Marlow recounts in *Heart of Darkness*:

My first interview with the manager was curious. He did not ask me to sit down after my twenty-mile walk that morning. He was commonplace in complexion, in feature, in manners, and in voice. He was of middle size and of ordinary build. His eyes, of the usual blue, were perhaps remarkably cold, and he certainly could make his glance fall on one as trenchant and heavy as an axe. (Conrad, 1994: 27)

During his very first encounter with Delcommune, Conrad was criticised by the impatient and irritated Delcommune for taking so long on his journey from Matadi and was informed that the *Florida*, which Conrad was supposed to command,

had been damaged on the river and needed extensive repairs in Kinchassa. And then, thinking that Conrad had to learn to navigate the swift and ever-changing river, Delcommune assigned him to the *Roi des Belges*, whose “young Danish captain Ludwig Koch had been ill. During the voyage to Stanley Falls, in the ship there was a Belgian mechanic, the ailing Koch and four passengers including Delcommune. The crew of thirty Africans included a number of cannibals” (Meyers, 1991: 104). Likewise, Conrad raises the issue of cannibalism covertly in narrating Marlow’s fictional journey. He, indeed, endeavours to explain the behaviour and words of the woodcutters on the steamer from a liberal humanist standpoint (Conrad, 1994: 37-38), but invariably and repetitively harps on the same issue of cannibalism in the text (46).

The purpose of the voyage of the *Roi des Belges* from Kinchassa to Stanley Falls was to relieve one of the company’s agents at the Stanley Falls. “The commercial agent’s health caused a great anxiety. He died due to his illness and was buried at Bolobo by the ship’s company” (Jean-Aubry, 1957: 169-170). His name was Georges-Antoine Klein. Jean-Aubry argues that this dying agent was turned into the “abominable hero” of *Heart of Darkness*, Kurtz, who actually had a similar name (170). It is interesting to note that the word ‘klein’ in German means ‘little’ in English, and ‘kurtz’ in German means ‘short’ in English. It has also been argued by Meyers that though Klein was clearly a model for Kurtz, his life did not match the sensational aspects of Kurtz’s career and that Conrad was inspired by another real character, Arthur Hodister, who had been tortured as Kurtz had tortured others. A part of a report from *The Times*, dated December 8, 1892 says that “Hodister and his comrades were seized and put to death, and their heads were stuck on poles and their bodies eaten” (Meyers, 1991: 104).

Conrad’s attitude toward the colonial enterprise and the impressions of his bad experiences on him can be seen in one of his letters to Mme. Poradowska written two days after he came back from Stanley Falls. Conrad says in his letter dated September 26, 1890:

My days here are dreary. There is no doubt about it. I decidedly regret having come here: indeed, I regret it bitterly. Everything here repels me. Men and things,

but especially the men. And I repel them, too. From the manager in Africa –who has taken the trouble of telling a lot of people that he can't stand me, down to the lowest mechanic –they all have the gift of getting on my nerves [...] The manager is a common ivory-dealer with sordid instincts who considers himself a trader when he is nothing but a kind of African shopkeeper. His name is Delcommune. He hates the English, and of course I am regarded here as an Englishman. (Karl and Laurence, 1983: 62-63)

However, Conrad saw his revealingly disorienting Congo experience as the turning point of his ideological development to an issue like imperialism. In a letter to Edward Garnett, he wrote: “[B]efore the Congo, I was a perfect animal. I see everything with such despondency – all in black” (Sherry, 1972: 63). After the Congo experience, Conrad’s new insights into the nature of evil turned his innate pessimism into a tragic vision regarding the real nature of the missionary creed of the empire. It is therefore evident that the essence of the tragic vision in *Heart of Darkness* is Conrad’s own experiences in the Congo, which enabled Conrad to transform a tragic vision into literature. Conrad ideologically subverts the cultural discourse of the empire in the novel while essentially defending the imperial idea of Africa as a dark continent, a continent which is unable to narrate itself in direct terms and therefore must be presented symbolically through impressions.

At the end of this contextual study containing the relationship between *Heart of Darkness* and the autobiographical elements, we have seen that Conrad’s own experiences provided himself with the material from which he created *Heart of Darkness*. Yet he relates his own experiences in the Congo as an officer on a Merchant Marine to his unremitting concern with how to live in a rapidly changing world, a world dominated by imperialism and colonialism. Therefore, it can be said that *Heart of Darkness* is a text which at once takes in a range of settings and problems while remaining focused on individual experience of, and response to colonialism. Thus the novel can be regarded as a meditation on colonialism and imperialism in which evil and the thin line between civilization and barbarism get

represented in the figure of Kurtz. Additionally, Conrad used his own experiences in the text not simply because he was only interested in how life treated him and how he reacted to this treatment but because he wished to allow his readers to use the same characters and incidents to make a sense of their own real world. So it can be said that the importance of Conrad's experiences reflected in the novel can be recognized well if they are related with the themes of the novel. Though there are many themes that run through the novel, two major themes, restraint and man's journey into self, can be considered the significant ones. It is restraint by which Marlow is saved, and, by the lack of which Kurtz is doomed. Another theme in the novel is that the real darkness is in man's heart. Despite its autobiographical quality, the novel attracts the attention of the modern readers because the idea given in the novel is closely allied to the real world as we experience it. The following part of this chapter is an attempt to read *Heart of Darkness* in its social, cultural and political contexts.

Postcolonial studies worldwide maintain the fundamental premise that a cultural text is inseparable from the social and political contexts in which they are embedded. They regard all written texts as the products of social, cultural and political forces, not solely the creation of an individual author, and accept that texts reflect and engage with the prevailing values and ideologies of their own time. Consequently, it can be assumed that all texts, all documents are recognized as the representations of the beliefs, values and forms of power circulating in a society at a given time in specific circumstances, and therefore all texts of a given time are in some ways interconnecting and interactive. In short, all material documentations are the representations of the essential features of a society that produces them. One of the most common methods used in culture studies is to situate literary texts in relation to other texts of the same period, and to construct a kind of dialogue between wide ranges of texts. To perform such a reading in relation to *Heart of Darkness* would reveal that it was deeply embedded in the values and debates of the contemporary imperial society. As *Heart of Darkness* is concerned with such issues as imperialism and colonialism, other kinds of texts which will be read alongside the novel have been chosen among those concerning the same issues. Following Montrose's method of "the historicity of text and the textuality of history", the role of historical contexts in interpreting Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* can be explored to show that the novel

was embedded in a specific social and cultural context, and that all our knowledge and understanding of the past – in this case, our knowledge and understanding of imperialism and colonialism – could only exist through the surviving textual traces about imperialism and colonialism (1986: 304). Following Foucault's method of discursive analysis, we can read a literary text with other non-literary texts to see how the literary text connects with other texts. In the case of *Heart of Darkness*, we can read the novel to see how it connects with non-literary texts and how the textuality of history forms a kind of discursive fabric and how these various texts interacted with each other to produce a discourse of colonialism. As is known, Foucault brought to the discipline of literary studies an emphasis on the function and condition of texts within a network of power relations. Following Foucault, the school of postcolonial studies examine how literature plays a part in constructing a society's sense of itself. They focus on how literary texts dialogue with other texts in a particular period to construct and shape the power relations of that society. *Heart of Darkness* might thus be seen to represent and reflect the ideologies of colonialism, a reading which could be reinforced by comparing the views expressed in Conrad's text with such colonialist writings as Henry M. Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent* (1878), J. A. Froude's *English in the West Indies* (1888) and Mary Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* (1897). All of these texts were written and circulated during the colonial expansion of England and together they form a powerful set of colonial representations and stereotypes. It is an assumption of culture criticism, especially in relation to the concept of empire, that the similarities between such various texts form a discourse, which inevitably shapes and determines the views, values and actions of the society and culture in which it is fostered.

In other words, Conrad's text can be read with the other texts written in the same period. Such a reading would be a kind of intertextual criticism through which we can see the ways in which *Heart of Darkness*, and texts of history and travel narratives, at certain moments and under specific conditions, intersect with each other to form a discourse of colonialism. Through such an intertextual reading, we can recognize that *Heart of Darkness*, though having a more complex form and structure than other texts, is in circulation with certain texts of history and travel narratives, and that their analyses construct a model of how discourses were performed in a

particular period of time. Such a reading of *Heart of Darkness* would reveal the connections between seemingly disparate texts and we can also see that both *Heart of Darkness* and other non-literary texts chosen constitute the discourse of European representation of the African and even the idea of Africa as such. In this sense, Henry M. Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent*, Froude's *English in the West Indies* and Kingsley's *Travels in West Africa* can be read alongside *Heart of Darkness*, which is a part of a discourse representing the African in relation to European forms. There are striking resemblances between Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and Stanley's *Through the Dark Continent*. When, in *Heart of Darkness*, Marlow notes that the vast blank spaces on his boyhood maps of Africa had since been filled in with rivers and lakes (Conrad, 1994: 11), it is the work of Stanley and others to which Marlow is referring (Brannigan, 1998: 142). Stanley's narrative tells the story of his quest to discover the source of the River Congo, and to map central Africa more comprehensively. Stanley, in this sense, may be considered as Marlow's precursor because, Stanley, like Marlow, who is drawn to the snake-like Congo River, was drawn to the same blank spaces which occupied the place of Central Africa on his maps. Stanley recalls a conversation with his companion on December 1876:

Now look at this, the latest chart which Europeans have drawn of this region. It is a blank, perfectly white [...] this enormous void is about to be filled up. Blank as it is, it has a singular fascination for me. Never has white paper possessed such a charm for me as this has, and I have already mentally peopled it, filled it with most wonderful pictures of towns, villages, rivers, countries, and tribes – all in the imagination – and I am burning to see whether I am correct or not'. (Stanley, vol. II, 1988:152)

It is clear that for Stanley, as it is for Marlow, Africa is a blank space to be occupied and filled in, and even the present inhabitants and occupiers of that land are imagined, 'mentally peopled', in Europe. The African natives cannot be known in their own presence, as living beings with their own cultures and systems of representations. They must always have been the projection of the European imagination, always

contained within the European system of representations. To Stanley, Africa is what must be occupied, simply because the European map of the world denotes Africa as an absence, as a blank space, as an anomalous void which awaits its place in the grand order of civilization. Another similarity between *Heart of Darkness* and *Through the Dark Continent* is that Africa is represented as 'the dark continent' in both of them. Marlow calls Africa "one of the dark places of the earth" (Conrad, 1994: 7). Stanley's Africa is the heart of darkness, represented as "the dark continent" (Stanley, vol. I, 1988: 54).

There are also some surprising correspondences and startling resemblances between Froude's and Kingsley's travel narratives and Conrad's text. Both Froude and Kingsley explained to their English readers the cultural practices and social customs of the tribes whom they encountered on their colonial journeys. Froude reported in *The English in the West Indies* that the West Indians were an inferior race and that their civilization was old-fashioned. He wrote: "Evidently they belonged to a race far inferior to the Zulus and Caffres, whom I had known in South Africa. They were more coarsely formed in limb and feature: They would have been slaves in their own country if they had not been brought to ours, and at the worst had lost nothing by the change" (Froude, 1984: 112).

It is clear that Froude conceived of the 'Western civilization and the natives' in his western perspective. Froude's narrative contains the natives living in the West Indian islands as the objects of study and he himself as the subject, observing and scrutinizing the natives. In other words, while the natives remain as the objects, the European author displays his own mastery in the act of disclosing information, knowledge and interpretation about the social life of the natives living in the Antilles. Froude reinforces the absolute difference between the European "us" and the native "them". Froude's text is thus based on the differences between "us" and "the other". Froude also justifies the colonial enterprise of the British, claiming that the natives "would have been slaves in their own country if they had not been brought to ours [the British's]" (112). He did not hesitate to call the natives "her Majesty's black subjects" (113). In this sense, Froude's text replicates the ideology of colonialism because in the text, he clearly shows that without the direction of the European white, the towns in the West Indies could not have reached an advanced and civilized

position. It is evident that Froude was pleased to see St Vincent under the dominion of the British power as he wrote that the town “looked pretty well to do” and reminded him “of towns in Norway”, which is a European country (113). In this sense, the text deems it impossible for the Negro to become civilized without the European. Froude also saw the Europeans as more civilized than the natives, hence, deserving to instruct and direct the natives. Mary Kingsley’s *Travels in West Africa*, like Froude’s *English in the West Indies*, is a part of the European colonial discourse. The text contains Kingsley’s account of her travel experiences in West Africa. She also explained to her English readers the cultural practices and social customs of the tribes she had encountered on her journeys. Kingsley wrote:

To my taste there is nothing so fascinating as spending a night out in an African forest, or plantation; but I beg you to note I do not advise anyone to follow the practice. Nor indeed do I recommend African forest life to anyone. Unless you are interested in it and fall under its charm, it is the most awful life in death imaginable. It is like being shut up in a library whose books you cannot read, all the while tormented, terrified and bored. And if you do fall under its spell, it takes all the colour out of other kinds of living. Still it is good for a man to have an experience of it, whether he likes it or not, for it teaches you how very dependent you have been, during your previous life, on the familiarity of those conditions you have been brought up among, and on your fellow citizens; moreover it takes the conceit out of you pretty thoroughly during the days you spend stupidly stumbling about among your new surroundings. (1993: 33-34)

In this passage, Kingsley advises her readers against spending a night in an African forest because to a European the forest is inscrutable like “books you cannot read”. Yet, she finds the African forest charming because she is a European; in other

words, as a European narrator Kingsley falls under “the charm” of the African forest and finds it to her taste. As a careful observer of the African culture, she seems to be celebrating the joys of life in Africa because life, like everything else African, is different from what is European. In this sense, Kingsley’s narrative distinguishes between what is European and what is African. Thus it can be said that, as Brannigan points out, “the basis for European colonization of Africa lies in this absolute difference between the civilized European and the savage, inscrutable African” (1998: 134). Kingsley’s text can be recognized as a part of the European colonial discourse in that it is based on the difference between the white and the African. Kingsley reinforces the absolute difference between the European “us” and the African “them” when she advises readers who wish to follow in her footsteps of useful ethnological studies, and of the differences which ‘we’ can expect to find between “us” and “them”, between the so called advanced culture of the West and the primitive culture of the colonies:

They are not dreamers, or poets, and you will observe, and I hope observe closely – for to my mind this is the most important difference between their make of mind and our own – that they are notably deficient in all mechanical arts: they have never made, unless under white direction and instruction, a single fourteenth-rate piece of cloth, pottery, a tool or machine, house, road, bridge, picture or statue; that a written language of their own construction they none of them possess.
(1993: 165)

In this passage, the West African tribes are represented without any touch of compassion. Brannigan suggests that in the imperial records like these, “they” are the Africans, and “you” or “we” are the whites (Brannigan, 1998: 136). He further clarifies that such texts not only banish the African from a position of knowledge or mastery over his/her own culture but excludes all non-white people from the possibility of even reading this narrative (136). The narrative also attributes a state of absolute savageness to the African existence and reduces all his chances of achieving civilization to nothingness. Africa is made waiting for the redeeming touch of the

West, especially the Western empire, to build up its own culture. He observes: “The function of Kingsley’s narrative seems to know the natives so as to control them” (136). It is clear that Kingsley’s narrative, like Froude’s travelogue, replicates the ideology of colonialism.

Both Kingsley and Conrad’s Marlow are journeying towards a dark centre in the heart of Africa, and then returning to the safety of home. In these three texts, the natives are inscrutable, and yet must be scrutinized and known. For Marlow, such places as South America, Africa and Australia are the places which must be scrutinized. He expresses his wish to know these places as such:

When I was a little chap I had a passion for maps. I would look for hours at South America, or Africa, or Australia, and lose myself in all the glories of exploration. At that time there were many blank spaces on the earth [...] I would put finger on it and say, When I grow up I will go there [...] I have been in some of them, and well, [...] we won’t talk about that. But there was one yet – the biggest, the most blank, so to speak – that I had a hankering after. (Conrad, 1994: 11)

It is told that Africa and the Congo River are the most charming things of life for Marlow: “It had become a place of darkness. But there was in it one river especially, a mighty big river, that you could see on the map, resembling an immense snake uncoiled, with its head in the sea, its body at rest curving afar over a vast country, and its tail lost in the depths of the land [...] The snake had charmed me” (11-12).

In Froude’s, Kingsley’s and Conrad’s texts colonization is redeemed by an ideal of order, efficiency and civilization brought by the white ruler and stamped indelibly on the native. According to Marlow, Kurtz is a powerful symbol of that order, efficiency and civilization because he is at once the most effective instrument of European colonization and an enigma which cannot be understood in Europe. As Chief of the Inner Station, Kurtz ensures that the ivory trade for which he is responsible is more productive than in any other region. Marlow is told by the

Company's chief accountant that Kurtz "was a first-class agent", "he is a very remarkable person" and that Kurtz "was at present in charge of a trading post, a very important one, in the true ivory-country, at the very bottom of there. Sends in as much ivory as all the others put together..." (27). But Kurtz's methods are brutal. He stamps his authority through violence on the native population. Again Marlow is told that the natives do not want Kurtz to leave. Kurtz is identical, in surprising consistency, to Kingsley's description of Mary Slessor in Old Calabar:

This very wonderful lady has been eighteen years in Calabar; for the last six or seven living entirely alone, as far as white folks go, in a clearing in the forest near to one of the principal villages of the Okyon district, and ruling as a veritable white chief over the entire Okyon district. Her great abilities, both physical and intellectual, have given her among the savage tribe a unique position, and won her, from white and black who know her, a profound esteem. Her knowledge of the native, his language, his ways of thought, his diseases, his difficulties, and all that is his, is extraordinary, and the amount of good she has done, no man can fully estimate. Okyon, when she went there alone – living in the native houses while she built, with the assistance of the natives, her present house – was a district regarded with fear by the Duke and Creek Town natives, and practically unknown to Europeans. It was given, as most of the surrounding districts still are, to killing at funerals, ordeal by poison, and perpetual internecine wars. Many of these evil customs she has stamped out and Okyon rarely gives trouble to its nominal rulers, the Consuls in Old Calabar, and trade passes freely through it down to the sea-ports. (Kingsley, 1993: 19)

Kurtz also rules like “a veritable white chief”, and seems to have both suppressed the native population and earned their respectful submission. Kurtz’s disciples live under the spell of Kurtz, whom they consider to be the supreme being of colonial progress, their “acknowledged master” (Darras, 1991:83). When Marlow asks whether “Kurtz got the tribe to follow him”, he is answered: “They adored him” (Conrad, 1994: 80). Later on, when Marlow sees the skulls on the posts in front of the Inner Station, he is told by one of the admirers of Kurtz that he (the admirer) “had not dared to take these – say, symbols – down. He was not afraid of the natives; they would not stir till Mr Kurtz gave the word. His ascendancy was extraordinary” (83). Kingsley does not tell us with what methods Mary Slessor has turned an area “practically unknown” to Europeans into an area over which she has a great deal of control. Likewise how Slessor has stamped out the local customs and wars is not revealed. Just as Kingsley thinks of Slessor as ‘wonderful’, Marlow comes to admire Kurtz, although his admiration is constructed from the fragments he learns about Kurtz on his journey up the Congo. Like Kingsley too, he never reveals much about Kurtz’s methods other than the mention of extermination (45) and his lack of restraint (52). Thus it can be said that the shrunken heads of natives on poles at the Inner Station is the evidence of Kurtz’s stamp of authority, and are apt reminders that the liberal discourse of civilizing the native, instructing him in European ways, is inseparable from the violence used to achieve order, efficiency and civilization (Brannigan, 1998: 138).

In fact, Conrad’s text and historical writings of the time – some extracts of which have already been discussed above – which belong to the same discursive field may also be read as parts of the system of European representation of the colonized. It can be observed that in all of these texts the subversive potential of the native view of colonialism is never possible because every time the native appears in that system of representation, it becomes a projection of the colonizing white man, and the native is always the fantasy or the nightmare of the colonizer; and therefore these texts always reflect how the colonizer is feeling and thinking. In *Heart of Darkness*, too, the African is reflected from the view of Marlow, who is a European. Therefore, we can say that the native is represented always within the discourse of European colonialism. The native and his/her views, life, pain or joy, are always represented by

the European, in a European book and by a European voice. The value of the European mode of representation is evident in *Heart of Darkness* when Marlow encounters a book, *An Inquiry into Some Points of Seamanship*, in a deserted hut on his journey up the Congo:

I handled this amazing antiquity with the greatest possible tenderness, lest it should dissolve in my hands.[...] there a singleness of intention, an honest concern for the right way of going to work, which made these humble pages, thought out so many years ago, luminous with other than a professional light. The simple old sailor, with his talk of chains and purchases, made me forget the jungle and the pilgrims in a delicious sensation of having come upon something unmistakably real. (Conrad, 1994: 54)

It is visible that here Marlow associates the value of honesty, simplicity, originality and exactitude with the book of an English sailor and notices how the book makes him forget what must be the illusion or fiction of Africa and the African when he is absorbed in the unmistakable reality of the book. The book represents European discourse, and as such is the only reality. Africa remains a mere fictional projection of a European fantasy in which Europe is the only truth, the only reality.

It should also be noted that in *Heart of Darkness*, Marlow's journey into the heart of Africa is narrated at a dockside in Gravesend; in other words, Marlow narrates his story about Africa and African natives through his western perspective to English audiences. Likewise, Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* was written for English readers. It permits no other voice or point of observation than that of the colonizer. It is this aspect of the novel that makes it an imperialist discourse. Concerning this matter Said writes in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993): "*Heart of Darkness* works so effectively because its politics and aesthetics are, so to speak, imperialist, which in the closing years of the nineteenth century seemed to be at the same time an aesthetic, politics, and even epistemology inevitable and unavoidable" (1994: 26).

Froude, Kingsley, Stanley, Seeley, Hobson all wrote with English readers in mind. The events and characters in each of these discourses and *Heart of Darkness* are always the objects of European discourse of colonialism. Finally, it can be said that such a postcolonial reading of *Heart of Darkness* has enabled us to locate the text in the complex system of power relations and cultural representations which compose the discourse of colonialism and to see how the text is, in fact, in complicity with the European discourse of colonial control.

But the scope of a mutually opposite trend also unquestionably emerges at this point if we try to analyze the anti-imperialist critical agenda of Conrad with reference to the destiny of the central enigma of cultural sanctity in *Heart of Darkness*. One important thing to note here is that there is a possible subversion of European colonial discourse in *Heart of Darkness*. As it is known, Conrad was writing at a time of expanding colonization, a period when imperial activities were more celebrated than questioned. Though written during the expansion of imperialism, *Heart of Darkness* contains definite subversive attempts to view imperialism and colonialism. Throughout the novel, we can find the implications of this subversion to show that Conrad did not see the events in the same way as the majority of the British, or indeed western Europeans were habituated to see otherwise. While such cultural artefacts as historical writings and travel narratives reflected and supported the ideological assumptions behind the idea of empire and the glories of imperial adventure, *Heart of Darkness* involves a different perspective from these concepts that were taken for granted and that permeated the attitudes of historians and the writers of travel narratives because Conrad had personal experience of what Europeans were actually doing to Africa and of what the dark continent did to them. In order to create this new perception, as Spittles points out, "Conrad needed a different form, a novel that required the reader to actively think about rather than just passively accept the text" (1992: 63). Conrad himself detached his novel from the other cultural artefacts whose function is just to reflect reality. In his "Preface" to one of his earlier short novels, *The Nigger of the "Narcissus"*, Conrad had declared a manifesto concerning the function of his novels:

My task which I am trying to achieve is, by the power
of the written word to make you hear, to make you feel

– it is, before all to make you *see*. That – and no more, and it is everything. If I succeed, you shall find there according to your deserts: encouragement, consolation, fear, charm – all you demand – and, perhaps, also that glimpse of truth for which you have forgotten to ask.
(1957: x)

Conrad emphasizes here that he is not referring merely to physical sight, or to the visualising of scenes in literature imaginatively but that he is using the word in the sense also of comprehending, of understanding, and of perceiving, by making us “*see*”. In his opinion, the novel should render a new different challenging perception of the world. For this reason, in *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad makes his anonymous narrator, who retails Marlow’s tale say that his story will not be of the conventional sort that other storytellers provide. The novel contains a new kind of content which requires a different form of expression:

The yarns of seamen have a direct simplicity the whole meaning of which lies within the shell of a cracked nut. But Marlow was not typical [...] and to him the meaning of an episode was not inside like a kernel but outside, enveloping the tale which brought it out only as a glow brings out a haze, in the likeness of one of these misty halos that sometimes are made visible by the spectral illumination of moonshine. (Conrad, 1994: 8)

The statement indicates that the form of the novel is part of the meaning and has to be understood as well as the events described. A new form is necessary because the novel is not a mere reflection of a tangible and known reality, but an exploration of different types of realities. This concept is maintained in the text by the shifting ideas of dream, nightmare and palpable reality, which are reinforced by images of light and dark. For instance, Marlow’s experiences in Africa are a “choice of nightmares” among “greedy phantoms” (65). Once he has returned to Brussels, Marlow is still haunted by the memory of Kurtz: “a shadow insatiable of splendid appearances, of

frightful realities; a shadow darker than the shadow of the night [...] the heart of a conquering darkness” (68). Unlike a phantom, a shadow has a reality, but it is not palpable; and whereas shadows are normally formed by darkness within light, in the case of Kurtz and Africa the shadow is a darker pattern of darkness. The reader cannot simply bring a comprehension of life in late Victorian Britain to the novel, and interpret it as normal experiences might be interpreted. As Spittles points out, in traditional novels the reader is usually required to understand events and motives only in terms of a known reality whereas Conrad detached his fiction from that framework, “not seeing events in the same way as the majority of the British” (1992: 63). In *Heart of Darkness*, this narrative function can be observed through the omniscient narrator, Marlow. Unlike the omniscient narrators of the conventional novels Marlow does not know everything. He has areas of ignorance, such as the exact fate of the Eldorado Exploring Expedition and the inner motivation of the group of woodcutters on his steamer. Therefore, it can be said that Conrad’s text does not present an unchangeable reality, but realities of which one will always be ignorant, which is an important aspect of the new perception projected in the text. Just like Marlow the reader will not know the full truth about imperial deeds in Africa.

At this point, the fact that must be kept in mind is that Conrad’s circumstances were very different from the other writers as he was relating a story of the colonized culture to his readers in an imperial country as a professional writer. Being concerned with the prospect of *Heart of Darkness* among a host of conservative readers of the *Blackwood’s Magazine*, Conrad describes the content to the editor in exceptionally moderate terms:

It is a narrative after the manner of *Youth* told by the same man dealing with his experiences on a river in Central Africa. The *idea* in it is not as obvious as in *Youth* – or at least not so obviously presented...The title I am thinking of is ‘*The Heart of Darkness*’ but the narrative is not gloomy. The criminality of inefficiency and pure selfishness when tackling the civilizing work in Africa is a justifiable idea. (Karl and Davies, vol. 2, 1983: 139-40)

Conrad's letter is important as it suggests that Conrad was willing to misrepresent the subversive nature of his work in order to get it published. The critique of colonialism that Conrad serves in *Heart of Darkness* is, thus, downplayed and finally it remains politically inconclusive as the narrator Marlow assumes a contradictory role in his response to imperialism as such. Marlow makes an effective differentiation between imperial practices that are "merely a squeeze" and the British imperialism, with its "devotion to efficiency" (Conrad, 1994: 6). Marlow voices Conrad's idea of the British imperialism as a better one than the imperial missions of the other countries. When he sees a map marking colonial territories in the office of his company, he remarks, "[t]here was a vast amount of red [denoting British territory] – good to see at any time, because one knows that some real work is done in there" (9). Conrad's response to imperialism thus is ridden with ambiguity as he makes a choice between the applications of imperialistic attitudes of different countries.

The historical documents and travel narratives of the empire on which Conrad's text relies so heavily uphold the cultural superiority of the empire over the colonized races. But Conrad distinguishes himself from this eulogizing tradition by criticising the mindless atrocities of the empire's agents in the colonies. In the late years of the 19th century the native lands, especially Africa, were at the centre of the British political consciousness. Conrad had personal experiences "of what Europeans were actually doing to Africa, and of what the dark continent did to them, which was much less publicised than the glories of imperial adventure" (Spittles, 1992: 64). Being critically aware of the situation Conrad subverts the discursive practice of the empire in an indirect way as most of his critical observations are kept hidden behind a heavy symbolism and the employment of multiple narrators in *Heart of Darkness*. In the novel, Kurtz is "a gifted creature" as Marlow says; and among his gifts "the one [...] that carried with it a sense of real presence, was his ability to talk, his words" and "the man presented himself as a voice" (Conrad, 1994: 43). His report to the International Society is filled with the words of lofty ideals and an imperialistic, missionary earnestness. Marlow tells his audience about Kurtz's "beautiful piece of writing" rich with "exotic Immensity ruled by an august Benevolence" (45). But the report at the bottom of the last page, "evidently written much later", ends with "an exposition of a method": "Exterminate all the brutes!" (45) Kurtz's report "is a

chilling unmasking of the reality behind the white man's language and it wraps up the combined elements of the sounds-of-civilization theme" (Ambrosini, 1991: 56). Therefore, Kurtz's report can be recognized as both a translation of the otherwise inaudible voice of the wilderness into English.

Although Conrad writes from within the empire and most of his ideas of the colonized cultures conform to the writings of the empire yet he realizes the hypocritical role played in this civilizing affair by the imperial countries (Collits, 2005: 10). Collits detects first a "Eurocentric" perspective in Conrad and then describes the author, having a paradoxical attitude to imperialism, "as one whose novels of empire would continue to be read by changing their significance" (10). In his text almost all colonial deeds of the European "are against the idea of bringing sweetness and light to the dark continent" (Baum, 1975: 184). For example; when Marlow puts his foot on African soil for the first time and climbs the steep hill toward the Central Station, he finds things in a state of complete disarray; everything is desolate and completely run down (Conrad, 1994: 14). When he reaches the Company's station and observes the environment, he can see nothing but "three wooden barrack-like structures" (17) as the Company's station and the objectless efforts of the natives, who are led by the whites, to build a railway. At the foot of the slope Marlow discovers boilers and other objects which were abandoned by the Belgians who had intended at one time to build a railroad. There are miniature railroad cars and drains as well. The boiler officiates on a square of grass, waiting to be operated. The railway-truck has been overturned; its four wheels are up in the air. The rails are rusted. Marlow is astounded by the wastefulness. He says:

I came upon a boiler wallowing in the grass, then found a path leading up the hill. It turned aside for the boulders, and also for an undersized railway-truck lying there on its back with its wheels in the air. One was off. The thing looked as dead as the carcass of some animal. I came upon more pieces of decaying machinery, a stack of rusty rails. To the left a clump of trees made a shady spot, where dark things seemed to stir feebly. I blinked, the path was steep. A horn tooted

to the right, and I saw the black people run. A heavy and dull detonation shook the ground, a puff of smoke came out of the cliff, and that was all. No change appeared on the face of the rock. They were building a railway. The cliff was not in the way or anything; but this objectless blasting was all the work going on. (17-18)

What Conrad shows in this passage is that “[n]o light is being conferred on this imperial outpost. The discrepancy between pronounced ideals and the actual practices is everywhere apparent” (White, 1993:183). Marlow also observes what European civilization is doing to the natives in Africa. This can be observed in the scene in which Marlow encounters the men – a group of slaves chained together and guarded by one of their own who has been promoted to the rank of foreman. Here Marlow comprehends “the dramatic aspect of the encounter” (Darras, 1986: 88). The reality which is reflected here is that the educated European makes the natives beast-like creatures instead of educating them. The part of the novel in which the natives are seen as beasts of burden having to balance the “baskets full of earth” and the animal suggestion is reinforced by their apparently having “tails” is worth quoting twice:

A slight clinking behind me made me turn my head. Six black men advanced in a file, toiling up the path. They walked erect and slow, balancing small baskets full of earth on their heads, and the clink kept time with their footsteps. Black rags were wound round their loins, and the short ends behind waggled to and fro like tails. I could see every rib, the joints of their limbs were like knots in a rope; each had an iron collar on his neck, and all were connected together with a chain whose bights swung between them rhythmically clinking [...] but these men could by no stretch of imagination be called enemies. They were called criminals, and the outraged law, like the bursting

shells, had come to them, an insoluble mystery from the sea. (Conrad, 1994: 18)

It is evident from the passage that the natives are described as maltreated animals too, thin enough to show every rib and joint, and also suffering from iron collars and a chain, signifying “the worst kind of Victorian treatment of criminals” (Spittles 1992: 84). Marlow’s expression that “all were connected together with a chain whose bights swung between them rhythmically clinking” can be interpreted as the ragtime rhythm of the natives who have been taken away from their culture, an idea that had been destroyed by “the deaf and blind white colonists who are unaware of the discords which they have produced in the name of progress” (Darras 1986: 89). The European consideration of “the white man’s burden”, which existed as a popular philosophy or a general practice in all those areas of the world brought under Anglo-Saxon control in the past three hundred years, (Lee, 1969: 15) is subverted in the novel as well. Lee, in his *Conrad’s Imperialism*, writes that this major philosophy must revert to “idea” in Conrad’s work (Lee, 1969: 22). Conrad’s treatment of “idea” in *Heart of Darkness* is of importance because being one of the deeper and more impressive concepts in imperialism and colonialism, the concept of “idea” is subverted, by means of Conrad’s representation of “idea” as savagery. Marlow ironically observes that the concept of “idea” is not carried out by the white men colonizing the African continent. In the following passage, through the reflection of the white man’s attitude toward one black subject, it can be viewed how the civilizing mission of the European, which was called “the white man’s burden” during the colonial period, is subverted in the novel: “[The] beaten nigger groaned somewhere. ‘What a row the brute makes!’ said the indefatigable man with the moustaches, appearing near us. ‘Serve him right. Transgression – punishment – bang! Pitiless, pitiless. That’s the only way. This will prevent all conflagrations for the future’” (Conrad, 1994: 28).

It is important to note that at the beginning, Kurtz had a sense of evangelical ideas (55). When he first arrives in Africa, he expresses the belief that “each station should be like a beacon on the road towards better things, a centre for trade of course, but also for humanizing, improving, instructing”. (56) Europeans’ role in Africa

justifies their presence in Africa but Marlow finds that the reality often belies the idea of improving the natives:

Once a white man in an unbuttoned uniform, camping on the path with an armed escort of lank Zanzibaris, very hospitable and festive – not to say drunk was looking after the upkeep of the road, he declared. Can't say I saw any road or any upkeep, unless the body of a middle-aged negro, with a bullet-hole in the forehead, upon which I absolutely stumbled three miles farther on, may be considered as a permanent improvement.
(21)

What Conrad shows in the person of Kurtz is a combination of both the adorable and abominable qualities. He never denies that Kurtz's idealism has become moral barbarism and his admirable self-sufficiency has degenerated into an overwhelming pride as shown by Kurtz's own expression, which Marlow transmits to his audience: "You should have heard him [Kurtz] say, 'My ivory.' Oh yes, I heard him. My Intended, my ivory, my station, my river, my – everything belonged to him" (62). Kurtz is the Company's most successful agent and one reputed to have gone out to Africa with moral ideas of some sort. But on meeting Kurtz Marlow confronts a man impersonating imperialism's will to expand its domain over the earth and who has become a member of ravenous colonialism. The fact that colonialism destroys not only the natives but also the colonizer can be best seen through the representation of Kurtz, who is represented as the "universal genius" adored by the primitive men; but then, he turns out to be someone altogether different beyond the comprehension of average humanity. In the end, Kurtz dies, and the formidable nature of his realization in the African wilderness is revealed by his cry: "The horror! The horror!" (63). This is the last and the most incomprehensible whisper of a man who had once lofty ideals. According to some critics, this is also the failure of Kurtz to dominate the wilderness within him (Jones, 1985: 75). In Kurtz we see that "the ideals and ennobling principles turn out to be dangerous illusions, and that his representativeness dismantles the myth of empire" (White, 1993: 175). The day after Kurtz dies, Marlow sees that "the pilgrims buried something in a muddy hole" (Conrad, 1994: 63). Thus

Marlow's journey in *Heart of Darkness*, the aim of which was to pursue a moral and ontological inquiry into human history, turns out to be a journey at the end of which Marlow discovers the self-deluding endeavour of a human community (Jones 1985: 66). The transformation of Kurtz embodies the process of corruption and change, and moral degeneracy. The contact of the dark Africa corrodes every aspect of an enlightened European mind and finally destroys the latter.

The final move of Marlow to meet the Intended of Kurtz in Brussels explicates clearly the inner irony embedded in an imperial discourse. Marlow meets the lady, talks of Kurtz's last words before death and lies to the lady telling her that it was her name that was on his lips while dying. Marlow hushes up Kurtz's realization of an inner horror embedded within the discourse of civilization. He narrates immediately after:

I heard her weeping; she had hidden her face in her hands. It seemed to me that the house would collapse before I could escape, that the heavens would fall upon my head. But nothing happened. The heavens do not fall for such a trifle. Would they have fallen, I wonder, if I had rendered Kurtz that justice which was his due? Hadn't he said he wanted only justice? But I couldn't. I could not tell her. It would have been too dark – too dark altogether.... (Conrad, 1994: 70)

In this part of the tale we recognize that the European (Marlow) cannot tell about Europe (Kurtz) to Europe (the Intended). Marlow's lie to Kurtz's fiancée is, in a sense, "an admission that civilization must be protected from the truth about itself" (Graver, 1969: 88). His lie also leaves the Intended in a romantic delusion. By analogy, Europe is left with a lie that colonialism's civilizing mission is carried out by great and good men of generous minds and noble hearts. As a result, the moral categories defining the western sensibility are not directly negated, though criticised, at the end. Conrad's experience of European brutality in the colonies makes him considerably subvert the imperial hegemony. On the other hand Conrad's Eurocentric

imagination upholds a vision of Africa which is grim, sad and murky that produces a negative effect on the European minds. Collits observes:

The desire that produced psychoanalysis coincided with the moment when Conrad was abandoning his conventional earlier fictions to embark on *Heart of Darkness*. It took the form of a quest for a risky kind of knowledge... Recognizing that black Africans might be knowable to Marlow and his audience only through the language of the colonizer, he set himself the task of dramatizing the process of such a transmission. The 'natives' would no longer be 'realized' in the language of their oppressors, but henceforth merely glimpsed fleetingly. (2005: 123)

The text is perhaps one of the most effective expressions of the encounter between self and "the other". In other words, it portrays the encounter between Europe and its "others", and more importantly, it depicts Europe's discovery of "the other" within itself. Thomas Brook also points out that in Conrad's text, "the natives and the impenetrable darkness of the Congo are projections of the European self" (1989: 246). To explore Conrad's representation of the non-European "other" in *Heart of Darkness* we can turn to a passage in which Marlow describes the Africans:

The earth seemed unearthly. We are accustomed to look upon the shackled form of a conquered monster, but there – there you could look at a thing monstrous and free. It was unearthly, and the men were – No, they were not inhuman. Well, you know, that was the worst of it – this suspicion of their not being inhuman. It would come slowly to one. They howled and leaped, and spun, and made horrid faces; but what thrilled you was just the thought of their humanity – like yours – the thought of your remote kinship with this wild and passionate uproar. Ugly. Yes, it was ugly enough; but

if you were man enough you would admit to yourself that there was in you just the faintest trace of a response to the terrible frankness of that noise, a dim suspicion of there being a meaning in it which you – you so remote from the night of first ages – could comprehend. And why not? The mind of man is capable of anything – because everything is in it, all the past as well as all the future. What was there after all? Joy, fear, sorrow, devotion, valour, rage – who can tell? – but truth – truth stripped of its cloak of time. Let the fool gape and shudder – the man knows, and can look on without a wink. But he must at least be as much of a man as these on the shore. He must meet that truth with his own true stuff – with his own inborn strength. Principles won't do. Acquisitions, clothes, pretty rags – rags that would fly off at the first good shake. No; you want a deliberate belief. An appeal to me in this fiendish row – is there? Very well; I hear; I admit, but I have a voice, too, and for good or evil mine is the speech that cannot be silenced. (Conrad, 1994: 32-33)

The passage starts with a paradox that the earth seemed unearthly. Thus Marlow sets up the expectation that the human beings inhabiting that unearthly earth will be inhuman. This is an expectation easy to arouse because it would confirm Marlow's European listeners' and Conrad's European readers' racial prejudices. But the narrative disrupts such commonplace prejudices because the horror of the story is said to be not the Africans' being a deviant form of humanity but the monster's being within the Europeans who consider themselves superior to the Africans. Thus it can be said that a number of ironic reversals are employed in the passage. So, Conrad continually juxtaposes past and present in the text and Marlow links the past of England with the present of Africa by comparing the Thames to the Congo: "And this also...has been one of the dark places of the earth" (1-2). Europeans possessed a

veritably progressive, Eurocentric vision of world history. It seemed to them, in other words, that by studying other, primitive-seeming cultures existing simultaneously (or synchronically) with their own, “they could study something chronologically disparate, namely their own deep, prehistoric past” (Kosellek, 1985: 47). Conrad transforms the present journey to Africa into an eternal journey to Europe’s past and a sojourn as well into each human being’s primitive psyche. In a psychoanalytic way he emphasizes the synchronicity of the non-synchronic. The inversion of the West’s narrative about ‘the other’ is to undercut its self-righteous superiority. Africa does not embody a lesser truth because it exists in an earlier stage of history. It embodies a more profound truth because it has not travelled far from its prehistoric origins. Thus, Conrad subverts prevailing European values, offering a “counter-memory”, “a memory that disrupts the narrative of enlightened progress that official European culture tried to tell about its history” (Foucault, 1997: 90). Conrad challenges the prevailing European narratives about “the other” but challenge does not go beyond the framework of Eurocentric logic. The reason why Westerners do not immediately recognize the existence of an African “other” within them, is the cultural difference between the races. For Marlow physical differences, such as skin and colour are a surface deception as he himself repeatedly expresses. Yet, he foregrounds the savage and dark natural setting of Africa to unravel the bizarre transformation of a beautiful European mind in *Heart of Darkness*. Africa is conceived as a “madhouse” that produces disorienting and maddening effects on the “sane” Europeans (Conrad, 1994: 32). What we have reached here is close to Bakhtin’s ideas about “the self” and “the other”. To Bakhtin, the perception of the self is constituted by the perception of “the other”. He explains this condition in the following words:

The most important acts, constitutive of self-consciousness, are determined by their relation to another consciousness (a ‘thou’). Cutting oneself off, isolating oneself, closing oneself off, those are the basic reasons for the loss of self [...] To be means to communicate [...] To be means to be for the other, and through him, for oneself. Man has no internal sovereign territory; he is all and always on the

boundary; looking within himself he looks in the eyes of the other or through the other; I cannot become myself without the other; I must find myself in the other, finding the other in me (in mutual reflection and perception). Justification cannot be justification of oneself, confession cannot be confession of myself. I receive my name from the other. (1984: 311-312)

Marlow's predicament in adjusting to the African landscape may be explained by the binary of self/ other in the text. He tells his listeners: "Going up that river was like travelling back to the earliest beginnings of the world, when vegetation rioted on the earth and the big trees were kings" (Conrad, 1994: 30). The land of Africa appealed to Marlow as a dark and prehistoric immensity. The incomprehensibility of the landscape and the people inhabiting it occurs because to travel to Africa is to travel to prehistoric times. So the Congo is reflected as a world unrecognizable to the European through the distance of time. In the following passage Marlow casts Africa in the role of prehistoric Europe:

We were wanderers on prehistoric earth, on an earth that wore the aspect of an unknown planet. We could have fancied ourselves the first of men taking possession of an accursed inheritance, to be subdued at the cost of profound anguish and of excessive toil. But suddenly, as we struggled round a bend, there would be a glimpse of rush walls, of peaked grass-roofs, a burst of yells, a whirl of black limbs, a mass of hands clapping, of feet stamping, of bodies swaying, of eyes rolling, under the droop of heavy and motionless foliage. The steamer toiled along slowly on the edge of a black and incomprehensible frenzy. The prehistoric man was cursing us, praying to us, welcoming us – who could tell? We were cut off from the comprehension of our surroundings; we glided past like phantoms, wondering and secretly appalled, as

sane men would be before an enthusiastic outbreak in a madhouse. We could not understand because we were too far and could not remember, because we were travelling in the night of first ages, of these ages that are gone, leaving hardly a sign – and no memories.
(32)

The excerpt sufficiently reveals the fact that though the novel stumbles upon the natives in a form which interrupts the European imagination of original man, yet it appropriates the natives to their savage selves as the justification for the fantasy of European civilization and progress. Through the analyses above, it can be concluded that the late 19th century experience of Europe encountering “the other” in Africa was characterized with a replacement of the African by the “prehistoric man”. What I am suggesting here is that, in writing *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad encountered the problem that is also encountered by anthropologists: namely, to find a language in which Marlow can report his experiences to a home audience. The culture of the empire proves inadequate to Conrad, for its inherent irony of unscrupulousness, to be capable enough to convey the colossal sense of wastage of its civilizing mission. And yet, Conrad desires his audience of the empire in England to see and share his exotic experiences in an unknown dark land, a colony of less civilized people. As James Clifford puts it, the ethnographic ambivalence of Conrad involves “a state of being in culture while looking at culture” (Clifford, 1988: 93). The narrative method of *Heart of Darkness* can be seen as an exemplary response to this extraordinary literary problem of Conrad narrating between empire and culture with an inherent tension of incompatibility.

CHAPTER- III

Lord Jim: The Redemption of the European Hero

“For Englishmen especially, of all the races of the earth, a task, any task, undertaken in an adventurous spirit acquires the spirit of romance.”

(Joseph Conrad: *A Personal Record*)

In his *A Personal Record* Conrad relates the idea of his protagonist Jim in his novel *Lord Jim*, published in 1900, and discusses him as a character, overtly imbued with some essentially British characteristics. That Jim is English is undeniable and hence his ideal of heroism is different from what we saw in the ‘inhumanity’ of Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*. Empire as a quintessential idea nuances Conrad’s reading of the non- European, or for that matter Afro- Asian culture in the last half of the 19th century. But in *Lord Jim* alone he exclusively addresses the English question of racial and cultural supremacy among the other contesting imperial European nations. In fact, Conrad is seen in this novel more in doubts in sorting out the issues between reification and condemnation of the agenda of the empire. The representation of the ‘heroic code’ that Jim requires to live by and can even die for subtly helps to sustain the notion of empire. This code of honour is seen failing vigorously in the cases of Kurtz (in *Heart of Darkness*) or Brown (in *Lord Jim*). Terry Collits writes that in “promoting high ideals by enclosing them in pre- pubescent tales written for enthusiastic young men, [*Lord Jim*] repressed the ‘problem’ of sexual desire for native people by aestheticizing it as an adolescent romance” (2005: 127). The “colonial desire”, as seen by Collits, is thus held back temporarily, deferred for a while, to cushion the uneasiness of the author writing between empire and culture, and the “sanitized version of male psychology” is juxtaposed on the well accepted generic form of adventure- romance (127). The Victorian cultural habit of romance narration is exploited to its extreme and Conrad serves his guarded critical volley at the imperial desire of European nations negotiating with the superior notion of British

cultural sensitivity, traditionally but crucially set into motion by colonial narratives like *Robinson Crusoe*. What Conrad struggles to save in *Lord Jim* is termed by Collits as “nostalgia” as he observes: “[The]... colonial fictions I am discussing at length, *Lord Jim* is the only one whose focus is clearly British. It thus provides the best opportunity for re- examining the question of Conrad’s relationship to British imperialism” (127).

The colonial culture in which *Lord Jim* is written demands certain containment, a kind of justification to qualify it as a veritable narrative of the eastern ports to its English readers. Conrad’s liberal humanist stand does not allow him freely to give allowances for the empire and its cultural dynamic thus making the position of the author more precarious in an era of high imperialism. On the other hand, the Polish exile and almost a French dandy, Conrad, finally settles down in England after his lifelong exciting, though strenuous, sojourns on seas around the globe. The author finds himself in between two contesting authorial agenda – his destabilizing cultural realization of the empire and his material and pragmatic requirement, as a British citizen, to uphold the idea of an innate English moral code, sustaining the fable of Anglo- Saxon greatness. Colonial history is negotiated at the expense of the colonized, and Jim, the White Englishman, becomes the hero of the novel pushing the tale of the armed resistance of the native people in Patusan successfully to the backbenches. Collits discusses:

Lord Jim clearly exemplifies the fractured temporality that causes problems for the writing of colonial history. In Jim’s case, the sense of untimeliness is produced by the discrepancy between power and desire and the dream and its moment. Jim fails to achieve his desire because when he reacts to the defining events of his life the necessities of the moment elude him. (129)

If Conrad is sceptic of the culture codes of the empire in presenting the character of Brown, the imperial plunderer in *Lord Jim*, then he appropriates the same code at once in the final gesture of Jim to embrace a romantic death. Boehmer shows

this gesture on the part of the author as an act of expiation undoing the critique of the imperial culture in his previous narrative of empire *Heart of Darkness* and writes:

Lord Jim is revealing not only for underscoring the contradiction of the 'civilizing' mission exposed in '*Heart of Darkness*' (which too is a Marlow narrative). It is interesting also for its wary if admiring attitude to heroic adventure in a maturing Empire. Jim, who wishes always to be 'an example of devotion to duty, and as unflinching as a hero in a book', is in fact flawed. He is a colonial idealist who, unlike his many predecessors in adventure fiction, cannot act. In the drama of colonialist self-making, the European realized himself by imposing his rule on another culture. The experiment fails calamitiously in Jim's case.

Though a contemporary of Kipling, Conrad temperamentally belonged to a later historical moment – a moment in which colonial possession had become more problematic, raising spectres of European cultural failure. (2006: 59)

To study this ambivalent position of Conrad writing in between the empire and culture, his representative text *Lord Jim* can be read in close relation to Conrad's life and ideology. It may well be perceived, as the present thesis attempts to locate the novel, as a literary tract transacting between the cultural context of the novel and its content.

Lord Jim, as is often said by critics, is one of the best examples of Conrad's complex sources including autobiographical elements rooted in his Polish background and his life as a seaman. The novel also includes specific suggestions to actual people and events, and to the imperial world in which Conrad lived and the colonial setting, especially the Malay Archipelago where Conrad sailed as a British merchant seaman. This source study, which aims to define Conrad's *point de depart*, would be

threefold. Investigating the novel's references to biographical elements to discover the coherent underlying psychoanalytic narrative, the study aims to identify the novel's references to history. In *Lord Jim*, specific references to actual people and events will be investigated to locate the novel as a cultural phenomenon, deeply rooted in Conrad's personal experiences of the empire. Finally, to understand how a historical moment produces a particular literary work and the cultural forces that shape it initially will be attempted to be shown.

Lord Jim is intended to be a study on the problem of representation because Conrad belonged to a European history which was moving out of its more upbeat, affirmative phase, with its belief in the free, self-determining individual, as it was represented in the literary documents and the travel accounts of the time. This acute consciousness of the empire, shaped and maintained through its narratives, both literary and historical, buttresses a cultural position that marginalises the darker and more downbeat civilizations altogether, which had no place in these travel accounts. Conrad wrote *Lord Jim* at a time when imperialism brought two different phases of history together. The imperialist culture produced both swashbuckling individualists like Jim, and a sordid narrative of greed, conflict and exploitation which was under no individual's control. The world was beginning to be alien and inscrutable at the point of imperialism. Written in such a historical moment, *Lord Jim* presents a conflict between romance and idealism. The main character, Jim, is represented on the one hand as "one of us", as a representative of the British Empire, and, on the other, as a failure. He abandons his duty as a seaman and causes the destructions of his best friend and of himself and thus leads the Patusan village to a state of leaderlessness and deprivation. Imperialism in those days was represented as a Romantic idealism having a vision of a transformed earth in the travel and adventure accounts of the time. Among these narratives there are *The Malay Archipelago* (1894) written by Alfred Russel Wallace and *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H.M. Ship "Maeander" With Portions of Journal of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B.* (1846) by Henry Keppell. In both these travel and adventure accounts as also in *Lord Jim* there is an encounter between the European white man and the Malay community. Yet there are contradictions in these documents and Conrad's text. These travel and adventure accounts were mostly fed up with the liberal, humanistic values which had served the

West so splendidly; for this reason it can be said that imperialism was represented in them with a cultural relativism. But in *Lord Jim* this self-assured historical phase and its self-esteemed individuals are being called into question. Thus the novel threatens to subvert the imperialist individual's sense of supremacy while simultaneously singing in favour of it and adequately romanticizing the same in a glorious way.

Before contextualizing the novel against Conrad's own cultural experiences as evident in *Lord Jim*, the plot of the novel may be recalled. The novel contains the story of a young Englishman who disgraces himself as a sailor in the merchant navy but later compensates for his disgrace by becoming the effective benevolent ruler of a Malay community. The novel may be divided into two evenly knit segments: The first part, from the beginning to chapter XIX, is generally called the *Patna* episode, and the second part, from chapter XX onwards is called the Patusan episode.

The story of the *Patna* section may be summarized as follows: The young sailor, Jim, romantic and dreaming of heroic adventures, is suddenly confronted with the temptation of his life while serving as chief mate on board an old steamer, *Patna*. On her way across the Indian Ocean the ship has touched some floating derelict and when the engines are stopped, her condition seems so precarious that the disreputable gang serving as officers decide to clear out as quickly and noiselessly as possible under the cover of a dark night, leaving the eight hundred Mohammedan pilgrims on board to their fate. Jim does not mean to accompany four other white men of the crew – the German skipper and three engineers – but when one of the engineers dies of a heart attack brought on by fright, and as he felt urged by a voice in the darkness calling insistently, "Jump! Jump!" Jim deserts the *Patna* in the firm belief that she is already sinking under his feet. Eventually they are picked up by a ship. The abandoned vessel is, however, sighted and towed to Aden by a French gunboat. A court of inquiry is held. Jim is the only officer to give evidence at the Official Inquiry because the skipper has fled and the two surviving engineers are in hospital. The officers of the ship, Jim included, have their certificates cancelled. The narrator, Marlow, has his first sight of Jim when he attends the Official Inquiry. Marlow himself is a middle-aged merchant seaman, a seasoned, good-natured, mature man who is immediately attracted by Jim's appearance. Jim seems to be a gentleman, upright, good-looking, "one of us" (a phrase Marlow often uses about Jim), a man

who looks as though he should be loyal to the “solidarity of the craft” of the merchant seamen and yet has clearly betrayed that solidarity. After Jim has been sentenced to the loss of his certificate of seamanship which means the loss of his livelihood, Marlow befriends him. Since Jim is penniless and has no training other than that of an officer of the merchant marine, Marlow tries to help him by finding him jobs. Nevertheless, Jim finds it impossible to live it down in spite of the sympathetic support of friends. Jim’s extreme sensitivity over the *Patna* scandal makes him a difficult person to help, since whenever the fact that he was mate of the *Patna* becomes known, he throws up his current employment and moves on. Wandering from port to port, and chased everywhere by the echoes of a past which he does not dare to face, he is finally sent to Patusan by a friend of Marlow’s, Stein. Stein is an enterprising Bavarian trader and also a famous collector of insects. Patusan is a Malay settlement in Borneo where apart from the rascally Cornelius, whom Jim is to replace as Stein’s agent, there are no other white men and where there is no risk of the *Patna* story becoming known.

The story of the Patusan section can be outlined briefly: In that forlorn corner of the East, Jim’s arrival means the beginning of a new era because Patusan is the place, where Jim transforms his hitherto somewhat passive and failed life into a romantic and heroic success, and where Jim soon exercises a great authority over the natives. With the help of Jewel, a half-caste girl with whom he falls in love, he subjugates Cornelius (Jewel’s step-father); and then with the aid of Doramin, a prominent trader, and his son Dain Waris, who becomes Jim’s closest friend, he defeats and controls both the nominal ruler of Patusan, the Rajah Allang, and a piratical Arab trader, Sherif Ali, who has hitherto been exploiting the place. Thus, Jim lives for some time in the illusion of having mastered his fate, of having forgotten his past. After two years, Marlow visits Jim in Patusan and sees the success he has made of his life and his happiness with Jewel. After another two years, Marlow learns that everything has gone wrong: Gentleman Brown, an English adventurer turned pirate, has arrived with his half-starved followers looking for plunder in Patusan. Jim’s illusions are shattered by the arrival of this white outcast. One of Brown’s men needlessly kills a Patusan man. It would be easy for Jim to disarm him and send him away, or, in case of resistance, to let him die of starvation. But Jim does nothing.

Despite Brown's obvious viciousness, Jim makes the fatal mistake of allowing him and his companions to go free. Overcome by a curious weakness, a sort of identification of himself with this despicable British, Jim remains passive. When they move down the river, Brown and his followers are enabled, by the vindictive Cornelius, to make a cowardly attack on a group of Jim's Malays. Brown shoots some volleys into them. Dain Waris is killed. In the end, Doramin, Dain's father, shoots Jim in the mistaken belief that Jim has betrayed his adopted people and is directly responsible for his son's death; and since Jim has already felt that his attitude is responsible for the tragedy, he delivers himself up to the relatives of the victims, who kill him.

Conrad's own life as a seaman, a life filled with adventure and excitement provided him personally with the experiences he required for his fiction. Sherry even argues that a man "who had not been to sea would not have been the same writer at all" (1966: 3). Conrad's biographers also maintain that *Lord Jim* is one of those books which remained nearest to his heart, and we can hardly undervalue its autobiographical character. Conrad resembles Jim as an imaginative boy, who, much against his guardian's will went in search for adventures on the high seas. Conrad, in a way, projected his own life in the following passage from *Lord Jim*:

On the lower deck in the babel of two hundred voices he would forget himself, and beforehand live in his mind the sea-life of light literature. He saw himself saving people from sinking ships, cutting away masts in a hurricane, swimming through a surf with a line; or as a lonely castaway [...] He confronted savages on the tropical shores, quelled mutinies on the high seas, and in a small boat upon the ocean kept up the hearts of despairing men – always an example of devotion to duty, and as unflinching as a hero in a book. (Conrad, 1985: 11)

Jim's first voyage to the East takes place in very much the same circumstances as surrounded Conrad's early voyages. Jim was "not yet four-and-

twenty” and Conrad’s age was respectively twenty-one and twenty-three when he made his first two voyages to Australia. It is said: “Like Conrad, Jim is a sailor with his eye on advancement in the hierarchy of command” (Meyer, 1967: 61). Upon attaining the position of chief mate, Jim, like his creator, “was disabled by a falling spar” and “spent many days stretched on his back, dazed, battered, hopeless, and tormented as if at the bottom of an abyss of unrest” and had to lie for weeks in an Eastern hospital (Conrad, 1985: 14-15). It is the same as Conrad’s accident on board the *Highland Forest*, of which Conrad was chief mate (Jean-Aubry, vol. I, 1927: 93). Having been hit in the back by a flying spar, Conrad suffered inexplicable periods of listlessness and sudden spurts of mysterious pain. His lameness, like Jim’s, persisted. When the ship arrived in Semarang on June 20, Conrad was ordered to remain quiet for three months and signed off the *Highland Forest*. He left Semarang aboard the steamship *Celestial* on July 2, reached Singapore four days later, “went straight into the great airy ward of the European hospital and surrendered himself to the sensual ease of the Orient” (Meyers, 1991: 76). Jim is bewitched by the eternal serenity of the East, by the temptation of infinite repose when he is in a hospital in an “Eastern port”. He enjoys “the bewitching breath of the Eastern waters” because “there were perfumes in it, suggestions of infinite repose, the gift of endless dreams” (Conrad, 1985: 15).

There are some other parallels between Jim and Conrad. Jim’s library, like that of Conrad, consists mainly of a green one-volume set of Shakespeare’s works (181). Similar to Conrad, Jim is reckless, without fear, and sometimes “a regular devil for sailing a boat”. It is known that Conrad himself had some smuggling adventures and dangerous manoeuvres as a seaman (Conrad, 1923: 18-21). Meyer makes a correspondence between Jim’s jump and Conrad’s act of quitting the steamship *Vidar*, on which Conrad sailed in 1887-88 (1967: 63). The natives of Patusan call Jim “Tuan Jim: as one might say – Lord Jim” (Conrad, 1985: 10). This parallels the young Conrad’s being called “Pan Jozef” by the Polish peasants and servants. “Pan Jozef” is an expression meaning “Lord Joseph” in English (Morf, 1930: 162). Jim uses only his Christian name and drops his surname. Morf notes that the same was true of Joseph Conrad Korzeniowski because Conrad was extremely shy when he

mentioned his real name (162). He used his full name only in his Polish letters, in which he appears distinctly as a Pole, not as an Englishman (163).

Conrad's creation of the German captain of the deserting crew in *Lord Jim* is an outcome of Conrad's dislike of Germany. Shamelessness is attributed to the German commander, because he is the first to leave the ship which is loaded with pilgrims, and it is his evil counsel Jim yields to and jumps into a life boat, leaving his ship. Spittles claims that Conrad, through his personal, Polish dislike of Germany, might well have included villainous Germans in his fiction (1992: 110), and Fleishman claims that Conrad's hostility to Prussianism emerges in his fiction in repeated caricatures of Germanic selfishness and "bullying" (1967: 43). Finally, when Jim asks himself so anxiously whether public opinion will back him up, whether the sanction of his foreign friends would be absolute enough to absolve and reinstate him in his own eyes, we again recognize in Jim Conrad himself. Morf states, "Jim's authority over the natives stands really for Conrad's success in the English-speaking world" (1930: 163).

Lord Jim also has roots in Conrad's psychology. Therefore, to provide the accounts of the real-life sources of *Lord Jim* we can trace the unconscious forces guiding Conrad in the choice of his subject and in the development of its theme because it is these unconscious elements, as Morf argues, which constitute so many forces guiding the author in the choice of his/her subject, in the invention of the plots, in the treatment of his/her characters, and in a hundred small details, thus leading him/her to treat those problems which s/he cannot solve in his/her conscious life: "Whatever repressed conflicts, fears, wishes, hopes or joys there happen to be in the author's soul will be exteriorized in his/her work" (150). It may be asserted that *Lord Jim* is eminently autobiographical in that it was built up of unconscious elements, and the exteriorization of Conrad's conflicts can be seen in the novel. It can be said that mentally or morally Jim is the projection of Conrad's repressed feelings. Morf says: "The circumstances leading up to Jim's jump" can be thought to have modelled on "those leading to Conrad's naturalization as a British subject" (161-162).

The general assumption about Jim's jump from the *Patna* is that Jim's desertion of the ship parallels Conrad's desertion of his native land Poland. It can be

claimed that Conrad himself saw a parallelism between his quitting Poland and Jim's jump. In *A Personal Record* he wrote answering the accusations circled around the fact of Conrad's own abrupt departure from Poland and made against him at the time of writing: "I verily believe mine was the only case of a boy of my nationality and antecedents taking a, so to speak, standing jump out of his racial surroundings and associations" (Conrad, 1985: 121). Thomas Moser makes an interesting remark that Conrad uses the same word "jump" to describe his departure from his native land that he used to describe Jim's desertion of his pilgrim ship *Patna* (1957: 20). Morf also notes a further parallel between Conrad's and Jim's case with reference to Jim's jump and Conrad's becoming a British subject (1930: 163-164). These two actions, one fictional and the other factual, can be regarded as the denials of duty and responsibility that result in the feeling of betrayal in both Jim and his creator, Conrad. There are some speculations as to why the motifs of guilt and betrayal are persistently evident in Conrad's fiction. One of these suggestions is that Conrad, orphaned at an early age, would have somehow been betrayed by the loss of his parents. The second suggestion is that Conrad may have experienced pervasive guilt at having left Poland, having, so to speak, turned his back on the cause for which his father had given his life (Ryf, 1970: 11). An eminent Polish woman of letters, Madame Marie Dombrowska, came to notice this parallelism and thus the secret source of *Lord Jim*. She wrote two years after Conrad's death:

The feeling of responsibility is the rigorous principle that his heroes, and Conrad himself, obey [...] The feeling of responsibility became the very atmosphere of his life; its breath pervaded his whole work. Even unconsciously Conrad puts the imprint of its sovereign force upon all his creations [...] Something in his life posed a lasting contradiction to his instinct of fidelity and loyalty: he had abandoned his fatherland at the time of its greatest misfortunes. No doubt, Conrad's ethical morality predisposed him to fidelity to rationally accepted causes rather than those bequeathed him by tradition [...] Just like Lord Jim, Conrad could

not bring to an end the dramatic episode of his youth. Nothing can end a conflict on such a plane. Poland seemed to Conrad a responsibility denied, a duty repudiated. (Quoted in Jean-Aubry, 1957: 240)

Lord Jim is a novel in which Conrad took as his starting point the theme of remorse from his own feelings. Jean-Aubry argues that “it is natural to see in his literary obsession with remorse a projection, an echo, of a personal worry, of an anxiety, a regret, or some secret failing” (238). Conrad’s dealing with the theme of betrayal and atonement in *Lord Jim* raises the question why Jim, as a young merchant navy officer, fails in his duty in contrast with his creator’s success. It is known that never throughout his maritime career either as an ordinary seaman or as an officer did Conrad fail in his duty. This is the conclusion which Jean-Aubry reached through the examination of all sea papers relating to Conrad. The answer to the question why Jim is a failure leaving his leaking ship may be thought to be associated with Conrad’s own fear of “being found unequal to his task” because he was “a foreigner among French and English crews” (239). So, it is not wrong to say that the motifs of betrayal, desertion, failing one’s duty and the resulting guilt or shame employed in the novel as the central moral themes are all reflections of Conrad’s own feelings. Conrad had many difficulties in his spiritual life therefore, as Said argues, “the problems in his fiction can be associated with the problems in his spiritual life” (1966: 5). In short, Conrad’s spiritual history was written by himself in his fiction. Generally, it is assumed that Conrad felt guilty of betrayal because he had left his home country and had been writing in a foreign language. This feeling of guilt is supposed to have been awakened by the accusations against Conrad at the time he was working on the novel (Najder, 1997: 11-12). The second part of the novel may also be considered as the expression of Conrad’s fear that his desertion of his native land might ultimately prove a fault by which Conrad would forfeit his honour. Morf observes: “The final destruction of Jim consecrates the author’s triumph over the guilt complex. Tuan Jim’s defeat is Joseph Conrad’s victory” (1930: 165). Ryf also states that Conrad’s concentration on certain motifs, for example, isolation can be traced to “central events and traumas in his own life” (1970: 10). From his biographical data it can be seen that the theme of isolation which is prominent in *Lord Jim*, had

antecedents in his early life. It is evident that in *Lord Jim* Conrad wrote about the darker sides of his personality and exteriorized the deepest conflicts that arose from mostly his Polish heritage.

Between the years 1883-88, Conrad sailed for a time in Eastern waters as a British merchant seaman, and when he began to write, it was to the East that he turned for inspiration. Although Conrad's contact with the East was limited (Conrad made three visits to the East and spent a few months in Eastern lands), the East not only provided Conrad with the initial creative impetus but also remained a constant source for him. Having been preoccupied with commercial matters, interviewing charterers, getting together a cargo, taking in the complement of the crew and having been limited to sea-going society and mariners' talk both on the sea and ashore, Conrad observed what a seaman could observe in port and what a seaman could hear while staying on board the ship or at a Sailors' Home. For this reason, it should be kept in mind that "Conrad's knowing the East as a seaman posits a special relationship between himself and the Eastern world which provided his source material" (Sherry, 1966: 6); and it would not be wrong to say that *Lord Jim* is a novel which derives largely from Conrad's experiences as a merchant seaman in those Eastern seas. Conrad's own experiences in the *Palestine* and the *Jeddah* scandal form the sources of the first part of the novel. On 19 September 1881, when he was twenty-four years old, Conrad found a berth as second mate in the vessel *Palestine* commanded by Captain Beard and bound for Bangkok. The *Palestine* was an old ship and on her voyage to Bangkok she met with nothing but trouble. On 24 December 1881, the ship, getting into a gale, was forced to put back to Falmouth, where she had to take on several changes of crew. It was not until 17 September 1882 that the *Palestine* began what was to be her last voyage, carrying a cargo of coal. Her journey was both slow and disastrous, and she burnt at sea. After this incident a Court of Inquiry was held in Singapore to explore the facts about the incident (16). Conrad probably recalled the Inquiry and his impressions of Singapore when he dealt with the Court of Inquiry into the desertion of the pilgrim ship *Patna* in *Lord Jim*. It is also based on a sea disaster involving a pilgrim ship that was abandoned at sea by her captain and officers. The *Patna* episode appropriates from the pages of the news of the *Jeddah* incident of 1880, which was widely discussed in the British press in terms

of issues of conduct and Western ideals (Henricksen, 1992: 85). The case of the pilgrim ship *Jeddah* was one of the most notorious scandals in the East of the 1880s. It was believed that Conrad must have read the reports of the *Jeddah* incident in the London newspapers in 1880 as the desertion of the *Jeddah* by her European master and officers was a scandal discussed in London as well as in Singapore. The event was fully reported in *The Times*, and Conrad, who was in London at the time, probably read about the scandal; and later he must have heard it discussed in nautical circles, especially when he was in Singapore in 1883 (Watt, 1979: 265). In his "Author's Note" Conrad refers to the pilgrim ship episode. Here it is clear that the *Jeddah* case appealed to Conrad and became the inspiration for *Lord Jim*:

[My] first thought was of a short story, concerned only with the pilgrim ship episode; nothing more. And that was a legitimate conception. After writing a few pages, however, I became for some reason discontented and I laid it aside for a time [...] It was only then that I perceived that the pilgrim ship episode was a good starting-point for a free and wandering tale; that it was an event, too, which could conceivably colour the whole 'sentiment of existence' in a simple and sensitive character. (Conrad, 1921b: 31)

To reconstruct the parallels between the story of the *Patna* and the *Jeddah* case, the *Jeddah*'s story should be recalled: The *Jeddah* was employed in carrying almost a thousand Muslim pilgrims from Singapore to Jeddah, the seaport for Mecca. She left Singapore on 17 July 1880, on one of these trips, and after a stormy passage, during which her boilers gave trouble and she began to leak, she was abandoned off Cape Guardafui at 2 a.m. on 8 August 1880 by her captain and her European officers. They were later picked up by the steamship *Scindia* and taken to Aden where they reported their false story that the *Jeddah* was lost with all her passengers. But the *Jeddah* appeared at Aden a day later with the pilgrims on board and was towed in by the S.S. *Antenor*. This caused a great scandal both in London and Singapore, and the incident was the subject of an inquiry at Aden, an action for salvage at Singapore, a debate in the Singapore Legislative Assembly, and a question in the British House of

Commons (Sherry, 1968: 309-310). On August 10 the *Globe*, London, reported the loss with these headlines: "DREADFUL DISASTER AT SEA. LOSS OF NEARLY 1000 LIVES" (310). Sherry provided some other important documents concerning the *Jeddah* incident. One of such documents is the news from the *London Times* of August 11, 1880:

ADEN, AUG. 11, 7.50. P.M.

The *Jeddah* which was abandoned at sea with 953 pilgrims on board, did not founder, as reported by the master. She has just arrived here, all safe, in tow of the steamer *Antenor*. (310)

There were vivid accounts in the newspapers published in those days. The following is an example of editorial comments in the London based newspaper *Daily Chronicle*, concerning the *Jeddah* incident from its August 12, 1880 issue:

That she should thus have been abandoned and her living freight left to their fate is one of the most dastardly circumstances we have ever heard of in connection with the perils of the deep [...] It is to be feared that pilgrim ships are officered by unprincipled and cowardly men who disgrace the traditions of seamanship. We sincerely trust that no Englishman was amongst the boatload of cowards who left the *Jeddah* and her thousand passengers to shift for themselves. (*Daily Chronicle*). (311-312)

Two important circumstances, inherent in the actual incident, were that the captain and the officers deserted the ship when the *Jeddah*'s sinking became an imminent danger, and that the ship did not sink. One of the complications in the *Jeddah* case was the inadequacy of the ship's boats to take off the 900 pilgrims. Only a small number of those on board the *Jeddah* could hope to be saved. Such a situation demanded that the captain should go down with his ship. But in the *Jeddah* case this first code of the sea is dishonoured. The strains inherent in the position of the captain

and the officers are projected in *Lord Jim* and it is this crucial involvement that bothers Jim later and causes him to ask Marlow: “What would you have done? You are sure of yourself – aren’t you? What would you do if you felt now – this minute – the house here move, just move a little under your chair? Leap! By heavens! You would take one spring from where you sit and land in that clump of bushes yonder” (Conrad, 1985: 85). Consequently, the *Jeddah* and *Patna* stories run parallel as is shown and Conrad seems to be consciously using the *Jeddah* story incorporating also some of his experiences on the *Palestine* into the *Patna* story.

The consensus on the primary source material for the second part of *Lord Jim* is that the whole Eastern world Conrad knew as a seaman in the East of the 1880s is the context for the second part of the novel. Conrad had brief voyages through the Malay Archipelago during the last half of 1887 and these voyages “gave Conrad the richest literary material from an unknown part of the world and provided the inspiration for *Lord Jim*” (Meyers, 1991: 76-77). For example, the setting for the second part of the novel has roots in the actual places Conrad knew in the East. An Eastern River suggests the Berau River, and Patusan, a native settlement and a European trading post is a reference to the actual trading post on the bank of the Berau River. Conrad called Patusan an area as “one of the lost, forgotten, unknown places of the earth” (1985: 243) and “Berau was, and still is, this” (Sherry, 1966: 119). Conrad’s fictional account of the area is “compatible with the sight of the actual settlement” (120). Marlow describes the coast of Patusan thus:

[It] is straight and sombre, and faces a misty ocean
 [...] Swampy plains open out at the mouth of rivers,
 with a view of jagged blue peaks beyond the vast
 forests. In the offing a chain of islands, dark,
 crumbling shapes, stand out in the everlasting sunlit
 haze like the remnants of a wall breached by the sea.
 (Conrad, 1985: 184)

It may be suggested that the real condition of Berau was utilized for the fictional account of the area. A report in the *Straits Times Overland Journal*, March

26, 1883, provides an account of conditions at Breau only a few years before Conrad visited Berau. Several details in the report seem to be echoed in Conrad's text:

Gunong Thabor and Sambailung, formerly forming together the State of Berouw [Berau] are situated right and left on the Berouw river [...] There is very little trade, though the soil is very rich and fruitful. Rattans, gutta percha, and coals are the principal products. The inhabitants are lazy and unenterprising. Labour is for women and slaves only. Slaves are met with in almost every house. On the lower river, there is even a large village wholly inhabited by slaves. The authorities allow this in spite of Art. 115 of the Government reg. whereby slavery in Netherlands India has been abolished. (quoted in Sherry, 1966: 129-130)

The "large village wholly inhabited by slaves" is introduced in *Lord Jim* and the very first reference to it appears on page 184: "There is a village of fisher-folk at the mouth of the Batu Kring branch of the estuary" (Conrad, 1985: 184). Later in the novel, the village is described thus: "This bunch of miserable hovels was a fishing village that boasted of the white lord's especial protection, and the two men crossing over were the old head-man and his son-in-law [...] The Rajah's people would not leave them alone; there had been some trouble about a lot of turtles' eggs his people had collected on the islets there" (250). Jim tells Marlow: "The trouble is [...] that for generations these beggars of fishermen in that village there had been considered as the Rajah's personal slaves" (251).

Many of the details of the characters in *Lord Jim* are based on actual people whom Conrad met or heard of in various times. Jim's character seems to be derived from at least four people. As is already stated Conrad himself is a major source for Jim. However, the parallel between Jim and Conrad would mainly apply to the first part of the novel. The chief mate of the *Jeddah*, Augustine Padmore Williams is believed to be one of the sources of Jim's character. Having discovered a good deal about Williams, Sherry writes that "it would seem more logical, given Conrad's

reliance on fact, to consider Jim's counterpart, the first mate of the *Jeddah*, as the possible inspiration for Lord Jim" (1966: 65-66). Like Jim, Williams was the son of a parson, he was often dressed in white and had blue eyes. Williams' height, powerful build, and neat dress echo in Jim's appearance (78). Apart from this, Williams went to a training ship for officers of the mercantile marine as did Jim. He was indeed the last of the officers to leave the *Jeddah* and he figured prominently in the subsequent Inquiry; he is known to have returned to Singapore to face the trial and the stigma. In 1884, Williams served, like Jim, as a ship-chandler's water-clerk (65-66). When Williams was taken on at Singapore as first mate of the *Jeddah*, he was very young, only twenty-three and this is close to the age of Lord Jim – "not yet four-and-twenty" (68). Just as Jim lived with his Jewel so Williams married in the East (82). So Williams' background was identical with that of Lord Jim. Williams came from a parsonage and was one of five sons. In *Lord Jim* Conrad writes: "Originally he [Jim] came from a parsonage [...] Jim was one of five sons, and when after a course of light holiday literature his vocation for the sea had declared itself, he was sent at once to a 'training -ship for officers of the mercantile marine'" (1985: 10-11).

As for the question how Conrad knew about Williams, we have different arguments about it. Henricksen argues that in 1883 Conrad and Williams were both in Singapore and they could have met there (1992: 85). Sherry argues that Conrad could have met or seen him when he was in Singapore in the autumn of 1885, or later, in 1887, while he was serving on the *Vidar* (1966: 80-81) and when Williams was working as a ship-chandler's water-clerk in Singapore during Conrad's periodic visits there (85). Finally we can say that the close parallels between Williams and Lord Jim suggest that Conrad had spoken to Williams and heard his story from the man himself.

Some other hints for Jim's character are believed to have come from Jim Lingard, William Lingard's son, who, from the age of eighteen onwards lived at the settlement on the Berau River. Watt states that Conrad probably met him there when he was about twenty-five and was probably known as Tuan Jim. Jim Lingard lived with a Sea Dyak woman, and had a devoted servant called Lias (Sherry, 1966: 130-136). These two might have supplied the basis for Jewel and Tamb' Itam in *Lord Jim*. The romantic love Jim has for Jewel had its origin in the love Jim Lingard had for his

Sea Dyak, and also Lord Jim has a trusted servant Tamb' Itam, whose function in the story is as a body-guard. This can be seen in the following passage in the novel:

The very Tamb' Itam, marching on our journeys upon the hills of his white lord, with his head thrown back, truculent and be-weaponed like a janissary, with kris, chopper, and lance (besides carrying Jim's gun); even Tamb' Itam allowed himself to put on the airs of uncompromising guardianship, like a surly devoted jailer ready to lay down his life for his captive [...] Tamb' Itam was still on the prowl. Though he had [...] a house in the compound, had 'taken wife', and had lately been blessed with a child, I believe that, during my stay at all events, he slept on the veranda every night. (Conrad, 1985: 214-215)

Lias always went with Jim Lingard when Lingard went up the river into the dangerous interior, and Lias, like Tamb' Itam, always slept on the veranda of Lingard (Sherry, 1966: 136). So it can be said that Tamb' Itam in *Lord Jim* may have had his origin in Lias. Sherry also surmises that Jim Lingard's Malay title provided Conrad with the title of his novel and that Conrad must have been impressed by "the general inexplicableness of his being at Berau at all" (80). Besides, like Lord Jim, Lingard was a person of some strength and influence in the area of Berau and Bulungan (137).

The fourth main source for Lord Jim is Sir James Brooke (1803-1868) who was a British Empire builder and the first white ruler of Sarawak, Borneo. Brooke lived among Malaysians during the first half of the nineteenth century and gained fame as a benevolent lawgiver. He is accounted to be a model for Lord Jim in that both ruled groups of people in the Malay Archipelago, being white rulers of the native states (Sherry, 1966: 137; Henricksen, 1992: 84). Remembering a boyhood ideal of his, Conrad, in a letter he wrote on June 15, 1920 in reply to a communication from Margaret Brooke, the wife of Brooke's nephew and successor, says:

I am immensely gratified and touched by the letter you have been good enough to write me. The first Rajah

Brooke has been one of my boyish admirations, a feeling I have kept to this day strengthened by the better understanding of the greatness of his character and the unstained rectitude of his purpose. The book which has found favour in your eyes has been inspired in great measure by the history of the first Rajah's enterprise and even by the lecture of his journals as partly reproduced by Captain Mundy and others....
(quoted in Payne, 1960: 247-248)

The letter is explicit enough about the relevance of Brooke to Conrad's Lord Jim. In short, it can be said that Jim was modelled on both Conrad himself and on such historical figures as James Brooke, who lived among the Malays during the first half of the 19th century and gained fame as a benevolent lawgiver, and Augustine Padmore Williams, who was the chief mate of the *Jeddah* and Jim Lingard, who lived at the settlement on the Berau River and had trading interests in the area. Some other people are accounted to be the inspiration for Conrad's characters other than Jim. For example, Captain William Lingard, who had business connections with a company in Singapore and had many voyages to Berau and Bulungan, can be taken as a model for Stein. Both Lingard and Stein are old traders who have established trading-posts on an Eastern river, which are run by their agents. A man called Charles Olmeijer was Lingard's protégé and Cornelius is Stein's. Conrad can be thought to reflect in his text the true situation and facts of the trading post at Berau, to some extent, because of the fact that a second protégé was sent to Berau by Lingard and Jim is sent to Stein's trading post as a second protégé. It is observed in the novel that Jim arouses the antagonism of the older man, Cornelius, who is already at the post. Cornelius plots to bring about Jim's downfall. When Conrad visited Berau, there were two men there, Olmijer and Jim Lingard. A cause for jealousy possibly existed because Olmeijer had been ten years at his trading outpost when Captain Lingard settled his son, Jim Lingard, at Berau. Olmeijer might have well seen Jim Lingard as a dangerous rival. Sherry argues that this may well be the origin of Jim/Cornelius antagonism in *Lord Jim* (1966: 131-133). Captain William Lingard's trading interests in these places and his discovery of a channel for ships in the Berau River brought

him popularity and his title of 'Rajah Laut'. Conrad probably met William Lingard at Berau. Regarding Lingard's trading interests in the East, we can find the connection between Lingard and Stein a strong probability. In *Lord Jim* Conrad writes: "This Stein was a healthy and respected merchant. His "house" (because it was a house, Stein & Co...) had a large inter-island business, with a lot of trading posts established in the most out-of-the-way places for collecting the produce" (Conrad, 1985: 154). Then, he states further:

Stein [...] remained with an old trader he had come across in his journeys in the interior of Celebes – if Celebes may be said to have an interior. This old Scotsman, the only white man allowed to reside in the country at the time, was a privileged friend of the chief ruler of Wajo States [...] I often heard Stein relate how that chap, who was slightly paralysed on one side, had introduced him to the native court a short time before another stroke carried him off [...] 'Look, queen, and you rajahs, this is my son [...] I have traded with your fathers, and when I die he shall trade with you and your sons' [...] By means of this simple formality Stein inherited the Scotsman's privileged position and all his stock-in-trade. (157)

It is generally accepted that Alfred Wallace, who had made a collection of animals and insects in the Malay Archipelago, was also a model for Stein (Saveson, 1972: 17-18). Wallace was a naturalist whose account of the discovery of a certain butterfly is written into Stein's story. Marlow tells us about Stein:

He was also a naturalist of some distinction, or perhaps I should say a learned collector. Entomology was his special study. His collection of *Buprestidae* and *Longicorns* – beetles all – horrible miniature monsters, looking malevolent in death and immobility, and his cabinet of butterflies, beautiful and hovering under the

glass cases of lifeless wings, had spread his fame far over the earth. (Conrad, 1985: 155)

This description fits Wallace in reference to the collections. Like Wallace, Stein catches a rare butterfly. Thus, we can say that Conrad made use of Wallace's emotions on catching a rare butterfly, providing Stein with similar emotions. In a general sense, Wallace himself, his nature, background and activities as a naturalist, were used by Conrad in his creation of the character of Stein. Yet Wallace provides only one element in Stein's character. One Dr Bernstein, a German naturalist, to whom Wallace makes one brief reference in his *Malay Archipelago*, and who stayed many months in the island with a large staff of hunters collecting insects for the Leyden Museum seems to be the source of the name and nationality of Conrad's Stein (Wallace, 1894: 259).

Charles Allen, Wallace's assistant, can also be thought to be the origin for Conrad's Stein because he was similar to Stein in three ways: He was an assistant to a famous naturalist; he remained out in the East while the famous naturalist returned home, and he prospered in the East (Sherry, 1968: 350-352). Describing how Stein became both an amateur naturalist and a trader of note, Conrad writes in *Lord Jim*:

It was there he came upon a Dutch traveller – a rather famous man, I believe, but I don't remember his name. It was that naturalist who, engaging him as a sort of assistant, took him to the East. They travelled in the Archipelago together and separately, collecting insects and birds, for four years or more. Then the naturalist went home, and Stein, having no home to go to, remained [...] in the interior of Celebes. (Conrad, 1985: 156-157)

To conclude, it can be said that in composing the character of Stein, Conrad did not draw solely upon one person but drew upon such various people as Captain William Lingard, Alfred Russell Wallace, Dr Bernstein and Charles Allen.

It should also be noted in brief that Brooke's native friend Budrudeen is the model for Jim's friend Dain Waris (Saveson, 1972: 41). Dain Waris is also Jim's "war comrade", as Stein might have called him (Conrad, 1985: 198). The natives say that he fights like a European. Marlow says that he has a European mind: "You meet them sometimes like that, and are surprised to discover unexpectedly a familiar train of thought, an obscured vision, a tenacity of purpose, a touch of altruism" (198-199). Marlow observes that Budrudeen, "fights like a European" (Keppel, 1847: 181); he is "a very clever figure for a native, and far more clever than many better educated and more experienced Europeans" (Templar, 1853: 269); he "combines decisions and abilities quite astonishing in a native prince, and a directness of purpose seldom found in an Asiatic" (292). Therefore, *Lord Jim* has roots in not only the actual people, incidents and places but also travel books and historical accounts of adventurers who had become rulers of native states. It is known that Conrad created his character, Jim, partly with reference to James Brooke. Therefore, it can be said that the journals, letters and memoirs of Brooke and the historical documents about his affair in the East, in short *Brookiana*, as Baines calls the collection found its way to *Lord Jim* (Baines, 1960: 254). But Conrad also had recourse to other books than *Brookiana*. Alfred Russel Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* seems to be one of Conrad's favourite books and Conrad seems to be mainly indebted to it. Richard Curle, referring to Wallace's *Malay Archipelago*, remarks that it was Conrad's favourite bedside book. He says that Conrad read this,

[O]ver and over again ... He had an intense admiration for those pioneers of explorers – 'profoundly inspired men' as he has called them – who have left us a record of their work; and of Wallace, above all, he never ceased to speak in terms of enthusiasm. Even in conversation he would amplify some remark by observing, 'Wallace says so-and-so,' and *The Malay Archipelago* had been his intimate friend for many years. (Curle, 1928: 120-121)

Wallace's book provided Conrad with a great range of source material including not only characters but also incidents, attitudes and backgrounds. In *Lord Jim*, Jim's

account of his imprisonment on his first arrival at Patusan indicates the similarities between Wallace and Jim's imprisonment: "This is where I was prisoner for three days,' [...] we were making our way slowly through a kind of awestruck riot of dependants across Tunku Allang's courtyard. 'Filthy place, isn't it? And I couldn't get anything to eat either, unless I made a row about it, and then it was only a small plate of rice and fried fish'" (Conrad, 1985: 189).

The unexpectedness of his coming was the only thing:

[T]hat saved him from being at once dispatched with krisses [...] They had him, but it was like getting hold of an apparition [...] What did it mean? What to do with it? Was it too late to conciliate him? Hadn't he better be killed without more delay? But what would happen then? [...] Several times the council was broken up [...] the deliberations upon Jim's fate went on night and day [...] Now and again 'some fussy ass' deputed from the council-room would come out running to him, and [...] administer amazing interrogatories: 'Were the Dutch coming to take the country? Would the white man like to go back down the river? What was the object of coming to such a miserable country?' (191-192)

Both Wallace and Jim have been confined in a courtyard and forced to wait about for a long time while the Rajah holds conferences about them. In each case, these conferences suffer interruptions. Both men are asked questions about their purpose in coming there and reference is made in each instance to the Dutch. In both situations, there is a difficulty in getting food, the food provided is similar, and the accommodation is limited to a shed in the courtyard. The reference to "the effluvia of filth and rotten matter" comes from a later passage in which Wallace describes an attap house: "Close to my house was an inclosed mudhold where three buffaloes were shut up every night, and the effluvia from which freely entered through the open

bamboo floor” (2000: 170). And lastly both Wallace and Jim put an end to the situation by suddenly deciding to leave.

Major Frederick McNair’s *Perak and the Malays* (1878) is another source material, which supplied Conrad with a number of details for *Lord Jim*. Conrad “took the names of Doramin, Tamb’ Itam and Tunku Allang from this book” (Baines, 1960: 254). It can be observed that the names appear in McNair’s account of a Malay boat which was attacked by pirates in 1873 on the Jugra River, Selangor, Malaya. The sole survivor of the attack stated,

[T]here were three Chinese passengers [...] and six Malays belonging to the boat, named Hadjee Doraman, who was the nacodah (skipper), Ah Kim, Tamb’ Itam, Meman, Mambi, and myself [...] We left Bandar Langat about six o’clock A.M.; we arrived here (the stockade at the mouth) about one o’clock, [...] We anchored about three o’clock [...] They [pirates] talked to Doraman. About six o’clock Doraman told us to bring the rice. When he was about to begin eating, shots were fired from both boats. Doraman fell to the shots [...] Three of our people jumped into the water and were stabbed, and all the others in my boat were also stabbed and killed. I jumped into the water, hung on the rudder, and after dark floated away to the shore. (McNair, 1878: 283-284)

The pirates who slaughtered Doraman and his crew were at last captured and tried at the place where the piracy had taken place. McNair was one of the British Commissioners who watched the proceedings of the court: “The sitting of the court took place at a stockade, and seven of the eight pirates were executed by the Sultan’s kris” (283). Before the trial and the eventual execution a British Admiral had an interview with the Sultan who,

[W]as surrounded by his chiefs and people [...] The Admiral, in referring to the barbarity of the Jugra

piracy, advised and urged upon the Sultan to caution his people against being guilty of such acts in future, pointing out how it was impossible that they could be left unpunished [...] The Sultan listened very attentively, and then turning quickly round to his people, he exclaimed: [...] ‘Hear now, my people! Don’t let us have any more of this little game!’ (289)

Finally, it can be said that travel and adventure books provided Conrad, for his novel *Lord Jim*, with information about the East and the incidents there which could not have been obtained either from observation and hearsay during the period when he was at Berau and Bulungan. Conrad was able to take not only Malay names but also suggestions for Malay characters and their histories and backgrounds from these writings. He obtained information about the attitude of these towards each other and each race and especially towards the white man. So far, what has been demonstrated can be summarized as such: Conrad drew upon “his seaman’s experiences for intellectual capital – for curious facts, human types, and innumerable impressions of individuals and places”; besides, “his Polish background supplied him with a deep emotional and moral power” (Megroz, 1964: 85).

As it was done in *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad used incidents in *Lord Jim* also from the real life to illustrate the environment in which the characters he created could perform and react. By means of this source study we have observed that the novel is partly based on true events. Conrad combined references from real life with the theme of betrayal through his character Jim who is haunted by the guilt of cowardice and forced to face his own past tragically. Conrad, once again, presents us the tension between individual self-interest and the demands of the prevailing social organization. Perhaps one difference between the uses of the allusions from the real world in *Heart of Darkness* and in *Lord Jim* is that Conrad used many more materials provided by his own experience – his sojourn in Africa up the Congo River – in *Heart of Darkness* than he used in *Lord Jim*. We have observed that he made more use of the other’s experiences than his own in *Lord Jim*. It can be argued that Conrad, through time, became so sensitive a writer toward others’ experiences that he could draw upon them very skilfully in his novel. Thus, we can conclude that his fiction is a

reflection of his intellectual development. The general conclusion we can draw from this source study of *Lord Jim* is that the dominant thematic veins of the novel agree with either Conrad's own life – as both a Pole and an English seaman – or the incidents that took place in the colonial history of the empire and the lives of its human agents.

With this attempt of documenting the cultural history of non- literary adventure narration during the later Victorian phase of the British Empire, the connections between the novel and Conrad's experiences both as a man having a Polish background and as a seaman, between the novel and the actual people and incidents, which Conrad either saw or heard about, between the novel and the places he visited, and between the novel and the travel and adventure accounts, are hoped to be established ideologically as well as culturally. Now it would be appropriate to put Conrad's text in its colonial context to explore its place in the imperial culture and thus to accomplish this postcolonial reading of the text that aims to investigate how far Conrad reflected the imperial culture in which he produced his text and how he subverted that culture in his text. To this end we can investigate how Conrad presents his characters and his main themes in the novel. To start with, we can take a brief look at Conrad's views about fiction and history. He wrote in his *Notes on Life and Letters*:

Fiction is history, human history, or it is nothing. But it is also more than this; it stands on firmer ground, being based on the reality of forms and the observation of social phenomena, whereas history is based on documents, and the reading of print and handwriting – on a second-hand impression. Thus fiction is nearer truth. But let that pass. A historian may be an artist too, and a novelist is a historian, the preserver, the keeper, the expounder, of human experience. (Conrad, 1921a: 17)

It is obvious that in these lines Conrad suggests that the novel presents us a more truthful reality than history does. In our attempt to judge *Lord Jim* in the context

of the above quoted viewpoint of Conrad, we can say that Jim is shown to be sharing the very British idea of 'pure romantic heroism' when he is described as "one of us" by Marlow, the narrator- participant, in the novel. Marlow uses the phrase "one of us" a minimum of nine times in the novel (Conrad, 1985: 38, 64, 75, 85, 101, 241, 249, 272, 313). The phrase deserves a special examination because it indicates "Jim is a member of a group, the seamen, and that he is a gentleman" (Goonetilleke, 1991: 23). Its broader inclusion takes in such concepts generally found in romantic merchant-adventurers and the ethically strong seamanship of average imperial British citizens. Moreover, the phrase is used in relation to "the man of "idea", the colonial man" (Lee, 1969: 35). The characteristics of "us" can be rather well established by reference to the situations in which the phrase appears. For example, the nationality of "us" is established in a passage following a long tirade by the rascally captain of the *Patna* against the Englishmen, in which he works himself up to "shpit" in a gesture against his English "verflucte certificate" which has been taken away from him for ignoble conduct as a sea captain (Conrad, 1985: 37). Marlow, in contrast, shifts his view from the "patriotic Flensburg" to Jim (37). He says: "I watched the youngster there. I liked his appearance; I knew his appearance; he came from the right place; he was one of us" (38). We know that Jim comes from England. In the following passage, Marlow presents Jim with the qualities of the British:

He stood there for all the parentage of his kind, for men and women by no means clever or amusing, but whose very existence is based upon honest faith, and upon the instinct of courage. I don't mean the military courage, or civil courage, or any special kind of courage. I mean just that inborn ability to look temptations straight in the face – a readiness unintellectual enough, goodness knows, but without pose – a power of resistance, don't you see, ungracious if you like, but priceless – an unthinking and blessed stiffness before the outward and inward terrors, before the might of nature, and the seductive corruption of men – backed by a faith invulnerable to the strength of

facts, to the contagion of example, to the solicitation of ideas. (38)

The phrase “one of us” has been discussed by most of Conrad’s critics. For example, Tony Tanner relates “one of us” with the image of “a western seaman” (1964: 13). For Moser, the group behind “us” is the solid folk of England and “the ranks Jim belongs to, or should belong to” are essentially the whole community of Western man (Moser, 1957: 20). Parry argues that Marlow is drawn to Jim’s familiar and congenial features, and thus comes to value those qualities in Jim seen in his outward image as the very model of colonial manhood and that Jim seems to have all the requirements of colonial manhood (Parry, 1987: 80). The idea is that the “us” as honest and dedicated is given in Jim’s “frank aspect, [...] artless smile, [...] youthful seriousness” (Conrad, 1985: 64). Marlow goes on: “He was of the right sort; he was one of us” (64). The “us” is highly aware of honour and proud in the best sense as Jim indicates when he is dying: “the white man sent right and left at all those faces a proud and unflinching glance” (312). Marlow says that Jim “fell forward, dead [...] to go away from a living woman to celebrate his pitiless wedding with a shadowy ideal of conduct [...] he was one of us” (312-313). Thus, we can say that the concept of “us” is defined as a set of dedicated, honourable, humanistic, courageous British merchant adventurers who bear the burden. At the beginning of the novel, through the anonymous narrator’s presentation of Jim, we can see that Jim’s qualities are associated with the codes of such social classes as seamanship and the clergy:

He was an inch, perhaps two, under six feet, powerfully built, and he advanced straight at you with a slight stoop of the shoulders, head forward, and a fixed from-under stare which made you think of a charging bull. His voice was deep, loud, and his manner displayed a kind of dogged self-assertion which had nothing aggressive in it. It seemed a necessity, [...] He was spotlessly neat, apparelled in immaculate white from shoes to hat.... (9)

Jim is drawn here as one belonging to a certain class. Immediately after being given his physical appearance, we are given the information that “in the various Eastern ports where he got his living as the ship-chandler’s water-clerk he was very popular” (9). Jim is also presented as one deserving to belong to seamanship for he comes from a parsonage. Conrad writes: “Many commanders of fine merchant-ships come from those abodes of piety and peace” (10). Here the narrator speaks about the clergy as the officially appointed custodians of morality whose function is to manipulate piety and faith as a means of social control, and he looks on Jim’s personality and situation “from the standpoint of one who consents to the impositions of regulations that will ensure the uniformity, cohesion and equilibrium of existing social arrangements” (Parry, 1987: 78). Jim seems to be a qualified member of the society to accomplish many achievements in his sea life. Outwardly, Jim seems the ideal representative of certain virtues that Marlow most admires: “An unthinking and blessed stiffness before the outward and inward terrors, before the might of nature, and the seductive corruption of man – backed by a faith invulnerable to the strength of facts, to the contagion of example, to the solicitation of ideas” (Conrad, 1985: 38).

Jim draws himself as a hero in his imagination. His inner existence was largely compounded of dreams. In his training days he,

[S]aw himself saving people from sinking ships, cutting away masts in a hurricane, swimming through a surf with a line; or as lonely castaway, barefooted and half-naked, walking on uncovered reefs in search of shell-fish to stave off starvation. He confronted savages on tropical shores, quelled mutinies on the high seas, and in a small boat upon the ocean kept up the hearts of despairing man – always an example of devotion to duty, and as unflinching as a hero in a book. (11)

So far, we have seen that Jim looks like a reliable British sailor and a confident member of the English society. Then he should exemplify honesty, loyalty and instinctive courage. But Jim is also drawn as a character between whose ideals

and acts there is an incongruity because he has a weak point: it is his powerful imagination which causes him to exaggerate things. For this reason Jim can be described, as Tanner states, as a man

[W]hose will is valiant but whose behaviour is craven, who is bravely active in his intentions and disastrously passive in his deeds, whose ideal aspirations are courageous and whose real conduct in a crisis is ignoble. He is a man who pursues a glamorous dream at the same time as he flees from an ugly fact. In him, the best and the basest of human motives are ominously interwoven. In imagination he is a hero; in actuality he is a coward. (1964: 11)

In spite of conforming to the high moral code of the Anglo- Saxon race, Jim's failure as a character cannot be hidden in the novel. Jim is a character through whose characterization Conrad subverts the imperial discourse of the age and examines the cultural codes of the empire and an individual's attempts to live up to that code. This subversion is provided with the obvious separation between a Jim as an individual person and the other Jim as an embodiment of the British "idea". Jim's actions at the first part of the novel do not agree with fidelity which is the code of the British Merchant Marine, or, as Marlow puts it in the novel, "the service of the Red Rag", "the craft of the sea" (Conrad, 1985: 39). Several instances for the incongruity between his self-ideal and his actions are apparent in the first part of the novel. For example, during his training days, two men are thrown in the water in an accident. Jim stands irresolute, paralyzed by what seems to be fear, and only moves when it is too late. His imagination is horrified by the brutal violence of the gale, and "he stood still – as if confounded" (11). The other boys see less than Jim, but as a result, can act decisively (12). Thus in a moment of indecision, he missed being in the rescue boat. But Jim still felt that "he alone would know how to deal with the spurious menace of wind and seas" (13). Another failure of Jim lies in a soft spot in his attraction to the less demanding service in Eastern waters and ports (Henricksen, 1992: 99). As the omniscient narrator tells us, due to the bad weather, Jim "was secretly glad he had not to go on deck" (Conrad, 1985: 14) and was filled "with a despairing desire to escape

at any cost,” when he was disabled by a falling spar” (15) and therefore was lying in his cabin. But when the good weather returned, “he thought no more about it” (15).

The incongruity between Jim’s self and his action is given immediately after he dreams of himself as a hero on the sea. The accident in the *Patna* which was to alter the whole course of his career happens just after he had such dreams. The *Patna* incident is an important failure through which Jim turns out to be an anti-hero or a “vulnerable hero” (Moser, 1957: 16). If we recall the incident, we can see how Jim acts during the accident. When the accident takes place, Jim rushes to investigate. What he sees is that the vessel has evidently been badly holed and the forepeak is half-full of water. He feels the iron bulkhead bulge under his hand and as he looks at it, a large flake of rust falls off. And now, with the swiftness of tropical weather-changes, and an opaque cloud boding a storm things start to worsen rapidly. The seven lifeboats on board would not hold more than a third of the passengers. It is true that Jim does not give way to panic, he raises no alarm but he sets to work by cutting the lifeboats clear of the ship, while the other officers, in a frenzy of terror, are desperately trying to launch one of the boats in order to escape before the ship sinks. Jim, at first, does not help them. But when the boat is at last launched and the officers are safely in it and the ship begins to plunge in the rising sea and Jim hears, standing alone on the bridge, the captain utter a shout of warning, he jumps into the boat without thinking. Though Jim, at the very second, notices what he has done, it is too late to go back. Jim once again fails as a result of his lack of courage. Jim, as Marlow already knows, has shown his vulnerability in the *Patna* accident. He betrays his seaman’s trust, jumping impulsively from the stricken ship. Marlow’s interpretation of Jim’s desertion of the steamship *Patna* and eight hundred pilgrims would help us evaluate Jim’s action: “Nothing more awful than to watch a man who has been found out, not in a crime but in a more than criminal weakness” (Conrad, 1985: 38). Jim’s weakness is more than criminal because he has broken the fundamental, elevated, trust of all the British Empire in its cultural and ethical superiority. Conrad subverts the conventional, mythical hero of the nineteenth-century travel and adventure accounts through the characterization of Lord Jim in the *Patna* episode, and then redeems the same in the Patusan segment.

In the Patusan section of the novel, Jim is again, at first, presented as a man of courage and invariable success. At Patusan, Jim, having a great energy and a sense of fairness, seems to be a good leader. He gains the Malayan people's faith. The untutored Bugis regarded him almost as a god, "for never once had he failed them, never once had the mysterious white man ceased to exercise his beneficent powers on their behalf" (Curle, 1957: 41). We know that Patusan people "had trusted him [...] Him alone! His bare word" (Conrad, 1985: 203) and we also know Tamb Itam's "devotion to his 'white lord'" (205). Marlow's last sight of Jim, just before Marlow's ship leaves Patusan, seems to support the idea that the Patusan people have accepted Jim as a benevolent lawgiver:

Two half-naked fishermen [...] pouring the plaint of their trifling, miserable, oppressed lives into the ears of the white lord, and no doubt he was listening to it, making it his own [...] Their dark-skinned bodies vanished on the dark background long before I had lost sight of their protector. He was white from head to foot, and remained persistently visible with the stronghold of the night at his back, the sea at his feet, the opportunity by his side – still veiled. (253)

We also know that at Patusan, Jim, as a man of great courage, overcomes dangers to reach Doramin; calmly risks being poisoned as Marlow witnessed; confronts four murderers, killing one and disarming the others; defeats his enemy, Sherif Ali, and, with an "untroubled bearing", speaks to the desperado, Gentleman Brown. Jim seems to be accomplishing his dreams as a leader of the people there till he encounters the horrible Brown. Jim's failure is the result of his inability to act decisively. He allows Brown and his followers to leave the country unharmed on condition that they take no life. But Brown breaks the pact and kills Dain Waris and his men. Jim, feeling responsible for this, does not try to escape with Jewel, but allows himself to be killed.

In the context of the plot Jim's death cannot be seen as a heroic act although he finally faces his death with the courage he lacked on the *Patna*. His death is a

failure because Jim, in his colonial exile, by his submission to death, leaves the Patusan people without a leader, and Jewel without a lover. He once again betrays people who trusted him just as he betrayed the pilgrims on the *Patna*, who “surrendered to the wisdom of white men and to their courage” (19). In the Patusan section of the novel, we once again see that Jim’s appearance and acts are totally in contrast: On the one hand, we see Jim, who is “clean-limbed, clean-faced, firm on his feet, as promising a boy as the sun ever shone on” (36), as Marlow says; on the other, we see his acts: “the destruction of his best friend, the destruction of himself, the abandonment of the Patusan village to leaderlessness and depredation” (Ghent, 1953: 230). But in the context of the theme, carefully weaving out an idea of imperial European hegemony with regard to individual ethical aspiration and ideals, Jim’s final act is a great glorification of the apotheosis of the empire’s ‘civilizing mission’.

If we put Jim in the cultural context in which the British traditions of duty, obedience, faithfulness and unostentatious courage were of great importance, Jim’s desertion of his ship and the helpless pilgrims it carries seems deplorable. So there is a discrepancy between what Jim looks like and what he is. Creating such a discrepancy in his character Conrad subverts, as Hillis Miller observes, “the seaman’s code of fidelity, obedience, and obscure courage on which the British Empire was built” (1987: 103). By presenting Jim as a failure whose ability to act decisively is paralyzed during the time of danger, Conrad questions the power installed behind this standard and within it. He shows us that, if there is no sovereign power enthroned in the fixed standard of conduct, the standard is without validity. Then it is an arbitrary code of behaviour, as Marlow says, “this precious notion of a convention, only one of the rules of the game, nothing more” (Conrad, 1985: 66). Hillis Miller comments on this matter in the same vein: “Nothing matters, and anything is possible, as in that condition of spiritual anarchy which takes over on the ship’s boat after Jim and the other officers have deserted the *Patna* and left her to sink with eight hundred men, women, and children” (1987: 104).

But in the second part, Conrad draws Jim as a benevolent lawgiver. Jim is presented as a white ruler having the ethical qualities such as assumption of responsibility, courage and trust: “He is the symbol of British superiority in the East” (Lee, 1969: 90). His imagination is redeemed and the colonial discourse is saved in

Jim's attempts to appropriate the English legacy of romanticism. As Tanner points out, Jim is so imaginative that, "when a sudden call to real action shatters his reveries, he is paralyzed, unable to make the transition from the world of fancy to the world of fact" (1964: 19). His imagination was the cause of his desertion of the *Patna*, for it made unbearable the threat of the storm and the scurrying of the captain and the engineers; because of his vivid consciousness of what might happen Jim could not endure the flaked, rotting bulkhead that hardly separated him from death. When he deserted the ship, he was fleeing from his own thought. Again, imagination is seen as the cause of Jim's death in the Patusan section. He was unable to see Brown simply as a ruthless criminal, and, more importantly, "his imaginative conception of previous dishonour had become so intense that only death would satisfy it" (Guetti, 1970: 30). In the novel, we see that Marlow, at dinner with Jim, realizes that the desertion was caused by Jim's incredibly active imagination, his vivid awareness of what might happen (Conrad, 1985: 76-77). Stein, a respectable old acquaintance of Marlow's diagnoses: "I understand very well. He is romantic" (162). Stein implies that Jim is labouring under a distorted illusion very far from reality and immediately following his diagnosis, he states: "A man that is born falls into a dream like a man who falls into the sea. If he tries to climb out into the air as inexperienced people endeavour to do, he drowns" (163). To return to Moser's "invulnerable hero", he describes such kind of a hero as "the man with the plague spot; the man who, confronted with isolation with a crisis, necessarily fails" (1957: 16). At the moment of crisis, Jim is cursed by an excess of imagination, crippling him from attaining his height of heroism. But in Patusan, he realizes his ideal and saves the grace of his imaginative faculty by unflinchingly living up to the moment. Boehmer reads this incapacity and desperation of Jim in maintaining his imaginative worth in tension with his cultural background, and writes:

As comparison with other colonialist fictions demonstrates, Jim's predicament is the extreme example that tests a rule. Like any displaced European's, his life-narrative is split: his personal ideals remain centred in Europe but his experience is set on the colonial periphery. On the one hand, there is

the authority defined in relationship with the native population; on the other, there is the self-consciously superior white man, in search of European approval, believing himself disconnected from native life. Significantly, when a group of unscrupulous Europeans comes to seek Jim out, he responds to them as of his own kind, with fatal consequences. The cooperation, even if superficial, loses him the trust of the island community. (2006: 61)

The failure of Jim, then, is not a failure of his personal heroism, which he attains successfully in the end by sacrificing his life for his words. But the failure is in his imagination, which is the product of the meta-romance of the empire and its false sacrosanct image that precludes his vision to see the ultimate threat in the atrocious Gentleman Brown. Brown is a white man and Jim takes him on his face value disregarding the corrosive effect of the empire that it often has on its exponents. Jim can be described as “a rather adolescent dreamer and ‘romantic’ with a strong ego-ideal, who prefers solitary reveries of heroism to the shock and bustle of active life”, and as one having “a strong visual imagination and vividly foresees the worst” (Guerard, 1958: 140). He can also be taken as a romantic egoist, a dreamer who “idealizes his self-deception, and distorts reality in his obsession with the fixed idea of his own greatness” (Moser, 1957: 30-33). Jim is also “unfit for reality” because he has “exchanged his real self with an ideal self” and he jumps from the *Patna* because of his “prolonged habit of self-deception” (Berthoud, 1978: 72-73) caused by his self-indulgent dreams. Jim’s sensitivity can psychoanalytically be seen at the moments of crises as his desperate attempt to save his reputation as well as identity. It is his sensitivity again which makes Jim flee from port to port after the *Patna* incident. At the beginning of the novel, Conrad’s frame narrator tells us: “His incognito, which had as many holes as a sieve, was not meant to hide a personality but a fact. When the fact broke through the incognito he would leave suddenly the seaport where he happened to be at the time and go to another – generally farther east” (Conrad, 1985: 10).

An exploration of the imperial impacts on the construction of Jim's self will reveal that Jim's self was shaped by the adventure narratives. In the opening depiction of Jim, we are told that his self-concept is derived from "sea life of light literature" (Conrad, 1985: 11). As Henricksen puts it, here the anonymous narrator, "...explicitly thematizes the shaping influence of societal discourses as they come to the individual already aesthetically encoded in entertaining narratives" (1992: 87). Jim's internalization of adventure narratives in his fictional world is the reason for his self-delusion. It is evident that in his inner world Jim creates a hero and believes that he himself is a hero, and he sees himself "as a hero in a book" (Conrad, 1985: 11). Leading a fictional life and constructing his identity in a literary context, Jim views himself as a protagonist in an imaginary story. Throughout the novel, Jim is reflected as having been influenced by ideals absorbed from the literature of heroic adventure, and even his decision to become a seaman was occasioned by the adventure stories and his image of himself as a seaman is nurtured on them (Saveson 1972: 34). The travel and adventure accounts of the 19th century are known to have emerged with the effects of imperialism. In other words, imperialism created its own culture which was embellished with colonial discourses, the exotic versions of the merchant-adventurers and the white rajahs. In these colonial discourses, these adventures were aestheticized; and finally imperialism created such characters as Jim, who is so romantic and imaginative that he cannot see his real self, and therefore, is in a self-delusion. Conrad's creating such a vulnerable hero is, of course, not aimless. His aim is to criticize "the romantic imperialist of adventure literature's collusion with imperialism" (Henricksen, 1992: 87). Conrad's critique of imperialism is achieved, in *Lord Jim*, through a series of subversions of the standard accepted values of imperialism.

As has been demonstrated in an earlier part of this chapter, among the colonial discourses the *Brookiana* had a special role in Conrad's creating his character, Lord Jim. It is known that for many years Brooke was recognized as the symbol of the White Rajah for the British public. Fleishman suggests: "Brooke's fantastic success was a contemporary folk myth that Conrad interpreted and refined in his art" (1967: 99). Lord Jim is drawn as a benevolent colonist in the second part of the novel. The idea of benevolent colonization vividly described in Brooke's writings

is also represented in the character, Lord Jim. Jim becomes a significant and positive political force within his new community. He commits himself to spending his life among the Malay natives and allies himself with them. Marlow reports that Jim “seemed to love the land and the people” (Conrad, 1985: 189). The working of the Brooke regime was glowingly celebrated throughout the 19th century (Fleishman, 1967: 102). But Conrad, unlike both Brooke and the writers and hired biographers of Brooke, who created the “Brooke myth” celebrating Brooke’s deeds in the Eastern Archipelago, represents the myth from a different perspective. It has been pointed out that Conrad made use of the writings of and about Rajah Brooke. But Conrad’s interest in Brooke, as marked by Fleishman, “is not simply a matter of colourful details of his career, on which was modelled Jim’s jump into a ditch during his escape from the natives” (101). It is true that the glory reflected in the writings about Brooke is partially reflected in Jim’s accomplishments at Patusan; but Conrad, while making Jim partially successful in becoming a colonist, makes his character fail to realize completely his “idea”. Jim’s career of benevolent lawgiver and arbitrator at Patusan is presented as a political failure. Conrad does this by making Jim’s egoism, which gives the impetus to his idealism, come ultimately to determine his failure. Marlow, while saying that Jim loved the land and the people there, adds the qualification that he loved them “with a sort of fierce egoism, with a contemptuous tenderness” (Conrad, 1985: 189). We also know that Jim goes to Patusan to realize his dreams, which he could not realize in the Western society. Conrad’s creation of a character like Jim, in whose personality benevolence and egoism skilfully coincided, gives us the idea that Conrad was aware of the dangers of personal imperialism. Idealism and disinterestedness like Brooke’s were considered the essence of the colonist, and devotion to his impulse is the mark of Brooke himself. Nevertheless, “when these selfless virtues are associated with egoistic sentimentality, they make the colonist a danger to those whose betterment he seeks” as in the case of Jim (Fleishman, 1967: 105). There seems to be something fatal in the very merits that colour the virtues of the best colonists. Through Jim, Conrad shows us the possibility of ordering a society almost completely along the lines of an individual’s imagination, and the danger when an individual’s imagination is at work. The result is, in Jim’s case, the destruction of himself and the people who trusted him.

Then, for Conrad, there is no such successful adventurer. What Jim, as a colonist, has left behind himself is nothing more than such rumours as: "Some white men had gotten in there and turned things upside down" (Conrad, 1985: 290). Through Jim's failures Conrad criticizes imperialism. Conrad's portrayal of imperialism in the novel can be associated with Conrad's portrayal of Jim. Jim is known to be a failure in Western society; he could not maintain the codes of seamanship. The English imperialist discourses, as Pennycook has it, are the cultural products mapping out the relationship between "self" and "other" (1998: 47). These discourses include a series of dichotomous pairs such as primitive and civilized, savage and enlightened, educated and uneducated, dividing colonizers from the colonized. In these discourses, "the other" has become a requirement to define the self. So it is hard to separate the constructs of self and "the other" in these discourses. Pennycook states: "Juxtaposing every primitive savage there must be a civilized gentleman, for every despotic regime there must be a model of democratic government" (47). As Metcalf puts the matter,

[A]s Europeans constructed a sense of self for themselves apart from the old order of old Christendom, they had of necessity to create a notion of an 'other' beyond the seas. To describe oneself as 'enlightened' meant that someone else had to be shown as 'savage' or 'vicious'. To describe oneself as 'modern', or as 'progressive' meant that those who were not included in that definition had to be described as 'primitive' or 'backward'. Such alterity, what one might call the creation of doubleness, was an integral part of the Enlightenment project. (1995: 6)

Thus, Conrad narrates in between the culture and empire, and puts Jim's progressive essential heroism vis- a- vis Brown's regressive blatant imperialism, creating the scope of an ethical 'otherness' within the folds of the 'enlightened' imperialist culture. In *Lord Jim* it is seen that defining the self becomes a major problem for Marlow, the principal narrator and also an interpreter of Jim's actions. Conrad also puts the reader into a scrutiny of Jim's self. Though ambivalent, Jim's

self is recognized through his other self. In the novel Jim's "other" cannot be found in the Eastern people, but in Jim's own self in the first instance, and in another Westerner, Gentleman Brown in the second instance. While "the other" became a device to define the 'self' in English colonial discourse, in the novel the 'self' is defined through the materials taken from the Western world. To exemplify the first instance, it can be said that Jim encounters himself at the moment of his jump from the *Patna*. Ghent takes this event as "a paradigm of the encounters of the conscious personality with the stranger within, the stranger who is the very self of the self" (1953: 229). Though, before the *Patna* incident, as the frame narrator tells us, Jim sees the other seamen as "the other" and despises the bowman of the cutter when he rescues the drowning men during a gale (Conrad, 1985: 13). He finds his "other" not in those seamen but in himself when the *Patna* accident happens. Jim's attitude toward his jump from the *Patna* proves that he does not know himself. He seems not to have witnessed the jump though it is he who performs it. He tells Marlow: "I had jumped [...] It seems" (88). In his speech with Marlow, we can observe that Jim always repudiates the other-self that has been revealed to him. It is this denial of the very 'self of the self' that makes Jim struggle to be what he is not.

Surrendering himself to an impossible ideal of the self, Jim goes to Patusan. He thinks that he can realize himself at Patusan. He needs "the other" to define himself. The dichotomy of "self" and "other" occurs in Conrad's text as it occurred in the other texts written in the period of imperialism. But this time it is not used as a way of defining the "self". In other words, although the European encounter with the natives occurs in the Patusan episode, in contrast to the other discourses, in Conrad's text the European does not go there to civilize them but to rehabilitate himself. But Jim cannot realize his dreams there because he faces once more his unacknowledged identity with Brown's arrival at Patusan. It can be maintained that Jim identified himself with Brown, which has led to the ruin of both Jim and the Malayan people. The reason for Jim's identification himself with Brown deserves particular attention because it is this identification that leads Jim to the failure. Jim can be seen as the one who "simply cannot resist the evil because the evil is within himself" (Morf, 1930: 157-158). Ghent argues that "the appearance of Brown is, in effect, the externalization of the complex of Jim's guilt and his excuses for his guilt, for he

judges Brown as he judged himself”, and that Jim’s letting Brown escape is really a “compact with his own unacknowledged guilt” (1953: 235). Jim’s error at Patusan can be taken as an outcome of an “immobilizing bond brought about by his unconscious identification with Brown” (Guerard, 1958: 150). It is claimed that Jim’s consciousness of his own failure may well have strengthened his wish to spare Brown’s life,” and Jim identified himself with Brown “to the extent that he thought that, like himself, Brown ought to be given another chance” (Watt, 1987: 61). Jim, seeing himself in Brown, who has reminded Jim of his past, lets Brown and his men go.

Conrad’s employment of Marlow as a narrator is another authorial strategy to put the latter’s ‘betweenness’ into action while narrating the exploits of the empire. In simple terms, Marlow brings in a required distance from the author, who is caught in a dilemma between his responsibilities towards his adopted national identity and his life- long experience of the empire and its many faults. This phenomenon also provides multiple perspectives to the tale of Jim. Marlow attends the Inquiry as a spectator, curious to learn what defence can be put up by any ship’s officer who has broken such a moral tradition as the one which forbids an officer to leave a sinking ship unless all of the passengers have first been safely removed. Marlow takes over the story when Jim is placed before us and the processes of judgement begin. As Jim’s case is not an absolute but a relative one, “*Marlow has to exist*” (Ghent, 1953: 237). Marlow both observes and interprets Jim’s case. But Marlow’s narrative is an ambiguous one because there is a contradiction at the heart of his narrative. At one point Marlow seems to assert one thing, soon he asserts another. As Tanner points out, it is the apparent discrepancy between appearance and fact in Jim that arouses Marlow’s interest. “This is a major theme of the novel and it determines the line of Marlow’s inquiries – is Jim gold or ‘nothing more rare than brass’” (1964: 23). The contradiction is an outcome of Marlow’s seeing Jim as “one of us” and this suggests that Marlow desires to find an excuse for Jim’s desertion of the sinking ship. If Jim, who looks like “one of us” has betrayed those standards which bind the community together, then what is the implication for the man who believes in those standards? For this reason, “the deep inward truth of Jim, for Marlow, is the only truth worth knowing” (24). It is therefore evident that Marlow has a moral response to Jim’s

unfaithfulness. Marlow's failure to find a way out for Jim ends in his shadowy, dark romantic images. He leaves Jim at Patusan in the enveloping darkness. Thus, Marlow's oral narrative ends. The remaining part of the action in the novel is rendered through the privileged reader, who receives a packet of letters written by Marlow two years later. Through the letters, we learn of Jim's fate, and the Brown affair; and the novel ends with Marlow's elegy to Jim. In fact, the reification of Jim's personal code is approved and sympathetically narrated by the clear partiality that Conrad employs to emphasize the role of Marlow as a narrator in the novel.

What Conrad does through his narrative technique in *Lord Jim* is firstly the employment of the characters in the novel as narrators in it making a connection between narrator and character; secondly, he makes the reader a character, though not a literary one; and thirdly, he puts the reader into a particular time and a particular place, and thus he makes his readers historically situated. As is known, the texts of the adventure narratives of the 19th century adopted the authorial vision to reflect the imperialist creed of the colonial man. Conrad deliberately subverts the process, puts Marlow within and re-examines the relation of the idea of the empire with its practice. He is not tempted to solve the tension, inherent in the discourse of the empire, and places Browns besides Jims in his narratives of the colonial culture. Therefore, despite an abundance of perspectives in the novel, at the end of the novel Jim remains enigmatic. There is no one single truth about him; instead, there is uncertainty, ambivalence about his character. Conrad implies that there is no single truth to be reached. There are rather many subjective truths which are caught between the consciousness of the empire and that of the culture of the text in which it is being produced. *Lord Jim* at once "exposes the tautology of the colonial hero ideal" and yet remains a glorifying treaty upon the proud heroic culture of the superior British individuality, who is, indeed, "one of us" (Boehmer, 2006: 62).

CHAPTER- IV

Nostramo: Conrad's Vision of the Capitalist Model of Improvement

“What ‘Nostramo’ narrates is a passage not from edenic nature to a fallen world of culture, but from Spanish colonialism via the regimes of countless unstable and tyrannical republics and endemic civil wars to a new Anglo- American imperialism.”

(Benita Parry: *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*)

Nostramo is regarded by Conrad as his “most anxiously meditated” (Vol. 2, 2004: 82) novel and it is in this novel of 1904 that Conrad proposes his most comprehensive perception of imperialism as the expression of gross capitalist materialism. Cedric Watts comes up with the view that the composition of *Nostramo* was almost certainly influenced by the political fact of the secession of Panama from Columbia, an event which is in itself a success of the American agenda that wanted to acquire control of the territory necessary to build a canal linking the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans (Watts 1969: 37-41). What happens in Costaguana over the course of the novel parallels the incidents happening in Panama in its early days. In her introduction to the Broadview edition of the novel, Ruth Nadelhaft goes so far as to suggest that the novel, which began as a short story on the lives of the Italian immigrants in South America, developed into a critique of what she calls “the annexation of Panama” by the United States (1997: 16). Given the fact that Conrad was critical of the US imperialistic attitude as is evident from his earlier letters to R. B. Cunninghame- Graham regarding the Spanish- American War, and pitting that information against the developments around Panama in those days, it can well be surmised that *Nostramo* consciously churns out aspects of Conrad's intellectual involvement with the culture of capitalism in the first decade of the 20th century (Watts 1969: 39). Set in the imaginary postcolonial South American nation of Costaguana, the novel suggests that a nation's political independence does not ensure

economic independence or even self-determination. On the contrary, even though Costaguana have been free of Spanish rule for fifty years, the nation's resources and markets are still controlled by foreign interests, as are its government and even its territorial boundaries. My attempt, in the present study of the novel, would be to examine the culture of this extreme capitalist materialism as addressed by Conrad while trying to build up a dialogue between the contemporary capitalist agenda of imperialism and the essential human values of men and women in a given society.

Nostromo, for many, has proved to be a novel with layered but ambiguous political implications, especially for its convoluted plot and an equally difficult treatment of the same. Fredric Jameson acknowledges the disjunction between the individual act and historical process and explains the disjunction in terms of how history inevitably "steals" individual agons:

Here the central act, the heroic expedition of Decoud and Nostromo, which ought to have grounded their status as heroes, as ultimate legendary forms of the individual subject, is appropriated by collective history, in which it also exists, but in a very different way, as the founding of institutions. In classical Sartrean language, we can say that the historical act of Decoud and Nostromo has been alienated and stolen from them even before they achieve it; or in more Hegelian terminology, their action can be characterized as that of structurally ephemeral mediation.... Decoud's and Nostromo's is the moment of the action of the individual subject, but one which is at once reabsorbed by the very stability and transindividuality of the institutions it is necessary to found. History uses their individual passions and values as its unwitting instruments for the construction of a new institutional space in which they fail to recognize themselves or their actions and from which they can only, either slowly or violently, be effaced, remnants of another

age -- not, this time, the myth of origins and the golden age of the giants, but rather the moment of the mediatory transition to another social form, a form as degraded, as transindividual, as non-narratable, as the one that preceded it, although in its own quite different way. (2002: 268-269)

Jameson's argument is a paradigm of an approach to *Nostramo* and Conrad's other political novels that strive to relocate the author's stand in between a collective political destiny and the struggling efforts of an individual/ idealist resistance in the wake of high capitalism. Charles Gould, one of the three most important characters in the novel, is shown enamoured of the capitalistic romance of national development and is made to pay heavily and dearly for the same capitalism working on the territories of Costaguana. Jameson inspects the very nature of Conrad's understanding of the culture of capitalism in the early years of the 20th century and adds further:

[T]he novel is a virtual textbook working- out of the structuralist dictum that all narrative enacts a passage from Nature to Culture. Indeed, the opening pages evoke the landscape of the gulf, a landscape without people; while the close (excluding the death of *Nostramo*) celebrates the achieved society of the new republic. In *Lord Jim*, the interrogation of the individual act and possibilities of action led to the projection of a degraded image of "legendary" heroism; here, on the contrary, a similar interrogation would seem to have been able to lift itself to the level of the collective and to generate a narrative production of society itself. (262)

Since its publication, *Nostramo* has taken its place among Conrad's masterpieces as a panoramic novel of revolution and a profound meditation on history and the cultural effects of "material interests" on human destiny. A synchronic reading of the text and its biographical as well as politico- historical contexts would

sufficiently explicate the issue of capitalism and its regressive culture, as seen by Conrad in the plot of the novel. Taking the new historicist premise into account that both the author and cultural texts are the products of the historical and cultural contexts in which the author lived and his/her texts are produced, this part aims to show firstly that there has been an interaction between *Nostromo* and the culture in which it was produced. Through the construction of a biographical context in which Conrad's text is intended to be put, it proposes to show that Conrad made use of other peoples' experiences rather than his own experiences. Conrad utilized his own experiences of the actual events and places to some extent and combined them with the things of which he heard or read from other sources in the writing of the novel. This part also aims to show how Conrad combined, in his text, the particular histories of particular characters with the history of the world. Conrad took his subject matters and characters – there are many stories in *Nostromo*: the Goulds', Nostromo's, Decoud's, Giorgio Viola's and the Avellanoses' – from his own time, and dealt with the political and socio-economic issues of the time in the novel. He also had his novel have an artistic integrity by approaching history in a modernist sense and by means of his modernist narrative technique. In fact, Conrad's narrative technique employed in the novel also revolves round the theme of materialism and its degrading effects on individuals. Through the construction of the historical and political context, it is aimed to show how Conrad reflected the political ideas pervasive in the second half of the 19th century and subverted them in *Nostromo* by employing both symbolism and an ironic tone in the novel. To this end, first it will be given how such nations as the USA, Britain, Germany, Russia and Spain reflected their policies in the world arena in the second half of the 19th century and then it will be explored how Conrad perceived their ideologies and reflected them in his text. In other words, the chapter aims to show how Conrad responded to the imperial fable of capitalist improvement. In this part of this chapter, it will also be explored how Conrad gave his characters symbolic dimensions and to what extent they could fulfil their social and political roles; the effects of "material interests" on each character will be the concern of this part as well.

Before reading *Nostromo* in its biographical context, it would be appropriate to recall the story of the novel briefly. *Nostromo* is set in the coastal province of

Sulaco, the wealthiest region of the South American republic of Costaguana. The setting of *Nostramo* is a fictional colonial state whose economy hinges on the nearby San Tomé silver mine which the Englishman Charles Gould has inherited. Political instability creeps into the place as a civil war between Ribiera's legal government and Montero's Populist Party begins in Sulaco. To save the silver from the rebels Gould entrusts it jointly to the journalist Martin Decoud and the Italian Nostromo who is popularly known as the 'Capataz de Cargadores' and is regarded a local hero. But Nostromo smuggles it out into the gulf. When they are forced to run around on nearby islands, the Isabels, they hide the silver and Nostromo returns to Sulaco. Left alone, Decoud drowns himself. Though Dr. Monygham persuades him to summon loyal forces to save Sulaco, Nostromo has been shocked into awareness that he is exploited by his employers. He allows people to believe that the silver has been lost and makes secret visits to retrieve it from the Isabels, where the lighthouse keeper is now Georgio Viola, the father of his betrothed Linda. Nostromo finds himself in love with Linda's sister, Giselle. Georgio mistakes him for an intruder and shoots him, and thus the secret of the silver is lost forever. Though this surface story gives us what happens in the plot of the novel, it is far away from showing the depths of the characters and the integrity of the action in the novel.

Conrad in his "Author's Note" to *Nostramo*, which was written in 1917, thirteen years after the novel was published, recalled the circumstances under which *Nostramo* was begun:

[A]fter finishing the last story of the "Typhoon" volume it seemed somehow that there was nothing more in the world to write about.

This so strangely negative but disturbing mood lasted some little time; and then, as with many of my longer stories, the first hint for "Nostramo" came to me in the shape of a vagrant anecdote completely destitute of valuable details.

As a matter of fact in 1875 or '6, when very young, in the West Indies or rather in the Gulf of

Mexico, for my contacts with land were short, few, and fleeting, I heard the story of some man who was supposed to have stolen single-handed a whole lighter-full of silver, somewhere on the *Tierre Firme* seaboard during the troubles of a revolution.

On the face of it this was something of a feat. I heard no details, and having no particular interest in crime *qua* crime I was not likely to keep that one in my mind. And I forgot it till twenty-six or seven years afterwards I came upon the very thing in a shabby volume picked up outside a second-hand book-shop. It was the life of an American seaman written by himself with the assistance of a journalist. In the course of his wanderings that American sailor worked for some months on board a schooner, the master and owner of which was the thief of whom I had heard in my very young days. I have no doubt of that peculiar kind in the same part of the world and both connected with a South American revolution. (1963: xv-xvi)

Although Conrad gives no other details, some critics such as John Halverson and Ian Watt argue that Conrad undoubtedly refers to a book whose title page reads: *On Many Seas: The Life and Exploits of a Yankee Sailor* (1897) written by Frederick Benton Williams. The book is cited as Conrad's original source for *Nostramo* by Halverson and Watt in their article, "The Original *Nostramo*: Conrad's Source" written in 1959 (1959: 45). *On Many Seas* is both an autobiography of Williams as a sailor who rose from a ship's boy to the position of a captain and an entertaining account of William's youthful adventures as a seaman from 1864 to 1878. It is also a tale of the stolen lighter of silver (Williams, 1897). On seeing that *Nostramo* includes some stories other than the stolen lighter of silver, we can concede that Conrad obtained certain important material, for his novel, from a number of books written about the South American continent. It can be suggested that Conrad might have read some other books about the South American continent besides *On Many Seas*, and

these books might have provided Conrad mainly with hints for characters, names, incidents and topography. Therefore, it can be said that there is not a single important source of *Nostromo*, and that a number of books are significant as sources because “they provide the suggestions for important movements within the historical, socio-economic world of the novel” (Sherry, 1971: 148). Previous studies of the sources of *Nostromo* have also showed that the novel was derived from George Frederick Masterman’s *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay* (1869), which is an account of Masterman’s own torture in Paraguay. Ivo Vidan, in his article “One_Source of Conrad’s *Nostromo*”, recognizes the torture of Dr. Monygham in *Nostromo* as a parallel to Masterman’s (1956: 287). Frederick R. Karl also states that Conrad drew the names of many of his chief characters from Masterman’s book, for example Decoud, Mitchell, Gould, Fidanza (*Nostromo*), Corbelan, Barrios and Monygham (1979: 506-536). Apart from these source materials, Karl focuses on the importance of another book as a source for *Nostromo*. It is Edward B. Eastwick’s *Venezuela: or Sketches of Life in a South American Republic; with the History of the Loan of 1864* (1868), of which Conrad may have heard from Cunninghame Graham (539). It may be considered that Conrad borrowed names such as Sotillo, Ribera, Antonia (Antonia Ribera in Eastwick’s book), Guzman Bento (Guzman Blanco in Eastwick’s book) from *Venezuela*. Karl argues that Conrad found descriptions in *Venezuela*, which he applied to “the topography of Sulaco, including the gulf, cape, customs house and lighthouse” (542). *Venezuela* provided Conrad with not only certain names but also a conception of Antonio Avellanos, though she was modelled on Conrad’s first love. Conrad’s Antonia has much in common with Antonia Ribera in *Venezuela* in respect of her appearance and mannerism. *Venezuela* is a book in which Eastwick both gives an account of his travels in Venezuela and records the incidents concerned with the negotiations with the local Government ministers. *Venezuela*, one of whose chapters is devoted to the history of the loan and another to Venezuelan economic history in terms of foreign loans, gives an analysis of the failure of Republican economics. This book is also seen as a source for another character in *Nostromo*, Sir John, who is the representative of “material interests” from abroad.

The actual historical events, true of the South American republics may be suggested to have been the model for the movements and ideas of the imaginary

Occidental Republic in *Nostromo*. The first parallel between the history of the South American republics and the Occidental Province is that in both the Italian element is strong. Conrad himself pointed out in the “Author’s Note”: “the thing is perfectly credible: Italians were swarming into the Occidental Province at the time, as anybody who will read further can see” (1963: xix). The Italian element was provided in the novel by the employment of Giorgio Viola the Garibaldino, whom, as Conrad writes in the “Author’s Note”, he drew as “the idealist of the old, humanitarian revolutions” (xxi). Conrad, to draw his character Viola, might have made use of R. B. Cunninghame Graham’s experiences in South America or read *Thirteen Stories*, a collection of Graham’s stories published in 1900. There are close parallels between Viola and Enrico Clerici, a character in “Cruz Alta”, a story in Graham’s collection. It is a tale in which Graham describes his experiences in post-revolutionary Uruguay and Paraguay, and tells how he had renewed his friendship with an Italian immigrant, Enrico Clerici, who kept a store overlooking the little port of Ytapua in Paraguay. In *Nostromo* Viola is presented as “Old Giorgio Viola, a Genoese with a shaggy white leonine head – often called simply ‘the Garibaldino’ (as Mohammedans are called after their prophet)” (Conrad, 1998: 22). He has a “little hotel [...] standing alone halfway between the harbour and the town” (21). He had been “one of Garibaldi’s immortal thousand in the conquest of Sicily” (26). Graham’s story contains the following account:

Two days passed in Ytapua resting our horses, and I renewed my friendship with Enrico Clerici, an Italian, who had served with Garibaldi, and who, three years ago, I had met in the same place given him a silver ring which he reported galvanized, and was accustomed to lend as a great favour for a specific against rheumatism. He kept a *pulperia*, and being a born fighter, his delight was, when a row occurred [...] to clear the place by flinging empty bottles in his hand, whether as weapon of offence or for the purposes of drink; withal well educated and no doubt by this time

long dead, slain by his favorite weapon. (Quoted in Sherry, 1971: 150-151)

The parallels between Viola and Clerici can be summed up as thus: Both are Italian and have served with Garibaldi, both became innkeepers in South America.

In *Nostramo* Conrad enlarges upon “the idea of the picture of Garibaldi, describing it in detail and making it a focus in the Casa Viola” (151). In the novel liberty and Garibaldi are represented as Viola’s divinities (Conrad, 1998: 22). The scene in which Viola and his family – his wife and two daughters – await the attack of the rioters on his isolated inn is an evidence of Viola’s attachment to Garibaldi:

A discharge of firearms nearby made her throw her head back and close her eyes. Old Giorgio set his teeth hard under his white moustache, and his eyes began to roll fiercely. Several bullets struck the end of the wall together; pieces of plaster could be heard falling outside; a voice screamed ‘Here they come!’ and after a moment of uneasy silence there was a rush of running feet along the front.

Then the tension of old Giorgio’s attitude relaxed and a smile of contemptuous relief came upon his lips of an old fighter with a leonine-face. These were not a people striving for justice, but thieves. Even to defend his life against them was a sort of degradation for a man who had been one of Garibaldi’s immortal thousand in the conquest of Sicily. He had an immense scorn for his outbreak of scoundrels and leperos, who did not know the meaning of the word ‘liberty’.

He grounded his old gun, and, turning his head, glanced at the coloured lithograph of Garibaldi in a black frame on the white wall; [...] His eyes, accustomed to the luminous twilight, made out the

high colouring of the face, the red of the shirt, the outlines of the square shoulders, the black patch of the Bersagliere hat with cock's feathers, curling over the crown. An immortal hero! This was your liberty; it gave you not only life, but immortality as well. For that one man his fanaticism had suffered no diminution. (25-26)

Conrad also took Garibaldi as a model while constructing Viola's past, which is given in a series of flashbacks and references to past events.

As for Nostromo, his central dilemma, the responsibility for and corrupting influence of the silver came from the tale of the sailor, of whom Conrad heard in his youth, and read in 1890 or '91 as he states in the "Author's Note" to *Nostromo*. Conrad writes that he "received the inspiration for him [Nostromo] [...] from a Mediterranean sailor" (1963: xx). But Conrad does not reflect Nostromo merely as a thief. He had Nostromo have some other peculiarities such as his nationality, his being a man of character, his courage and trustworthiness. It is evident that Conrad utilized his own experiences to draw Nostromo. A certain Dominic Cervoni, whom Conrad had known at Marseilles between 1874 and 1878 when Cervoni was the padrone of the *Tremolino* may be the source of Nostromo. Apart from this, Cervoni was the first mate of the *Saint Antonia*, the vessel in which Conrad sailed to the West Indies and then on to the South American continent. "Cervoni's being a man of character; fearlessness and caustic manner are the traits, which Conrad passed to Nostromo" (Sherry, 1971: 163). Conrad also writes in his "Author's Note" to *Nostromo*: "Many of Nostromo's speeches I have heard first in Dominic's voice" (1963: xx). The parallels between Cervoni and Nostromo are drawn by Sherry as quoted below:

[J]ust as Dominic 'belonged to the Brotherhood of the Coast, a kind of Mafia; Nostromo is leader of the Cargadores, and later of the labour movement and is a 'fearful and reared leader. Dominic was a smuggler [...] Nostromo is also chosen for difficult tasks, and is

particularly involved in smuggling the silver out of Costaguana [...] Dominic has a physical assurance which attracted that splendid lady and Carlist intriguer, Dona Rita [...] and Nostromo is attractive to women also – both the Viola girls are in love with him. Cervoni's character of bravery on land and sea and his qualities of leadership can be seen in the character of Nostromo. (1971: 164-165)

In the novel the quality of leadership in Nostromo can be viewed especially in the scene in which Nostromo becomes a fearful and feared leader when he is at sea with the lighter of silver and when he becomes superior to the educated Decoud and threatens to put a bullet into Hirsch's head and a knife into Decoud's heart if they make a sound during the movement of Sotillo's transport across their bows. Nostromo shouts at Hirsch: "Don't move a limb. If I hear as much as a loud breath from you, I shall come over there and put a bullet through your head" (Conrad, 1998: 243). Likewise, he threatens Decoud: "Don Martin [...] if I didn't know your worship to be a man of courage, capable of standing stock still whatever happens, I would drive my knife into your heart" (248).;

Conrad took an actual person as a model for his character of Martin Decoud as he did for the characters of Viola and Nostromo. Vidan points out that "a certain Carlos Decoud is mentioned near the beginning [of Masterman's book, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*] in an account of an "unhappy incident" and that it bears "a remote similarity to Decoud's situation in *Nostramo*" (1956: 289). It can also be considered that Conrad reflected one of his experiences in Decoud. If we consider the relationship between Decoud and Antonia Avellanos, and the fact that Conrad implies that Antonia was modelled on his first love, whom he loved when he was young and in Marseilles, we can say that Conrad, while creating his character Decoud, took himself as a model for Decoud. Referring to his relationship with his first love, Conrad states that he was "very much like poor Decoud" (1963: xxii).

Conrad probably reflected, in Decoud, something of his own nature. As Conrad did, Decoud also beholds the universe "as a succession of incomprehensible

images" (Conrad, 1998: 436) and Decoud's final statement of man's position in the universe and his dealing with the helpless human condition are similar to those of Conrad. Decoud says: "In our activity alone do we find the sustaining illusion of an independent existence as against the whole scheme of things of which we form a helpless part" (435-436). The assumption that Conrad has drawn a parallel between himself and Decoud can also be confirmed by a short glance at Conrad's youth, his relations to Poland, and his patriotic sentiments. Don Martin Decoud, "the dilettante in life", (181), "the adopted child of Western Europe," (143) has been living in Paris for several years. There he had been "an idle boulevardier, in touch with some smart journalists, made free of a few newspaper offices, and welcomed in the pleasure haunts of pressmen" (139-140). All this is closely modelled on Conrad's own life in Marseilles, and "this manner of existence has the effect on Decoud's character that it had had on Conrad's" (Morf, 1930: 129). Conrad says in *Nostramo*: "This life induced in him a Frenchified – but most unFrench – cosmopolitanism, in reality a mere barren indifferentism posing as intellectual superiority" (1998: 152).

Having put the characters into a fictional reality with serious parallels to contemporary political atmosphere, Conrad consciously sets out to put his critical views on the cult of materialist development in the novel. For achieving this end he builds up his plot out of the huge corpus of writing of the period on South America. Watts argues that Conrad, in *Nostramo*, not only drew upon the facts about South America told by Graham but also utilized Graham's criticism of imperialistic adventures found in his articles which were published in the *Saturday Review* (1969: 36). During Conrad's friendship with Graham, the US began to emerge as a rival to the older imperialist powers and Graham was concerned to express in his articles the opinion that the United States' policies toward Spanish-American territories were as hypocritical as Britain's policies in Africa. At this point, Conrad, as Watts states, was a reader of the *Saturday Review*, which contained not only Graham's warnings of the dangers and complexities of European and North American affairs but also sceptical editorial comments on the United States' expansionist ambitions (39). It is argued that Conrad shared much of Graham's antipathy to the policies of the US and thus he had a critical eye on the South American affairs. Particular current events in Central and Southern America are also considered the genesis of *Nostramo*. The significant idea

that must be emphasized now is that Conrad developed an awareness of the current events occurring in these areas of the world through Graham's writings. Therefore, we can say that Graham, by means of both his ideas he shared with Conrad and his writings, became effective on the ideas reflected in *Nostramo*.

Costaguana, the setting of *Nostramo*, is an imaginary South American republic. In his "Author's Note" to *Nostramo* Conrad wrote that Costaguana was all of South America (1998: xviii). It has been argued that Conrad took particular aspects of the continent as sources for Costaguana and Sulaco: "The name of the imaginary state, Costaguana is derived from Costa Rica and Guano" (Morf, 1930: 14). Sherry also argues that many of the names Conrad uses in the novel come from the long western coastline of South America. For example, Zapiga, which is shown as "a settlement of thieves and matreros" in *Nostramo*, is a place "in Chile in the region of Tarapaca, east of the coastal town of Pisagua", and Cayta, the principal port of Costaguana and "an important postal link" in *Nostramo*, is derived from the coastal port of Payta in the Northern part of Peru (1971: 189). Esmeralda, where Sotillo commands the garrison, is in Ecuador. Sta Marta, which is seen as the capital of Costaguana in the novel, is an actual Colombian port (190-191). Baines also comments on the topography in *Nostramo*. He writes, "Puerto Cabello [...] is situated in the Galfo Triste, which became the Galfo Placido", and "the reefs of Punta Brava became the cape of Punta Mala" in the novel (Baines, 1960: 296). Sherry shows Sulaco, a town in Honduras, as the original name of Sulaco in the novel. But we can also propose that Valencia in Eastwick's book may be the origin of Sulaco in *Nostramo* because both of these places have the quality of unchangeableness. Eastwick comments about Valencia: "I could not help asking myself how it was that in three centuries it had made so little progress in wealth, population and importance" (1868: 167). In *Nostramo* we are told that Sulaco is "an inviolable sanctuary from the temptations of a trading world" (Conrad, 1998: 11). Besides, the silver mine San Tomé appears to be based upon a copper mine which appears in Eastwick's book. In *Nostramo*, we learn that:

An English company obtained the right to work it, and found so rich a vein that neither the exactions of successive governments, nor the periodical raids of

recruiting officers upon the population of paid miners they had created, could discourage their perseverance. But in the end, during the long turmoil of pronunciamientos that followed the death of the famous Guzman Bento, the native miners, incited to revolt by the emissaries sent out from the capital, had risen upon their English chiefs and murdered them to a man. (53)

And Eastwick writes:

If I went to San Felipe, I could easily go on to the copper-mines of Aroa, which I was desirous of visiting. These mines were worked for a time under the superintendence of Englishmen with good results; but unfortunately one fine day the native miners took it into their heads that they had a grievance against the foreigners, so they fell on them suddenly, split their skulls with hatchets, and decamped with their property. For this cruel and cowardly deed some of the guilty parties were afterwards executed, but the mines were for a time abandoned. (1868: 144)

Conrad's psychology may be taken as the genesis of his pessimistic worldview pervasive in the novel. His pessimism emerges in such themes of the novel as history is futile and cyclical, individuals are impenetrable and solitary, and human values are relativistic and irrational. We can attach Conrad's pessimism to his historical condition in the general history, and recognize Conrad's personal standing "as an aristocratic Polish exile deeply committed to English conservatism, intensified for him the crisis of English bourgeois ideology" (Eagleton, 1987: 431). Considering that individual psychology is a social product, we can recognize Conrad's psychology as a product of the Western imperialism and capitalism, the aspects of which were studied by Conrad throughout his life. Eagleton observes that the pessimism in Conrad's worldview is "rather a unique transformation into art of an ideological

pessimism rife in his period" (431), and Conrad allied himself to the ideology of the Western bourgeois class. Eagleton adds:

There were good reasons for that ideological crisis, in the history of imperialist capitalism throughout this period. Conrad did not, of course, merely anonymously reflect that history in his fiction; every writer is individually placed in society, responding to a general history from his own standpoint, making sense of it in his own concrete terms [...] To write well [...] means having at one's disposal an ideological perspective which can penetrate to the realities of men's experience in a certain situation. This is certainly what the Placido Gulf scene does; and it can do it, [...] because his [Conrad's] historical situation allows him access to such insights. (431)

We can cite the Golfo Placido scene as an example to show how Conrad transformed the crisis of the bourgeois class into his novel. In this scene, Decoud and Nostromo, having been charged with the duty of saving the silver, are seen trying to keep the silver out of sight and are isolated in utter darkness on the slowly sinking lighter. Though the radical pessimism of Conrad reveals itself throughout the scene, it is worthwhile here to quote some parts of it:

The Capataz, extending his hand, put out the candle suddenly. It was to Decoud as if his companion had destroyed, by a single touch, the world of affairs, of loves, of revolution, where his complacent superiority analyzed fearlessly all motives and all passions, including his own.

He gasped a little. Decoud was affected by the novelty of his position. Intellectually self-confident, he suffered from being deprived of the only weapon he

could use with effect. No intelligence could penetrate the darkness of the Placid Gulf [...]

‘We seem to be crossing her bows,’ said the Capataz in a cautious tone. ‘But this is a blind game with death. Moving on is of no use. We mustn’t be seen or heard.’

His whisper was hoarse with excitement. Of all his face there was nothing visible but a gleam of white eyeballs. His fingers gripped Decoud’s shoulder. ‘That is the only way to save this treasure from this steamer full of soldiers. Any other would have carried lights. But you observe there is not a gleam to show us where she is.’

Decoud stood as if paralysed [...]

‘The darkness is our friend,’ the Capataz murmured into his ear. ‘I am going to lower the sail, and trust our escape to this black gulf [...]

A deathlike stillness surrounded the lighter. It was difficult to believe that there was near a steamer full of men with many pairs of eyes peering from her bridge for some hint of land in the night. (Conrad, 1998: 244-248)

Now, as a result of this source study for *Nostromo*, it can be deduced that Conrad made use of many of the details taken from a number of various sources and he brought them together in his text to create a convincing mine with a convincing situation and history.

It is known that Conrad began writing *Nostromo* in February or January 1903 and finished it in September 1904. It is therefore evident that the novel was written at a time when the new imperialism appeared in the world stage. Through this historical contextualization of the text, it is aimed to show how Conrad represents the

pervasive ideologies of the late Victorian period, how his text resists and subverts these ideologies, and how he criticized the dominant political ideas by means of these subversions. *Nostramo* can be read in the light of Conrad's representations of empire, imperialism, colonialism, political ideologies that are once again relevant in today's world. It is a novel in which an analysis of imperialism can be found. As Arnold Kettle states, with *Nostramo*,

[W]e are in the 20th century. It is not merely a matter of the date of publication. The novel is a whole historical vista that has changed. The world of *Nostramo* is the world of modern imperialism, of war and violence and concentration camps, of displaced persons and mass neurosis, all on a scale and of a kind radically different from previous human experience. (1969: 59)

Nostramo's main theme, i.e., man's degeneration via "material interests", is all connected with the history of imperialism in Latin America. Therefore, it is possible to read the text "as a record of the transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist – and, prospectively, to post-capitalist – society" (Fleishman, 1967: 171). To do so, it is necessary to look at the stages of society by their component classes, and at the same time to consider the main characters in the novel as representatives of those classes. In *Nostramo* the imaginary South American Republic of Costaguana becomes "a melting pot, a paradigm [...] a commentary on the entire Western world" (Jones, 1985: 122) with European capitalists, indigenous Spanish landowners, hidalgos, native Indians, imported European laborers, conquerors, colonists, aristocrats and revolutionists. It is therefore evident that in *Nostramo* Costaguana is depicted as an international community. The Goulds are a mixture of European Costaguanans and European immigrants; Georgio Viola is a Genoese; Nostromo is an Italian; Teresa Viola is an Italian, too; Decoud imagines himself as a Parisian, and he is also "the adopted child of Western Europe" (Conrad, 1998: 143). The Avellanos family are one of the representatives of the older, original colonists, the "Spanish-American" community although, in fact, Antonia Avellanos has a cosmopolitan background, "born in Europe and educated partly in England" (129). Holroyd is from San

Francisco and Sir John is from England. The politicians and power-seekers, Guzman Bento, General Montero, Sotillo and Don Vincente Ribiera have Hispanic names. Conrad with such an abundance of characters drawn with their national personalities explores, in a global perspective, the connections and similarities which the imperial nations shared.

In order to historicise the capitalistic culture of *Nostramo*, the political context in which the novel was written should be recalled. We can draw a panorama of the new phase of imperialism. Spittles points out that the British Empire expanded to cover the greatest area of the globe and the largest number of people, of any imperial range known in human history (1992: 89). British expansion created more jealousy and Britain's unpopularity among other European powers (89). This meant that Britain's imperial power was being threatened by either the original European powers such as Spain, Portugal and Holland or newer forces such as the US and Germany. Toward the end of the century newly emergent nations joined the struggle for power, territory, raw materials and markets. Germany, for example, sought a place among the colonial scramble, the USA began to challenge Western European countries, Russia and Japan expanded their influence in the east. From the early 1890s to the outbreak of the World War I, a new global dynamic began to emerge, which was in many ways typified by the 1898 Spanish - US war. Having had a long-established rule in Cuba, Spain met with increasing resistance there in the last two decades of the 19th century. This opposition attracted the support of the USA. In February 1898, a visiting US battleship was blown up in the harbour of the Cuban capital, Havana, with the loss of 260 American lives. At this, The US government blamed Spain, and took the opportunity to proclaim the island independent despite the objections of Spain. There were Spanish troops garrisoned in Cuba but the ensuing war consisted mainly of a series of naval battles around the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean, and subsequently in the Far East, where Spain had colonized the Philippine Islands. The six-month war ended with the capitulation of the Spanish forces in Manila, the capital of the Philippines. Spain suffered a humiliating defeat concluded with a peace treaty in which Spain conceded independence to Cuba, lost possession of Puerto Rico to the USA and sold the Philippines also to the USA. It meant that "Spain was dwindling as an imperial power and the USA had entered the

international power struggle. Britain's initial response to the war was in favour of the USA" because Spain was a long rival of Britain (90-91). However, there were some commentators who saw the USA as a potential danger on the world stage. In 1898, *Blackwood's Magazine*, in which *Heart of Darkness* was serially published, analyzed the situation in an article. It is a great probability that Conrad read the article. The article is summarized by Watts with a conciseness that cannot be improved:

[T]he political commentator made a dispassionate and partly ironic survey, his main points being:

(a) The Americans had glorified the war; yet it was a rather tawdry series of minor engagements.

(b) At the outset, most English papers had urged Spain to sacrifice one or two colonies 'as a cheap means of peace'. But 'now we have lately heard a great deal of the possibility, the not-unlikelihood, of a great European coalition to redistribute the colonial possessions of Great Britain'. [...] *At what point* would the beautifully accurate reasoning addressed to Spain be our own guide to giving in?

(c) The Americans had originally claimed that they were helping the rebels to attain independence, but now they claim that the rebels were mere cut-throats: so that in Cuba and Manila 'there is considerable likelihood that [...] the Americans will have to deal not with a population grateful to its liberators, but with a malcontent people well practiced in rebellion who think themselves tricked into a change of masters.'

(d) Therefore the war which had revealed the United States as a new imperialist power might well result in increased sympathy for Spain from other countries.
(1969: 97)

Conrad showed his response in a letter to Graham, referring to both Spain and the USA as 'thieves', which shows that Conrad did not approve of colonialism (Karl, 1986: 81). Spittles also says that Conrad was suspicious of the USA's world ambitions, being aware that the globe was becoming a unified political stage rather than a collection of separate arenas. Conrad also realized that imperialism was developing a more subtle aspect than the old form of simple military conquest. As Conrad suspected, after the Spanish-American war leading to Cuban independence, the USA, which had "become increasingly powerful economically since the end of the American Civil War in 1865, became a power on the economy of Spain" (Spittles, 1992: 91-93). Thus, the USA realized one of its long- projected aims. As Alstynne points out, in the 1850s the USA had a desire for Cuba for its foreign trade (1960: 150). The possession of Cuba would make New Orleans the leading port of the world; and as a future slave state, the island was looked upon as a bulwark of strength for the South. Similar interests in the upper Mississippi valley regarded Cuba with great favour. Thus, the Illinois Central Railroad anticipated bringing Cuban sugar to the Chicago market and carrying wheat and pork south for export to the West Indies. Chicago, New Orleans, Havana and New York had been expected to be tied together in a web of banking, trading and transportation interests (153). It should also be noted that the USA, referred to as the greatest country in the world, developed a rising national feeling, a growing sense of power. This was initially viewed as an attempt to lead a coalition of the new world. But it was then turned into 'Pan-Americanism' by many 'Pan-American' conferences held between the years 1889-1901. Thus, the USA began to be recognized as a rival for world power. There was a growing British distrust of the USA. Yet Britain was cooperating with the USA in some respects. This paradox is considered to have stemmed primarily from the fact that the Boer War had exposed Britain's isolation in Europe and she needed American friendship badly enough. But it is clear that the cooperation was beneficial for both the USA and Britain, and it created an international capitalism in the world (Spittles, 1992: 92-93).

During the period in which *Nostramo* was written, the economic strength of the USA was translated into a "crypto-colonial expansion through the twin-forces of naval power and financial investment" (99). When *Nostramo* is put into its historical context, it can be seen that the novel was produced at a time when imperialism was

transforming into a new shape, in which money was recognized as power, through which the dominating country's control of the dominated country's government was ensured. Thus, the novel cannot be viewed as just a simple allegory of anti-Americanism. Conrad does not just reflect the politics in the world arena during the period when he wrote *Nostramo*. Rather, he works up an analysis of political realities and explores the different understandings of the process. Our concern here is to show how Conrad represents the world powers and their policies in *Nostramo*.

In the text, Americans are involved in a form of imperialism. At the beginning of the novel, Americans are in Costaguana because of the silver. The two "wandering sailors" who become folk legends haunting the Azuera Mountains because "Their souls cannot tear themselves away from their bodies mounting guard over the discovered treasure" are "Americanos, perhaps" (Conrad, 1998: 12). The USA is also represented by the San Franciscan financier, Holroyd, who is represented as a respectable figure of commerce and finance. He is such a character that he expresses his sense of nationalism in a similar way in which Pan-Americans expressed their jingoism. Holroyd refers to the USA "the greatest country in the whole of God's universe" (74). It is clear that Conrad was aware of the complexities of international capitalism. Imperialism is represented in the novel not as a simple case of pillage, but as a cooperation of the USA and Britain. Sir John is English, and the railway is British-owned; Charles Gould is the owner of the San-Tomé silver mine and has an English background and wife. San-Tomé is reopened by the finance given by an American, Holroyd, to an Englishman, Charles Gould.

It is known that by the turn of the century industry was expanding enormously. Railways were the great symbol of scientific, technological and industrial progress in Europe in the 19th century. When Conrad makes, in *Nostramo*, the railway a central feature of the development of Costaguana, it is not by a causal, coincidental choice. The 1890s were the years in which "the British Empire comprised more than a quarter of all the territory on the surface of the world", and "Englishmen were building railways throughout the empire at its outposts in India and Africa" (Leitch, vol. II, 2001: 926). A similar sentiment is reflected in *Nostramo* when the railway is described as a "progressive and patriotic undertaking", the very words in which: "Vicente Ribiera, the Dictator of Costaguana, had described the

National Central Railway in his greatest speech at the turning of the first sod” (Conrad, 1998: 37). The scene is a satire on the portentousness of politicians and merchant bankers on such occasions. That is, “Capitalism is presented in the novel as dressing up its own interests so that they appear to be for the common good” (Spittles, 1992: 98). For example, it is said that Sir John “worked always on a great scale; there was a loan to the State, and a project for systematic colonization of the Occidental Province, involved in one vast scheme with the construction of the National Central Railway. Good faith, order, honesty, peace were badly wanted for this great development of material interests” (Conrad, 1998: 109).

In this scene, the political stability is shown as a requirement of the protection of the investment of foreign capital. Conrad uses the phrase “one vast scheme” in an ironic tone. The scheme consists of the act of bringing together the moral virtues such as “good faith, order, honesty” and “peace” and the pursuit of “material interests”. Thus Conrad criticizes the practice of political economy. The criticism is emphasized a few pages later in a scene in which the Goulds see the local people enjoying a native festival:

Over little heaps of glowing charcoal Indian women, squatting on mats, cooked food in black earthen pots, and boiled the water for the maté gourds, which they offered in soft, caressing voices to the country people. A racecourse had been staked out for the vaquerors; and away to the left, from where the crowd was massed thickly about a huge temporary erection, like a circus tent of wood with a conical grass roof, came the resonant twanging of harp strings, the sharp ping of guitars, with the grave drumming throb of an Indian gombo pulsating steadily through the shrill choruses of the dancers. (114)

This scene illustrates how the ordinary folk of the country are happy enjoying immaterial interests such as music, song and dance. Immediately after this scene comes Charles Gould’s remark to his wife: “All this piece of land belongs now

to the Railway Company. There will be no more popular feasts held here” (114). It is evident that Conrad subverts the practice of political economy, a practice which was pervasive especially at the end of the 19th century, by representing the “material interests” as something which lies behind the practice, and to which the immaterial interests must be sacrificed. The collective pleasure and sense of life of the common people must be sacrificed to the benefits of the Railway Company capitalists rather than the mass of the people of Costaguana.

The subversion of imperialism, colonialism and capitalism in *Nostromo* can be linked with Conrad’s understanding of history reflected in the novel because the novel insists at length that it is not the consciousness of human beings that is primary in determining the events but other non-human forces: “material interests”. To illustrate this idea in the text, Conrad makes the silver of San Tomé mine the symbol of “material interests” and an important factor affecting the lives of all the characters. Conrad’s comment on the deliberateness of the silver as a symbol is well known in a letter dated 7 March 1923 to Ernst Bendzt, a Swedish professor who had written a study of Conrad’s work:

I will take the liberty to point out that *Nostromo* has never been intended for the hero of the tale of the Seaboard. The silver is the pivot of the moral and material events, affecting the lives of everybody in the tale. That this was my deliberate purpose there can be no doubt. I struck the first note of my intention in the unusual form which I gave to the title of the First Part, by calling it “The Silver of the Mine,” and by telling the story of the enchanted treasure of Azuera, which strictly speaking, has nothing to do with the rest of the novel. The word “silver” occurs almost at the very beginning of the story proper, and I took care to introduce it in the very last paragraph, which would perhaps have been better without the phrase which contains the key-word. (Jean-Aubry, vol. 2, 1927: 296)

A significant concern of Conrad in *Nostramo* is the theme of man's self-deception, which is showed by the disparity between the ideal and the action, that is, the earlier dreams and intentions of the characters and the end results in the case of each character. The novel is full of characters who think that they are the masters of history but who are, in fact, its slaves and puppets. Conrad puts all his characters into a process of history in which no character realizes his ideals, and in which no progress is gained.

Now our concern will be to show how the major characters see themselves and each other at the beginning of the novel and how all of their assessments turn out to be incorrect by the passage of time. To begin with the Goulds, Charles Gould, who has inherited the San Tomé mine, sees himself as the bringer of order and law to a lawless land and of prosperity to a land of grinding poverty. The perspective from which Charles Gould sees himself and his mine is illustrated in the following passage in *Nostramo*:

What is wanted here is law, good faith, order, security. Anyone can declaim about these things, but I pin my faith to material interests. Only let the material interests once get a firm footing, and they are bound to impose the conditions on which alone they can continue to exist. That's how your money-making is justified here in the face of lawlessness and disorder. It is justified because the security which it demands must be shared with an oppressed people. A better justice will come afterwards. That's your ray of hope.
(Conrad, 1998: 80)

We can also say that before the opening of the San Tomé mine, Mrs. Gould has a great confidence in her husband. We are told that: "He had struck her imagination from the first by his unsentimentalism, by that very quietude of mind which she had erected in her thought for a sign of perfect competency in the business of living" (51). We have also Gould's own idea of himself through which we see more or less how he sees himself. He compares himself to Holroyd, the American

capitalist: “In comparison to the correctness of his aim, definite in space and absolutely attainable within a limited time, the other man appeared for an instant as a dreamy idealist of no importance” (75).

Moreover, Gould is sure that he is no mere profiteer. He tells his wife that: “Uncle Harry was no adventurer. In Costaguana we Goulds are no adventurers” (64). Thus, it is clear that Charles Gould, according to himself and his wife, at the beginning of the novel, are not sentimentalists or adventurers. Charles Gould sees himself as one who pins his hopes on material interests rather than abstract ideals. However, Conrad controverts their assessments later on in the novel. Decoud tells Mrs. Gould his conviction that her husband is an idealist and sentimentalist:

A puzzled look came upon Mrs Gould’s face, and Decoud, approaching, explained confidentially – ‘Don’t you see, he’s such an idealist.’

Mrs. Gould flushed pink, and her eyes grew darker at the same time [...]

He must have known what he was talking about. The effect he expected was produced. Mrs Gould, ready to take fire, gave it up suddenly with a low little sound that resembled a moan. (193)

Decoud then tells her that he believes that her husband can be drawn into his plan, “like all idealists, when he once sees a sentimental basis for his action” (195). In his letter to his sister, Decoud repeats these charges, referring to Gould’s idealism and sentimentality. Gould’s earlier claim that neither he nor his family was adventurers is contradicted by a later revelation of Gould himself:

After all, with his English parentage and English upbringing, he perceived that he was an adventurer in Costaguana, the descendant of adventurers enlisted in a foreign legion, of men who had sought fortune in a revolutionary war, who had planned revolutions, who had believed in revolutions. For all the uprightness of

his character, he had something of an adventurer's easy morality which takes count of personal risk in the ethical appraising of his action. (323)

Thus, it can be said that Charles Gould, convinced that the development of San Tomé mine has been for the best moral reasons, is later forced to admit that he is an adventurer. What Conrad does through the failure of the noble ideals of Gould is to subvert the ideas attached to imperialism and colonialism. Gould, who holds the concession to the mine, is represented in the text, before his failure, as "the most powerful political force in the country, a man who can make or break governments" (Jones, 1985: 124). At the end of the novel, Gould is presented as one trapped by the material benefits which he thought would come through the silver of the mine. Gould is doomed to his isolation quite like Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*. But his doom is "not like Kurtz by avarice, vanity and violence, by refusing his mission as light-bringer, by repudiating the idea, but by accepting his mission as light-bringer and bearer of the idea" (Warren, 1960: 212). He accepts his mission, but ironically enough he becomes a victim of the impersonal logic of "material interests" and in the end, he becomes the slave of his silver because he has lost human love to the material enchantment of the silver. This, in its way, suggests an enormous abstraction of his cultural role in the historical context of a nation's materialist progress.

Conrad also suggests that the mine becomes "a demanding mistress" in Charles's life. As Johnson remarks, Emilia Gould will bear no children, and Charles is incessantly described as riding off to spend the night at the mine (1971: 107). Gould idealizes the mine "as a spiritual principle, turning it into an idol or fetish; but this simply rationalizes greed, rivalry, and the lust for power" (Eagleton, 2005: 248). By means of the character of Gould, Conrad shows us effectively that, "...[i]deals are no more than masks for material interests, objectivity is a convenient fiction, the human subject has no abiding core of truth, and so-called civilized notions are in the service of power and desire" (248).

Charles Gould is an important character in the novel with reference to Conrad's reflection of the bitter reality about imperialism through him. Hawthorn suggests that it was a substantial insight of Conrad's to perceive how important to

imperialism was the masking of the acquisitive spirit by fine words (1990: 212). Conrad draws, in the character of Gould, the colonial adventurer, who fails to perceive the real face of imperialism. Gould is an imperialist adventurer who conceals unpleasant facts from himself by means of pretty fictions.

That Mrs. Gould is as good an example as her husband is to confirm the idea that one cannot determine how the events will shape oneself. Mrs. Gould is such a person as changes into the opposite of her youthful self. Her initial idealism and sentimentality are pointed out early on in the novel. We are told with reference to her first visitors from abroad in Sulaco that perhaps had they known how much she was inspired by an idealistic view of success they would have been amazed at the state of her mind as the Spanish-American ladies had been amazed at the tireless activity of her body. She would – in her own words – have been for them “something of a monster” (Conrad, 1998: 66).

The following passage also reveals that, at the beginning, Emilia Gould is drawn as an idealistic character. During the meeting at the O.S.N. Company Mrs. Gould, as the only woman there because Sulacan women are not “advanced enough to take part in the public life to that extent”, tells the Sulacan men:

We can't give you your ecclesiastical court back again; but you shall have more steamers, a railway, a telegraph-cable – a future in the great world which is worth infinitely more than any amount of ecclesiastical past. You shall be brought in touch with something greater than two viceroyalties. But I had no notion that a place on a sea-coast could remain so isolated from the world. If it had been a thousand miles inland now – most remarkable! Has anything ever happened here for a hundred years before today? (38-39)

A little later in the novel, we are informed that, even the most legitimate touch of materialism was wanting in Mrs Gould's character. The dead man of whom she thought with tenderness (because he was Charley's father) and with some impatience (because he had been weak), must be put completely in the wrong to

suggest his son not to come back to the business of the mine. She thought: "Nothing else would do to keep their prosperity without a stain on its only real, on its immaterial side" (72).

It should be emphasized here that Emilia Gould's rejection of the materialist ambitions of her husband's father is self-deceiving, and "she fails to realize the extent to which the whole Gould project is still enslaved to 'material interests'" (211). Mrs. Gould changes in a direction contrary to the change she experiences in her husband. In other words, she is not sentimental any longer. She is not the sentimentalist and idealist woman, to whom Mr. Gould proposed. By this time she has begun to recognize "the contribution her sentimentality has made to her husband's enslavement to the mine" (Hawthorn, 1990: 221). The following account shows us that Mrs. Gould realizes what has happened to them:

With a prophetic vision, she saw herself surviving alone the degradation of her young ideal of life, of love, of work – all alone in the Treasure House of the World. The profound, blind, suffering expression of a painful dream settled on her face with its closed eyes. In the indistinct voice of an unlucky sleeper, lying passive in the grip of a merciless nightmare, she stammered out aimlessly the words – 'Material interests.' (Conrad, 1998: 456)

Emilia Gould perceives the truth as if she were in a dream. But she is still "lying passive"; her idealism has unfitted her for her active struggle against "material interests". At the end of the novel, she is told by Dr. Monygham that the "material interests" will not bring about human betterment, they only cause the tragedy of human beings, and that human betterment will come only from active struggle in pursuit of a moral principle. Dr. Monygham tells Mrs. Gould:

There is no peace and no rest in the development of material interests. They have their law, and their justice. But it is founded on expediency, and is inhuman; it is without rectitude, without the continuity

and the force that can be found only in a moral principle. Mrs. Gould, the time approaches when all that the Gould Concession stands for shall weigh as heavily upon the people as the barbarism, cruelty, and misrule of a few years back.' (447)

Throughout *Nostromo*, the pervasive idea revealed is that it is the power of nature that resists the schemes of men. This is dramatized in the failures of many of the characters in the novel, in their struggles to exploit the silver of the mine. Mr. Gould, Nostromo, Holroyd, Sir John, the Montero brothers and Sotillo can be accounted for their struggles to exploit the silver. The mine, as the narrator says, becomes the cornerstone of the social structure in Sulaco: "the San Tomé mine was to become an institution, a rallying point for everything in the province that needed order and stability to live" (110).

Once we turn our attention to Nostromo, the foreman of the cargadores, we immediately perceive that he is presented as "the lordly capataz" (144), and an "invaluable fellow" (18). With his broad chest dazzling with silver buttons, he receives, and gains sustenance from the adulation of the crowds. Warren defines Nostromo as,

...the natural man, the son of the people with the pride of the people, contemptuous of the 'hombres finos,' with their soft hands inexpert on tiller or rifle, half magnificent unconscious animal and half the confused, conscious tempted man, who is virtuous merely by vanity, for until the combination of opportunity and rancour strikes him he wants nothing but 'reputation,' that full awareness of his identity ideally projected in the minds and on the tongues of men. (1960: 213)

Nostromo's living by his reputation is suggested in his response to Charles Gould, who wants to reward him for his heroism. Nostromo says: "My name is known from one end of Sulaco to the other. [...] What more can you do for me?" (428). In a conversation concerning Nostromo, Decoud says, "The heroes of the

world have been feared and admired” (210). As Guetti points out, Nostromo is a hero, and each character fears or admires him in a different way; Nostromo’s given name, Giovanni Battista, is also “the name of his patron saint, and for Signora Theresa Viola, [...] he is a saint” (1970: 36).

If we cast a second look at the character of Emilia in this context, we can see that she is the victim of her husband’s mission. As Warren observes, being “over against the abstractions, [Emilia] sets up the human community, the sense of human solidarity in understanding and warmth and kindness outside the historical process” (1960: 212, 223). It is to her that the dying Nostromo wants to make his confession. It is she who compels the devotion of the bitter Dr. Monygham. The other characters, except for her husband taken up by his silver and his mission, gather around her. Emilia Gould, trapped in her “merciless nightmare” (Conrad, 1998: 456) in “The Treasure House of the World”, leans over the dying Capataz and hears him say “But there is something accursed in wealth”; and then the dying man begins to tell her where the treasure is hidden. But Emilia bursts out: “Let it be lost forever” (488). This is her moment of vision, her repudiation of the logic of “material interests”. This is, in short, also the moment of Conrad to condemn the culture of surplus, the culture of excessive capitalist materialism controlling the lives of men and women in the early part of the 20th century.

It should also be noted that Nostromo is drawn in the novel – before he stole the silver – as a mythical hero. Through the viewpoints of the other characters, we continually encounter “glimpses of this fabled and magnificent man. Here and there appear accounts of his shining black whiskers, his great revolver, and his bloodcurdling laugh” (Guetti, 1970: 37). He is often seen very mysteriously in the glimmering light of a flame: “The flame showed a bronzed, black-whiskered face, a pair of eyes gazing straight” (Conrad, 1998: 44). This mystery is heightened by Conrad’s tantalizing presentation of Nostromo. For the greater part of the first half of the book, the reader is never sure where Nostromo is or what he is doing; he appears and disappears, a dark, spectral figure on a ghostly silver horse: “the short flick of yellowish flame in the dusk was powerless against the muffled-up mysteriousness of the dark figure with an invisible face concealed by a great sombrero” (169). Nostromo also exists as “a public persona”. It is therefore evident that “he has no

value in himself, only in the way he is regarded by others” (Eagleton, 2005: 250). Nostromo himself qualifies the myth of his generosity which is attributed to him by others. He tells Decoud: “But, old or young, they like money, and will speak well of the man who gives it to them” (Conrad, 1998: 221). Nostromo exists, as he himself remarks, to be spoken well of. So Nostromo resembles “a commodity like the silver, which similarly has value only because it is thought well of. A commodity like silver accrues its worth only in what people make of it” (Eagleton, 2005: 250).

While presenting Nostromo like a commodity as the silver, Conrad implies the idea that nature and history are meaningless in themselves and people or objects take on value only because of the energies which men and women subjectively invest in them. The silver of the mine in itself is just inert material stuff; but in generating this whole enthralling drama, it becomes in Conrad’s own words the hero of the novel. As men and women are turned into objects for others’ power or profit, so objects like the mine begin to assume an oppressive life of their own (250).

The shift in Nostromo from being a public hero to a failure is strengthened by his awakening from the dream-ideal. In the following part of the novel, we can see that Nostromo perceives his life before he has stolen the silver as an illusion. The Capataz of the Sulaco Cargadores had lived in splendour and publicity up to the very moment, as it were, when he took charge of the lighter containing the treasure of the silver ingots.

Nostromo’s failure can also be commented on from the standpoint of his psychology. Just before his meeting with the doctor, Nostromo suffered the first setback in his long career of brilliant feats of courage. He was unable to carry Gould’s silver safely beyond the Isabela on the Golfo Placido. The weight of failure is increased by the fact that the capataz, who has been for many hours facing terrible solitude on the company lighter, now possesses a secret which further cuts him off from nearly all his fellows. He cannot make his presence, or his story, known to the public, for it would be dangerous to risk the possible exposure of the secret of the silver. He must wait in continued solitude until he can find some important and properly appreciative figure that is connected with his daring adventure, before which he can recount his tale of bravery and frustration. The theft of the accursed silver

leads to an erasure of his personal identity that he so dearly maintained so far to protect his public esteem: "Perhaps for the first time Nostromo suffers a loss of identity" (Marten, 1976: 28-29). We may even say that Nostromo commits a kind of suicide because "he has destroyed the self by which he had lived" (Warren, 1960: 213).

Conrad, in his dramatization of Nostromo as a failure, through a series of antiheroic actions, shows the severe limits of idealistic action within a cultural dynamic of "material interests". The decline of Nostromo suggests that a man is subject to forces from without and that the noble idealistic desires are overcome by man's personal aspirations. Through Nostromo's decline dissolving his masterful aspect, Conrad also changes "the emphasis from Nostromo to the overwhelming elements with which Nostromo must struggle" (Guetti, 1970: 40). Eagleton also comments elaborately on the decline of Nostromo and on Conrad's achievements in dramatizing the character of Nostromo:

Nostromo, then, exists as a fiction, like the novel he inhabits. Just as the novel itself exists only through language, so its protagonist lives only through his good name. His public altruism is thus in the service of private egoism. Like Kurtz, he is hollow to the core; like the silver, he comes to life only in the fantasies of others. He is entranced by a myth of himself, a self idealizer and self-fetishist. His name can mean 'our man', suggesting that like Decoud he is the hired lackey of the ruling class of Sulaco. Decoud's job is to lend his political masters some intellectual muscle, while Nostromo's is to keep the common people in order. One who has no identity of his own, however, being the mere instrument of others, has no personal self to pledge to them. It is not surprising, then, that Nostromo should finally come to 'betray' his overlords. Everybody's man is nobody's man. (2005: 250)

In brief, in the case of Nostromo we see how the ‘incorruptible’ man is corrupted by “the material interests”.

On the other hand, Decoud’s failure functions as an important element through which Conrad illustrates his views about the futility of “ideas”. Eagleton, showing parallels between Decoud and his creator, comments on this matter:

Decoud is actually more of an altruistic patriot than either he or the novel will allow; but he is painted as a faithless sceptic full of abstract ideas, Parisian flippancy and dilettantish irony. This is partly because his world view is actually uncomfortably close to his author’s, and thus needs to be kept at arm’s length. He is one of Conrad’s secret sharers. Like Conrad, Decoud views the politics of his country as a futile farce. Like Conrad, too, he sees patriotism and other ideals as cloaks for material exploitation. Yet he also rejects all belief as odiously narrow, which allows the conservative side of Conrad to write him off... (248-249)

But Decoud has his own ideal though that does not in any way help him to sustain the corrosive effect of the demanding capitalism. Eagleton says;

He does indeed have one illusory ideal: his love for Antonia; but he is aware of his own illusion, which is the next best thing to having none at all. To know one is deluded is the nearest one can come to clear-sightedness. Marooned with nothing but his own sensations in the Placido gulf, he dies, so to speak, from a taste of his own medicine. Intellectuals like Decoud are more mind than action; and since for Conrad it is action that gives us the illusion of an independent identity, Decoud finally dissolves away. (248-249)

In *Nostramo* the characters' preoccupation with silver seems the source of not only the isolation of each character from the others but also of the political disorder. It is true that in the novel, there exists a portrayal of the Occidental Republic, but it is also observed that there is an analysis of the general political process. In his "Author's Note" to *Nostramo*, Conrad makes a reference to some "few historical allusions" in the novel, and says that they are "closely related to actuality – either throwing a light on the nature of current events or affecting directly the fortunes of the people" of whom he speaks (1963: xviii-xix). It is therefore evident that *Nostramo* is a text in which the author demands not only comprehension of a specific chain of events but understanding of the contemporary political process. So it is not wrong to say that *Nostramo* is a text in which Conrad relates history and narration. The actions in the novel are the subverted reflections of the great political and historical movements of the 19th century. In *Nostramo* the characters epitomizing political ideas can be taken as the subverted forms of political ideas. The text contains the real historical and political allusions only to subvert them. The subversion is achieved mostly by the failures of the characters in action. Nobody achieves his goal, and in the history of Costaguana no progress is gained. The opening of the San Tomé mine, opposed to Captain Mitchell's remark that "[t]his marks an epoch", (Conrad, 1998: 66) is observed as a regression rather than a progression. *Nostramo* begins with an epigraph that says: "So foul a sky clears not without a storm" ends, in one sense, with leaving the sky again foul. Thus, it can be said that in *Nostramo*, Conrad gives his critical responses to the pervasive ideologies of the 19th century, such as imperialism and capitalism through unmasking them.

To understand in what ways Conrad unmasks these political ideas in his text, we should turn to the issue-based relationship of the characters to their actions. The connection between the text and the world of reality is achieved, as Spatt suggests, through Conrad's making almost each character owe "his being or his aspirations to Europe or America" (1974: 39). Thus the men who dominate the action are, "not Costaguanans, but Englishmen, Italians, Americans" (39). Conrad's first means of inserting the action into the time-scale history can be considered to be Giorgio Viola's story. Through Viola's history given via flashbacks in the novel, we learn that Viola is a veteran of the war between Uruguay and Argentina in the 1840s and he was

a loyal follower of Garibaldi for some fourteen years. His support of Uruguay, led at the time by a man named Ribera, is seen as a fight for liberty against Argentina's dictator, Rosas, and the latter's two brothers who led his invasion forces. As has been mentioned in a previous part of this chapter, Viola's support of Garibaldi extends the struggle to include Garibaldi's war for Italian independence. Garibaldi's name was "a rallying-cry for liberals" during more than twenty years, ending only after his final defeat at the hands of the French at Mentana in 1867" (39) Viola thus epitomizes the forces of nationalism and democracy so powerful throughout the 19th century.

When we look into the history of the Goulds presented in the text and the actual history of Columbia, we can find a close parallel between these two histories. In Conrad's text we are told that Don Enrique Gould, uncle to Charles, is lauded as a champion of federalism executed by the dictator Guzman Bento during the latter's rise to power. Extrapolation through Gould's life from 1886 would set the time of Bento's accession to power in approximately 1852. It is true that Conrad's fictional state Costaguana experiences the cycle of civil war, deceptive stability, renewed turmoil, and secession. Yet Conrad does not only mirror these events through the history of Costaguana but inverts the history of Colombia for the purpose of expressing his cynical view of the political process. To confirm this idea Conrad's reflection of federalism in the fictional world of *Nostramo* can be defined: At first, "federalism is defeated [...] succeeding only when Colombian federalism failed"; as the novel closes, quite a few years later, "the seceded province is about to annex its former ruler, creating a new centralized state" (40).

Now we can turn to the characters in *Nostramo* to observe how Conrad reflected them as political figures in his text, and how, through his characters, he connected the history of Costaguana stepping into the world of global capitalism. He also unequivocally examines the imperial culture of the global leaders in capitalism. It is obvious that the personal stories are related not only in the contact of one person with another in the plot and as carriers of variations of the theme of illusion, but also in reference to the social and historical theme. That is, each character is also a carrier of an attitude toward, a point of view about, society and each is an actor in a crucial historical moment. This historical moment is presumably intended to embody the main issues of Conrad's time: capitalism, imperialism, revolution and social justice.

Many of the personal illusions bear quite directly on these topics: Viola's libertarianism, with dignity and leonine self-sufficiency and, even, contempt for the mob; Charles Gould's obsession in his mission; Avellanos's liberalism and Antonia's patriotic piety; Holroyd's concern with a "pure form of Christianity", which serves as a mask and justification for his imperialistic thirst for power; even the posturing and strutting "Caesarism" of Pedrito Montero, whose imagination had been inflamed by reading third-rate historical novels (Warren, 1960: 221).

In *Nostramo* Costaguana is presented as a savage and fierce and an irrational milieu in which the progress which the Europeans try to introduce in the form of material interests is destroyed. The silver of the mine, the symbol of material interests, affects the lives of all characters in the book. *Nostramo* traces the violent history of Sulaco and the lives of the people who are involved in Costaguana's revolutionary politics. Most important in the novel's huge cast of characters are Charles Gould, an Englishman with a European education who was born in Sulaco, Decoud, another Costaguanan returned after life abroad, and Nostromo, the Italian "capataz" of the longshoremen. Among these characters Charles Gould perhaps should be the first to mention in order to confirm the idea that the political ideas are overcome by the "material interests". We know that at the beginning of the novel Mr. Gould, who has a European background and who studies mining in Germany, sees himself, and is seen by the others including his wife, as the bringer of modern technology to Sulaco: a silver mine, a railroad and electric lighting. But ironically, at the conclusion of *Nostramo*, we learn that some ten or more years after the revolutionary victory of technological interests, the electric lights of modernity illuminate only the domain of the rich: the mine, the docks, the Calle de la Constitucion. It is clear that "the political and economic significance of Sulaco lies in the San Tomé silver mine, which Gould inherits from his father" (Wollaeger, 1990: 126). In the Sixth Chapter of Part I of the novel, we are given the history of San Tomé mine. One of a series of Costaguanan governments ("the fourth in six years") forced the elder Gould to take up the mine as a perpetual concession and to pay heavy duties on it. Ruined by what amounted to officially sanctioned extortion, he advised his son never to take up the Gould concession. But after his father's death, Gould becomes stubbornly idealistic in his belief that the wealth of the mine will necessarily

improve Sulaco's standard of living in both economic and moral terms. In the course of the novel Charles Gould's idealism fails miserably. After the decision to pursue separatism, Gould comes to the conclusion that "the words one knows so well have a nightmarish meaning in this country. Liberty, democracy, patriotism, government – all of them have a flavour of folly and murder" (Conrad, 1998: 360). Charles Gould's materialistic ambitions fail because the security of mine depends upon political stability in the country; and history has proved repeatedly that permanent stability is impossible to achieve; the vain Nostromo is extraordinarily changed with his possession of the silver; and Decoud, more than any other character, represents the inabilities of European civilization to survive in a savage and ferocious country. The central tragedy of the novel lies in the incompatibility of "material interests" and the moral principles represented by Mrs. Gould, Viola, José Avellanos and Dr. Monygham. Conrad, in the character of Gould, reflects the European "idea" in a subverted form in his text because the Gould family is presented as a failure in it.

Without political stability Charles cannot succeed where his father has failed. Conrad making Mr. and Mrs. Gould remain childless implies the idea that Sulaco's progress in the hands of the Europeans would be impossible. As Ryan states, in the Goulds (Mr. and Mrs. Gould), Conrad "exposes the self-deluding hollowness of the liberal rhetoric of progress and philanthropy legitimizing private enterprise" because through these characters we observe "the soul-destroying contradiction between the cosmetic ideology and the dehumanizing reality of exploitation and corruption it conceals" (1987: 50).

Nostromo, who bears a name meaning "our man" in the novel, is not only a romantic individual but also a character to which Conrad gave a symbolic identity. In his "Author's Note" Conrad explains the meaning of this symbol:

Nostromo does not aspire to be a leader in a personal game. He does not want to raise himself above the mass. He is content to feel himself a power – within the people [...] He is a man with the weight of countless generations behind him and no parentage to boast of [...] Like the people.

In his firm grip on the earth he inherits, in his improvidence and generosity, in his lavishness with his gifts, in his manly vanity, in the obscure sense of his greatness and in his faithful devotion with something despairing as well as desperate in its impulses, he is a Man of the People, their very own unenvious force, disdaining to lead but ruling from within. Years afterwards [...] listening in unmoved silence to anarchist speeches at the meeting, the enigmatical patron of the new revolutionary agitation, and trusted, the wealthy comrade Fidanza with the knowledge of his moral ruin locked up in his breast, [...] remains essentially a man of the People. [...]

Antonia the Aristocrat and Nostromo the Man of the People are the artisans of the New Era, the true creators of the New State. (1963: xx-xxi)

Owing to the fact that Conrad drew Nostromo as a symbol, Nostromo's career may be considered in the historical pattern of the novel. Nostromo can be defined as the symbol of a class – the proletariat, and thus his career represents this class's enlistment and exploitation in the industrialization of the country, its entry into the separatist revolution (fighting for class interests not directly its own), its growth of self-consciousness and discovery of an independent political role, its temptation by the materialistic drives of capitalism, and its purgation by traditional idealists in its own camp (Fleishman, 1967: 163-164). The examination of the symbolic identity of Nostromo has shown us that he is a dramatic representative of the "people". He is, however, an individual, a stern foreman, a "would-be popular hero" (173). For this reason, when Nostromo is taken either as an individual or a political figure, i.e., a representative of the proletariat, we encounter the fact that his individual aspirations are at work to make him a failure. Though he identifies himself with the community, when he is given a political duty (to save the silver and thus to protect the community from the depredations of a ruthless military regime) by Mr. Gould and the others who trust him, his greatest egoism appears because he thinks that he is exploited by the

advocates of the new capitalist regime. His altruism turns into egoism when he is already absorbed in his own plans to become rich. In other words, “his social integration is eroded by personal preoccupations” (175).

Each major character in *Nostromo*, both as an individual and a historical figure, shows that none of them could realize their ideals. Their personal aspirations and their egoisms come before their social and public roles. The utterly materialistic issues, the prospect of money and finance do not tend to spare them though those help to keep the imperial interests of foreign capitalists like Holroyd and Sir John intact and enterprising. *Nostromo*, which presents a large panorama of the history of the imaginary country, Costaguana, with its liberals, revolutionists, capitalists, also presents a history which seems repetitive, devoid of rational progression, without real progress toward a better form of society. One of the important themes of the novel – the world is not really designed for human consciousness and certainly not for freedom – lies partly in the presentation of the characters as failures. Through the presentation of the characters as the victims of their manly desires, and as corrupted by the silver, that is, “the material interests”, the idea Conrad reveals is that man is not the agent of his destiny. Conrad, thus presents to us a pessimistic view that real progress can never be achieved because human beings cannot stand against their egoism, and that only if man does not become a slave of “the material interests”, – which seems impossible in a world of materialism in which money means the greatest power – the real progress for the humanity will be achieved. This idea is well summarized in Dr. Monygham’s speech toward the end of the novel when Emilia Gould asks:

‘Will there never be any peace?’

‘There is no peace and no rest in the development of material interests. They have their law, their justice. But it is founded on expediency, and is inhuman; it is without rectitude, and without the continuity and force that can be found only in a moral principle. Mrs. Gould, the time approaches when all that the Gould Concession stands for shall weigh as heavily upon the

people as the barbarism, cruelty, and misrule of a few years back.' (Conrad, 1998: 447)

Thus, it can be said that *Nostromo* dramatizes “the failure of various grand narratives” as Henricksen argues. Conrad, while presenting the history of Costaguana in the narrative of *Nostromo*, undermines the grand narratives of native resistance and revolution (Henricksen, 1992: 113). Along with the history of Costaguana, we see how the diverse ambitions of a group of patriots, liberals, opportunists, citizens and soldiers coalesce to structure a national historical moment. In effect, beginning from its title “*Nostromo: A Tale of the Seaboard*”, the novel defies its plot. Its main character is not Nostromo, after whom the novel is called, nor is it a tale of the sea. After reading the novel, we understand that the real hero is actually the silver of the mine because it is the only thing that remains incorruptible in ironical contrast to the “incorruptible” Nostromo who is corrupted by the silver of San Tomé. We can also assert that there is a contradictory tension between the title of the novel and the actual absence of Nostromo from the centre of the historical action. This is a crucial deconstructive strategy of the text. The recurrent myth is that of history being made by the colourful Garibaldian, “Man of the People” – “a myth calculated to conceal the ruling economic and class interests actually constructing history” (Ryan, 1987: 49). As Mitchell begins the account of Sulaco by mentioning Nostromo, Conrad begins his novel with the name of Nostromo. Mitchell says: “A monument to the Separation could not do better than begin with the name of Nostromo” (Conrad, 1998: 422). In opposition to Mitchell’s narrative, Conrad does not place Nostromo in the center of his narrative because, having observed that history is in fact made by “the material interests” and “at the discretion of the Goulds, the Sir Johns and the Holroyds, Conrad can no longer write as if it were made by the Nostromos” (Ryan, 1987: 49).

Nostromo, with its multiple points of view, its disrupted chronology and delayed information defies its clear, concrete, so-called objective background. Eagleton, concerning the structure of *Nostromo*, writes: “The novel has all the scope, rich social texture and psychological subtlety of a great realist work, yet with a resounding post- realist vacancy at its heart. It is as though that realist form has been remorselessly emptied of its positive content” (2005: 239).

It can also be noted that “positive actions, colourful people, warm feelings are constantly framed in a vision which seems to negate their existence” (Cox, 1981: 154). It is this dimension of the novel, which Leavis, in *The Great Tradition*, accounts for and says that “...for all the rich variety of the interest and the tightness of the pattern, the reverberation of *Nostramo* has something hollow about it; with the colour and life there is a suggestion of certain emptiness” (1948: 248). If we take the representation of the silver in the novel, we can see that it is first meant to lay the basis for peace and prosperity, but then it becomes the object that tears the country apart. Eagleton pinpoints this characteristic of the novel in the following passage:

The silver, which was intended as a principle of unity, becomes a focus and force of division. Order is simply controlled disorder. Capitalism is an irrational system, as pointless as the cosmos itself, since it provides the material resources for human well-being only to undermine it. Material interests are seen as essential means for human flourishing, as Charles Gould recognizes; but for him and his colleagues they rapidly become an end in themselves, one to which human flourishing is brutally sacrificed. Gould is prepared to blow up his own mine rather than yield it to his political enemies, and is thus a kind of bandit or terrorist himself. The outlaw is the mirror-image of the businessman. In a neat reversal of the reflection, the bandit Hernandez is hired as a soldier. (2005: 247-248)

Besides, the historical vision of the novel is not articulated in strictly social and political terms. Indeed, politics and the history of public events seem to fade into the splendid and overwhelming natural geography of the country: the arcane Golfo Placido, whose indomitable calms and shiftless winds have defied for generations the sails of foreign shipping; the immense mountain, Higuerota, whose shadow delays the light of dawn from falling on the campo; the three Isabel Islands that the birds mysteriously avoid; and the “incorruptible” silver of the San Tomé Mountain. The atmosphere that pervades the novel is “beautifully poetic but it engulfs the events of

politics and history within a timeless world where the most enduring truths are left unsaid" (Jones, 1985: 123). Thus, the novel subverts all expectations of the kind of realist novel. In effect, *Nostromo* seems, at first sight, with its title and especially its first chapter, a realist novel. Then the novel subverts its realism with the deconstructive strategies in itself. One of the crucial strategies of deconstruction appears in the language of the novel when Conrad defines his characters to give us their public versions. The characters are defined with the recurrent adjectives. In other words, Conrad gives them recurrent epithets. For example, Mr. Gould is often presented to us as "El Rey de Sulaco", Mrs. Gould as "the First Lady of Sulaco". Nostromo's epithet is "Man of the People", Giorgio Viola's is "the old Garibaldino", and lastly Decoud is always presented as "the brilliant Costaguenero of the boulevards". However, Conrad peels back the public versions of the Goulds to reveal a man spiritually frozen and utterly alienated from his wife, and a woman, the universally revered "Dona Emilia", disillusioned, lonely and guilt-ridden. Thus it is clear that Conrad demythologizes his characters by means of pulling off their masks.

The pressure to demythologize exerts itself on the other figures as well. Thus, Decoud "...ends as the mere alienated ghost of himself, literally sinking in despair beneath the weight of the all-powerful silver, which is the real protagonist of this inhuman history" (Ryan, 1987: 50). With *Nostromo* we see once again how Conrad demythologizes his character. As has previously been mentioned, Nostromo is presented on the margins in the whole of Part I and most of Part II: in his fleeting appearance at the endangered Casa Viola or as John's escort, as "a most useful fellow" at the edge of the firelight; as the "phantom-like horseman" to solve the Company's labour problems, or passing mysteriously beneath Antonia and Decoud on Gould's balcony. Actually, this demythologizing is flagrantly indulged for a moment in that exotic scene with Morenita in Part I of the novel. As Guetti points out, in this scene, in opposition to Nostromo's fabled greatness, Conrad presents Nostromo as "devoid of embellishing awareness, often evidences a brusqueness that is close to cruelty" (1970: 37). One of the important themes in *Nostromo* is, as has been defined in an earlier part of this chapter, that history is not progressive but cyclical because it is shaped by the "material interests" not by moral ideas. Conrad's deconstructive trajectory is again at work in the narrative so that such a sense of

history – history is not progressive – could be evoked in the reader. The deconstructive trajectory of the narrative, as Ryan writes, embodies a genuinely historicizing dynamic, illuminating the real formation and motion of society in history – history being grasped as a humanly produced, changing and changeable process whose rationale, laws and consequences are not only fully intelligible but susceptible of definite moral evaluation (1987: 52).

But this historicizing impulse is simultaneously cancelled by the pervasive ontologising pressure exerted within and across the deconstructed sectors of the text by *Nostramo*'s basic descriptive style. By the help of the deconstructive trajectory employed in the novel, the narrative gives the reader the sense of a regression. Conrad reveals in the history of the Sulacan people the history of man. It is a history that is made by "the material interest", and thus doomed to regression. In the novel, Conrad, while revealing the action and characters through the descriptive method, also represses them through a deconstructive strategy. Therefore, the whole novel suffers from this contradiction between revelation and repression. What is opened up on one plane as intelligibly developing history made by men is written out on another intersecting plane as opaque, unchanging condition devoid of meaning and beyond evaluation (51). If we relate this reduced and deflated history with the representations of the characters as passive constructs in the novel, we can see that "there is no real *exchange* either of language or experience", as Ryan puts it forward. He writes:

The characters in *Nostramo* are presented either as given and fixed thus or, insofar as they exhibit exchange, as subsequently *having become* thus: they are presented, in other words, as *results* [...] The result is a series of static pictures [...] The so-called action is only a thread on which the still lives are disposed in a superficial, ineffective fortuitous sequence of isolated static pictures. (52-53)

Consequently, in putting *Nostramo* into its historical context we have explored the relationship between the text and the history in which it was written. After this exploration that we have hitherto made, we can sum up our views as

follows: We have situated *Nostramo* in the history in which it was written. We have seen that Conrad was acutely conscious of the collapse of the Western ideologies pervasive in the 19th century when he was writing *Nostramo*. Through *Nostramo* Conrad explores the incommensurability between ideological identifications and the activities they legitimate. Conrad's text is, in a sense, his response to the indifference and immorality of the modern materialistic culture of the new capitalist world. In Conrad's opinion, the political ideologies such as imperialism and liberalism, and the economic politics such as capitalism are all cloaked by noble ideals. Behind them lies the very fact of man's egoism, greed and the wish of power to dominate the others. For this reason, true altruism and morality can never be achieved. This is the tragic condition of man. What is more tragic than this is that man cannot escape the consciousness. Therefore, we can say that Conrad reflects the characters' moments of consciousness in the most tragic scenes of the novel. The moment of recognition is, in one sense, more tragic than the plights of the characters. "Material interests" which were essentially seen as a means for human welfare rapidly turn out to be an end in themselves. As for the characters reflected as representatives of certain political ideas and classes in the text, they are represented as failures. As for the state, Costaguana, whose political life is simply sordid, repetitive rounds of greed, corruption, lawlessness and squalid power struggles, is presented as a country that will keep on existing with its political chaos. The natives are presented as the pre-capitalist primitives, who can best be seen in Montero's futile revolutionary struggles against US imperialism. The revolutionary struggles are equally presented as politics motivated by nothing more than avarice, illegitimate power and desire. While looked at from such a perspective of postcolonial criticism, the political perplexity facing the fictitious Sulaco in *Nostramo* illustrates that an independent state cannot hope to shake off the control and influence of globalized capital at economic, political or even individual levels.

CHAPTER- V

The Secret Agent and Under Western Eyes: Sceptical Studies in Revolutions

“You must be a savage, tyrannical, pitiless, thick- and- thin optimist, like Horne, for instance, to make a good social rebel of the extreme type.”

(Joseph Conrad: “The Informer”)

With *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes*, we enter into the mature phase of Conrad as a novelist dealing explicitly in the current political themes of the late 19th and early 20th century British society. Conrad’s sceptic musing on the new turn of capitalism found expression in *Nostramo*, which is not apparently a tale of sea- adventures. He leaves his usual field of exotic colonies, and concentrates on the contemporary political milieu of urban life, addressing issues like anarchy, revolution, nationalism and, most importantly, the cultural acceptance of these ideas in the social reality of a capitalist nation heavily caught into debates on the changing role of the empire in the context of the pre- War Europe. Beth Sharon Ash examines the psychic uneasiness of Conrad at this point and infers that the creative artist finds himself once more in between his two utterly contradictory ideological positions envisioning the reality of a fast evolving western imperial society, persuasively threatened by anti- capitalist anarchic and revolutionary ideals. Ash asserts:

The work after *Nostramo* is different, still struggling with ambivalence about irredeemable ideals, but now in a darker, less balanced way. In these later texts Conrad is clearly responding to the modern political realities of revolutionary politics and nationalistic rivalries transforming European societies in the years

before World War I, and it is equally clear that these realities contribute to the darkening irony and hopelessness color[ing] his work. We find Conrad focusing in the novels on revolutionary intrigue, whether the scene is set in London (*The Secret Agent*) or in St. Petersburg and Geneva (*Under Western Eyes*). (1999: 180-181)

Ash draws attention to the unconscious political tie between imperialism and capitalism, eventually giving rise to the strong trend of social democratic thoughts that finds resistant counter-products in revolutionary activities (181). The years between 1880 and 1914 witnessed a sturdy rise of revolutionary thoughts in the West, especially in London. The whole culture of Europe was undergoing a big change in respect of moral, ethical and ideological affinities to the traditional values of a given social world stemming out of the dominant discourse of imperialism. Hobsbawm labels this era as the era of revolution and rebellion, ideologically enamoured of the concept of resistance to the nationalistic hegemony of the empire. He observes:

The revolutionary left of social democracy, initially somewhat marginal in the West, and the revolutionary syndicalist or anarchist tendencies were more likely to attract avant-garde culture of a radical turn of mind. After 1900 the anarchists in particular increasingly found their social base, outside some Latin countries, in a milieu composed of bohemians and some self-educated workers, shading over into the lumpenproletariat – in the various Montmartres of the Western world – and settled down into a general subculture of those who rejected, or were not assimilable by ‘bourgeois’ lifestyles or organized mass movements. This essentially individualist and antinomian rebellion was not opposed to social revolution. It often merely waited for a suitable

movement of revolt and revolution to which it could attach itself, and was once again mobilized *en masse* against the war and for the Russian Revolution. The Munich soviet of 1919 gave it perhaps its major moment of political assertion. Yet both in reality and in theory it turned away from Marxism. Nietzsche, a thinker who was for fairly obvious reasons deeply unattractive to Marxists or other social democrats, in spite of his hatred of the 'bourgeois', became a characteristic guru of anarchist and anarchizing rebels, as of non-political middle-class cultural dissidence. (2009: 180-181)

This "non-political middle class cultural dissidence" was unsettling to Conrad by virtue of its challenges heaved against the conservative cultural environment of the nationalist as well as imperialist berths of London. Andrea White reminds us in the essay "Conrad and Imperialism" that Conrad was a staunch conservative in his attitude and detested anything undermining for the romance of sanity, rationality, enlightenment and progress of the sacred British Empire. By 1890, Conrad was already a proud British subject and for him, "'home' by this time was the 'hospitable shores of Great Britain'...and the empire he served was doing, as far as he could see, good work. His sympathies were clearly conservative" (White, 1996: 181). The argument becomes especially relevant in understanding the ideological stand of Conrad in *The Secret Agent* when White continues her observation that only a few years back Conrad is seen writing to a friend of his utter disappointment "at the Liberal victory in the 1885 General Election and had despaired that 'all that is respectable, venerable and holy', the 'great British Empire' had gone 'over the age'" (181). There is no denying of the fact that Conrad's political or ideological stands are not quite easy to locate and never straightforward to grapple with, yet, on a moderate scale, it might well be argued that they are never conducive to any idea of revolution that attempts to upset the given nationalist form of a conservative society sustaining on the capitalist logic of the empire. Such exercises, in the name of anarchy or revolution, had to be stereotyped and marginalised culturally, and Conrad

subsequently subverts their political implications through ironic ideological treatments sufficiently in his *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes*.

Thus, this part of the thesis will explore one of Joseph Conrad's most socially colourful and darkly humorous 'political novels' - his 1907 classic, *The Secret Agent*. Based upon a rather mysterious attempt on 15 February 1894 to blow up a very modern symbol of time, imperial power, scientific advancement, and cultural modernity - the Greenwich Royal Observatory - Conrad's fiction dramatizes the political unconscious of modern, urbanized societies. The textual milieu is one in which a murky, mutually reinforcing interdependency of the police and the rebel, social authority and cultural threat, law and terror surfaces in the diplomatic parlours of Knightsbridge, the public houses and pornographer's premises of Soho, and on the pavements of Whitehall. Caricatures of Marx and Nietzsche, as well as Bakunin and other anarchists of the period, discuss and plot the intrigue, an act which is riddled with heavy ironies. Conrad grafts this potent and probing political fable into a domestic tragedy in the making - the household of the Verlocs - Adolf, Winnie and Stevie. Secret agents, agencies of social and familial secrets, emerge amid scenes of intimidation, farce, terror, and familial horror. Conrad not only depicts modern political disillusionment, but also suggests unusual sources of modern social and emotional agency.

The novel is set against the backdrop of the late Victorian period. Mr. Verloc, one of the key protagonists of the novel, is a secret agent under cover working for a foreign embassy and hired to provoke activities amongst migrant political dissidents, in this case the anarchists, in London. Apparently, the man is a shambling, slothful middle-aged person who owns a shop in a dingy part of London which sells a variety of tawdry items, mostly pornographic articles. Verloc lives behind the shop with his unsuspecting wife Winnie and her mother and brother, Stevie, who is a mentally retarded young man. Winnie is exceptionally weak on her mentally challenged brother, and always looks forward to a good relationship between Verloc and Stevie for better safety and security of the latter. We soon learn that the shop is a cover for Verloc's real profession as a secret agent. The foreign embassy (possibly Russian) utilises Verloc for a number of years, while he kept

gathering around him an anarchist cell – not because he himself is an anarchist but because he is paid to act as a double-agent with the task of infiltrating underground movements in order to pass on information about them. In recent years however, Verloc has grown fat and complacent. A new ambassador has come to the Embassy who has looked hard at the value Verloc is giving in return for his monthly stipend and calls him in to the Embassy for a dressing down. Verloc's new director Mr. Vladimir tells Verloc that an international conference is about to take place in Milan and a startling event is required to shock the European leaders out of their complacency and to take strong action against what we would today call international terrorism. It is imperative that a series of outrages is required, here in England, because the British take no notice of terrorism unless it happens within borders. What is required is a strike at something which symbolizes Britishness, something which will shock the nation to the core and stiffen their resolve to combat the anarchists in their midst. Mr Vladimir instructs Verloc to blow up the First Meridian, the Royal Observatory in Greenwich. A "dynamite outrage" is required, and Verloc arranges to meet a man known as "the Professor" through the anarchists, who is obsessed with the idea of inventing the perfect detonator. The professor is out and out a nihilist whose sole objective is to annihilate everything. And then the whole plan goes terribly wrong, both for Verloc and for his family. Verloc is not a clever man, and neither are his anarchist friends. They are far more used to armchair debates than actually taking action to bring down society. Verloc sets up Stevie to carry out the task of blowing up the Observatory impressing the innocent young man that the act would help to alleviate poverty from the society. Stevie, while carrying the bomb across the Greenwich Park in order to plant it, trips over it and accidentally blows himself up in pieces.

The police, represented in the person of Inspector Heat, are fully aware of the anarchist cell around Verloc, but for various reasons are prepared to let it continue on the basis that it is better to be able to observe it than to stamp on it and have its members back on the mainstream in secret. Inspector Heat is a master of managing situations in a tolerant and compromising way, even to the extent of allowing the Professor to carry on with his dynamite factory than to eliminate it entirely. The politicians, both Russian and British are schemers too, and we soon realise that no-

one in this novel is quite as one would expect, each one labouring under confused motives and unclear objectives. The false detonation however has its appalling fallout. Winnie comes to know that her husband is responsible for the unfortunate death of her dear brother and murders Verloc. One of the anarchists, the philandering Ossipon, learns the truth, tricks Winnie out of her money by pretending to help her flee the country, abandons her midway. Winnie, being in desperate situations, jumps off the cross-channel ferry and commits suicide. This utterly gloomy tale increases the unease of the reader quite to a degree, as we see the psycho-pathetic Professor as the survivor of the entire qualm, heavily busy over his search for the perfect detonator.

It is noted that the whole fabric of *The Secret Agent* is ironic. The ideological location of the author is made difficult at the very beginning through the ironic dedicational inscription:

To
 H. G. Wells
 The chronicler of Mr. Lewisham's love
 the biographer of Kipps and the
 historian of the ages to come this simple tale of the
 nineteenth century is affectionately offered. (Conrad,
 1994: 314)

This statement could be interpreted as ironic partly because *The Secret Agent* is such a complex novel, at least in terms of its narrative structure. However, we could argue that the central "story" of *The Secret Agent* is in fact a simple tale (something which Conrad himself discovered to his shock when he came to dramatise it) which is told in a complicated way. It is for this reason that I believe Conrad's dedication is most profoundly ironic on the grounds of the contrasting philosophies of Conrad and Wells. In Wells' *The History of Mr Polly* (1910) the narrator declares that:

Deep in the being of Mr Polly, deep in that darkness,
 like a creature which has been beaten about the head

and left for dead but still lives, crawled a persuasion that over and above the things that are jolly and "bits of all right", there was beauty, there was delight; that somewhere - magically inaccessible perhaps, but still somewhere - were pure and easy and joyous states of body and mind. (Wells, 1963: 24)

Mr. Polly, Wells' 'Everyman', stands as proof that humans need not or, may be, do not necessarily possess a heart of darkness. In the Wells of the scientific romances there is a significant degree of pessimism: the future dystopia (regardless of whether it is an extrapolation of the Victorian class system) of *The Time Machine* (1895); the semi-Swiftian nightmare of *The Island of Doctor Moreau* (1896); the corruption and abuse of science by *The Invisible Man* (1897). But nevertheless there is an important channel of optimism too that runs through Wells's oeuvre, perhaps best exemplified in *The War of the World* (1898) where the endangered Earth defeats the Martian threat. Although the victory is not secured by the human race but by bacteria our world wins through. Most profoundly, Wellsian optimism can be located in the Edwardian novels: *The History of Mr. Polly* (1910) and in the two novels Conrad alludes to in his dedication, *Love and Mr Lewisham* (1900) and *Kipps* (1905). A remarkable exception to the optimism in Wells' Edwardian writings is *Tono-Bungay* (1909) which, written just a year before the account of Mr Polly's discovery of paradise is a sustained and panoramic critique of capitalism and western society. It contains an amusing pastiche of *Heart of Darkness* and ends with a pessimistic vision of 'waste' containing an apocalyptic image of Destiny. It is thus fair to say that in Wells we find an oscillation between optimism and pessimism. Nevertheless, Wells lived long enough to see the foundations of the optimism he did possess severely battered. He placed all his faith in the power of science and engineering, believing that it could transform our stupid and wasteful society into a sane and efficient one. He declared the First World War to be the 'war to end all war', but lived to see the Nazi death camps and atomic bombs drop on Japan. Central to his optimism was his Fabian socialism. A similar kind of euphoria can be found in another Fabian writer, George Bernard Shaw. Their nineteenth century form of socialism led them to indulge in the somewhat elitist fantasy that with a powerful and technocratic

individual at the helm of society the future would be inevitably progressive. Especially in Shaw we find the notion of the Superman who can control his will for the good of himself and others. The idea of this Nietzschean superman is however thoroughly debunked in *The Secret Agent*. Written in 1907 and ostensibly set against the nineteenth-century London, *The Secret Agent* gives an eerie depiction of mentalities and events that were to dominate the first two decades of the twentieth century. Conrad, being psychically abhorrent of any kind of messianic change, did not share the revolutionary utopian glee and faith in the power of reason and science to produce a better world for all. In an amusing letter, dated the 16 February 1905, to Cunninghame Graham, Conrad expresses his sentiments towards the believers of change in the capitalist mode of production with respect to essential human values:

The stodgy sun of our future - our early Victorian future - lingers on the horizon, but all the same it will rise - it will indeed - to throw its sanitary light upon a dull world of perfected municipalities and WC's 'sans peur et sans reproche'. The grave of individual temperaments is being dug by [G. B. Shaw] and [H. G. Wells] with hopeful industry. Finitä la commedia! Well they may do much but for the saving of the universe I put my faith in the power of folly. (Vol. III, 1988: 217-8)

Conrad, it can be inferred, believes in "individual temperament" and prefers "folly" to rationalism, thus disparaging any idea of human transcendence or sublimation. This can be used, I believe, in relation to Robert Penn Warren's notion that Conrad suffered a "trauma inflicted by nineteenth-century science, a 'mystic wound' (quoted in Warren, 1989: 147). The author's idea on science can be enlightening in an analysis of *The Secret Agent* as well as placing Conrad as an antithesis to Shaw and Wells. There is a parallel to be drawn here between the idealistic politics of Michaelis and Ossipon, on one side, and the extremist worldview of the Professor, on the other. Indeed, the above quotation is quite useful to relate to *The Secret Agent* because in the novel we are presented with the "rational" world of

political activism and conviction which are being shown as pathetically deficient to reveal any potential to initiate changes in the social destiny of men and women. To Conrad, history is a process which is, as Daniel Schwarz writes, "inexorably indifferent to man's aspirations" (1980: 162). Wells' optimism, depending on the notion of "improvement" (of society and thus humanity), is utterly mistrusted by Conrad as he creates a tragic and pessimistic arena of futile activities for the anarchists in *The Secret Agent*. Baines writes about the difference between the two writers quoting from an anecdote, dated 23 January 1918, as it is recorded in Hugh Walpole's diary:

Conrad was fundamentally pessimistic and aristocratic in outlook, whereas Wells was optimistic and stridently plebeian. Conrad himself neatly expressed his notion of their temperamental antagonism: 'The difference between us, Wells, is fundamental. You don't care for humanity but think they are to be improved. I love humanity but know they are not!' (1960: 283)

Conrad's view was moulded by his own form of pessimism, and by his upbringing under the repressive power of Russia. Born into Russian-occupied Poland in 1857 and five years later exiled into Russian Siberia with his political activist father Apollo Korzeniowski, Conrad was always sceptic of the potential of any political solution to change, as it were, 'the way of the world'. Allan Ingram describes Conrad as a political agnostic that substantially posits the ideologue in him in between political extremes (1986: 39). Zdzislaw Najder describes how Conrad was prompted by his radical friend Cunninghame Graham to attend a mass meeting of pacifists in 1899, but sat there "revolted a little" as he listened to Liebknecht, Jaures and others (1983: 251). Conrad's non-fiction can be illuminating for us to understand his political views. In a letter, dated the 9 October 1897, to the publisher William Blackwood, Conrad complains about a review in *Blackwood's Magazine* (Vol. 162) of a book by Hallam Tennyson in which the reviewer criticises the British "pride in

affording an asylum to bloodthirsty ruffians" and makes a pejorative comment about "dirty rascals who wave a cap of liberty upon a pike". Conrad comments:

Not every man who "waved a cap of liberty on a pike" was a scoundrel. And England has not only given refuge to criminals... Of course I do not defend political crime. It is repulsive to me by tradition, by sentiment, and even by reflexion (sic). But some of their men had struggled for an idea, openly, in the light of day, and sacrificed to it all that to most men makes life worth living. (Vol. III, 1988: 401)

This is obviously an interesting remark to consider in relation to *The Secret Agent*: the rejection of political crime and yet the defence of the struggle of certain radicals pursuing, totally and cleanly, one 'idea'. The concept of an 'idea' is crucial in *The Secret Agent*, and we shall look at it later. More directly in relation to *The Secret Agent* Conrad wrote that he certainly did not mean to attack revolutionaries. He wrote to Cunninghame Graham on 7 October 1907: "I don't think that I've been satirizing the revolutionary world. All these people are not revolutionaries -they are shams" (491). Similarly, Conrad wrote in a letter to John Galsworthy on September 1906 commenting on the remarks made by Galsworthy on the manuscript of *The Secret Agent*:

The whole thing is superficial and it is but a tale. I had no idea to consider Anarchism politically, or to treat it seriously in its philosophical aspect; as a manifestation of human nature in its discontent and imbecility. The general reflections whether right or wrong are not meant as bolts... They are, if anything, mere digs at the people in the tale. As to attacking Anarchism as a form of humanitarian enthusiasm or intellectual despair or social atheism, that - if it were worth doing - would be the work for a more vigorous hand and for a mind

more robust, and perhaps more honest than mine.
(1986: 78-9)

As a point of interest, Conrad defined the true anarchist in the letter of October 1907 to Cunninghame Graham: "By Jove! If I had the necessary talent I would like to go for the true anarchist - which is the millionaire. Then you would see the venom flow. But it's too big a job" (Vol. III, 1988: 491). Conrad's mutually opposite stands in relation to his attitude to the anarchists hint at the uneasiness that Conrad had in dealing with the idea of upsetting the capitalist state power by means of revolutions. Jocelyn Baines is particularly scathing in discussing the deliberate mystification of Conrad's political stand in *The Secret Agent*. He writes:

But if it wasn't Conrad's main purpose to satirize anarchism and anarchists he leaves no doubt as to his contempt for them and treats them throughout with scornful irony, untouched by pity. In his Author's Note he speaks of 'the criminal futility of the whole thing, doctrine, action, mentality...the contemptible aspect of the half crazy pose as of a brazen cheat exploiting the poignant miseries and passionate credulities of a mankind always so tragically eager for self-destruction'. (1971: 401)

Returning to the matrix of power in the novel, it might well be said that the subject of *The Secret Agent* is the political culture of the age, albeit viewed with the lacunae of an ambivalent man. Hence, the novel, as a text about society, is very much a satire rooted in specific history. Moreover, within this analysis of the state politics - or perhaps we should say 'English' or even 'London' society - enter the issues of a wider anarchy and its opposite, conservatism, in relation to, in part, politics but also the 'human condition'. The predominantly ironic tone and the sardonic manner of narrating the most gruesome scenes in the novel subvert the human import of the anarchists, even in death. Ossipon, being pushed by Winnie into the room after

Verloc's murder, discovers the innate morbidity of the human existence with a telling effect produced by an unsettling slow-motion technique:

The true sense of the scene he was beholding came to Ossipon through the contemplation of the hat. It seemed an extraordinary thing, an ominous object, a sign. Black, and rim upward, it lay on the floor before the couch as if prepared to receive the contributions of pence from people who would come presently to behold Mr. Verloc in the fullness of his domestic ease reposing on a sofa. From the hat the eyes of the robust anarchist wandered to the displaced table, gazed at the broken dish for a time, received a kind of optical shock from observing a white gleam under the imperfectly closed eyelids of the man on the couch. Mr Verloc did not seem so much asleep now as lying down with a bent head and looking insistently at his left breast. And when Comrade Ossipon had made out the handle of the knife he turned away from the glazed door and retched violently. (Conrad, 1994: 482)

Alexander Ossipon, the anarchist, is shown by Conrad as lacking in required energy and determination in times of action. Karl Yundt, the other revolutionary in the novel, is old and bald, while an "extraordinary expression of underhand malevolence survived in his extinguished eyes" (38). Michaelis is absurd and the Professor is puny, unwholesome, with a lamentable physical inferiority. The physical impropriety of the anarchists is pointer to the metaphor of their moral repulsiveness and corrosive political ideal. The most sound among the lot, Ossipon, is also physically deficient and has features associated with the cultural "other" s of Europe. Baines suggests that Ossipon "has 'flattened nose and prominent mouth cast in the rough mould of the negro type', a mark of degeneracy to Conrad, and there is obvious irony in Ossipon's dubbing Stevie a degenerate on the basis of Lombroso's theories" (1971: 403).

Conrad's pessimistic view of society and its agents with various political and cultural aspirations envelops each character's personal relationships. Throughout *The Secret Agent*, the usage of geometric imagery shows the flowing effects of evil within society on the micro level. Wright observes the "web-like involvement of the forces of lawlessness and those of the law" (1966: 179) and Rosenfield notes major similarities between both conservatism and anarchism in their cyclical worlds (1967: 80). Holland claims that each major character throughout the book has "doubleness" and "triple-ness" in their private relationships with others (1986: 54), and in expressing the "chaos and maze of human relations," Conrad uses circle after circle and loads the novel with "geometric images," as if he "were trying to squeeze some order out of chaos" (55). An inverted observation on the impact of the essentially imperialistic societal structure may be taken as Conrad's only solution to achieve a balance among hostile forces throughout the novel. The dualistic framework within *The Secret Agent* gives each major character, including the police, a similar opposite, and seems to imply that everyone, even the models of justice, has a double life. Conrad's particular portrayal of Winnie Verloc's character and the role played by Winnie in the socio-political drama of *The Secret Agent* calls forth special attention indeed to locate the exact nature of Conrad's anti-anarchist agenda in the novel. Critics essentially agree that the novel's ironic tone conveys pessimism towards society and relationships, but they differ over Winnie Verloc's morality. Many critics consider her the pivotal character of the novel and takes Winnie as a tragic heroine due to her sacrificial role. Conrad himself seems to support this interpretation to some extent. In his preface to the 1920 edition of the novel, he states that this is "Winnie Verloc's story" (Conrad, 1953: 13), which could imply that she has the key role to play in the complex plot of *The Secret Agent*. John Palmer elaborates that "morally, however, Conrad's deepest interest lies with Winnie and Stevie, the norms of male and female innocence, and Verloc's essential victims", implying that Winnie is a victim of circumstances, undeserving of her suffering (1968: 118). In Tillyard's essay, "*The Secret Agent* Reconsidered," he calls Winnie Verloc pathetic and noble, someone who should cause sympathetic feelings in readers (1966: 104). Richard Curle claims that Conrad's "women portraits are the most finished, delicate, and poignant of all his portraits" and goes on to claim Winnie as a tragic heroine and indeed, "[Conrad's] finest women are *good* women" (1968: 145).

But any reading of the text would reveal that the character of Winnie has many layers, it is dark and sombre, and is unmistakably affected by the author's Victorian attitude to female gender. Though Winnie has some positive characteristics, such as a maternal love towards her helpless brother, she hardly is invested with any trace of transcending elements in her character. Her passive obedience to social conventions makes her mostly responsible for the death of her brother, her murder of her husband, and her subsequent suicide. The complex morality of Winnie Verloc is the central question of the novel. Despite a surface appearance of nicety, Winnie is the most chilling character in what Berman calls Conrad's "most chilling novel" (1977: 111). Winnie is a stereotypical Victorian wife, and Conrad uses her magnetic attraction towards destruction to criticize women who obey unreasonable social expectations. The idea of anarchy is indeed receiving a double meaning here. Conrad's use of a biblical allusion to Satan warns readers that the Victorian idea of an 'ideal wife' dehumanizes women and that women passively following Victorian social conventions by sacrificing all of their dreams and relationships for others, not communicating with their husbands, and marrying primarily due to economic concerns will never reach their full potential. Winnie has been married to Mr. Verloc for seven years, yet she never knows his true occupation until the end of the novel, never questions why he stays out late in the morning on a regular basis, and never asks why the only visitors to their house are anarchists ranting about the "cannibalistic" nature of capitalism (Conrad, 1994: 53). Winnie is completely incurious, her "force" and "safeguard" in life being a "distant and uninquiring acceptance of facts" (132). Later, Conrad states that "she felt profoundly that things did not stand much looking into" (151). Her passive acceptance of life as it appears destroys those around her and the irreconcilability of her private self with the public surrounding foments the pessimistic irony of the novel. Even the humanistic essentialities like love, fellow feeling and sympathy cannot any more save Winnie's domestic world from blowing into pieces, as that has been poisoned by the larger unsettling issues of the public life of revolutionary politics. Beth Sharon Ash observes this "cultural demise" in Winnie's life and suggests that Conrad's emphasis is "everywhere placed on 'human imbecility' – on the folly that appears in the current social establishment" (1999: 192). She further makes it clear that,

[T]he type of irony that envisions all aspects of life in terms of 'unrelieved bondage' and beholds 'a blasted world of repulsiveness and idiocy, a world without pity or hope', is on the other side of tragedy – Sisyphean instead of Promethean, bleak instead of tragic. And ... irony of this extreme form often 'arises in an atmosphere of social breakdown and cultural demise.' The political climate in English society in 1907 may not exactly have constituted an atmosphere of 'breakdown' or 'demise,' but this was unquestionably Conrad's perception of it. The period's fierce partisanship, heading toward societal polarization and unrest...aroused all of Conrad's political anxieties. (192-193)

As with much of Conrad's fictions, *The Secret Agent* has its roots in factual events. In his "Author's Notes" Conrad indirectly refers to an actual explosion in Greenwich Park on the 14 February 1894, which killed the bomber, a man named Bourdin (Sherry, 1973: 202). It is generally agreed that the Bourdin incident was a direct source of inspiration for Conrad. Likewise, Conrad's depiction of Russian anarchist groups, a Special Crimes Department, secret police agents, and the surveillance of subversive groups is also fairly historically accurate in relation to the development of the Special Branch and its work in London at that time. In reading *The Secret Agent*, it is essential to recognize that it is ultimately Conrad's portrayal of a type of society that is more important than the basic components of his story. He delineates this society through the story's events and descriptions and through his narrative technique of disjunction and irony, along with his manipulation of the detective story's expected form. Policing or surveillance with its dual function has a big role to play in the game of power of the novel. The role of the state police as security provider and preventer of terrorism in public life cuts across ironically in their intrigues and secret plots. In consequence, the duality inherent in their action, challenges the commonplace of the benevolent peaceful status of London, basking in the seeming security and cultural assurance of a vast empire. This secrecy and these

duplicitous motives shake the reader's trust and confidence in the police and lead us to look critically at what lies beneath the apparent security and order they offer. As a result, Conrad's portrayal of the police questions the credibility of police-based security and the end of the police plot and the rest of the novel only serve to dispel it completely. The expected sanity and balance of a bourgeois capitalist state is also therefore subverted by Conrad as he scrutinizes the role of police in *The Secret Agent* with an exclusive ironic perspective, often quite characteristic of him. Eagleton observes that in doing so, Conrad finds himself in between his "unswerving commitment to bourgeois 'normality' and its dissentient 'metaphysical' impulse to reject such 'false consciousness' for a 'deeper' insight into the 'human condition'" (1996: 160). He adds further significantly:

This contradiction, in fact, arises from the internal conflicts of the Conradian ideology – a form of 'metaphysical' conservatism equally hostile to petty-bourgeois myopia and revolutionary astigmatism. The form of the work is an attempt to 'resolve' this contradiction by operating a naturalist mode which nevertheless, in its self-parodic quality, detaches itself ironically from its own vision...The text, indeed, operates here...irony on the reader. Its contemptuous caricaturing of the anarchists as conformist parasites or febrile freaks, coupled with its resolute fetishising of social reality, reassures the reader of the anarchists' despicable impotence...Yet this 'resolution' of contradiction merely produces...the sickening vision of a universe endlessly, mechanically permutating its various materials – the ideology, in short, of crass bourgeois scientism and positivism which the anarchists set out to explode. (160-161)

James F. English perfectly captures Conrad's anxieties of imperialism in the thematic mechanism of the novel while responding to the issues of anarchy and

revolution and asserts in his essay “Anarchy in the Flesh: Conrad’s ‘Counterrevolutionary’ Modernism and the Witz of the Political Unconscious” that,

In *The Secret Agent* Conrad, like so many social commentators of the day, displaces his representatives of the cultural ‘soft spot’ or ‘place of decay’ to the squalid neighbourhoods of London, but these prevailing anxieties about imperialism remain very much a part of the landscape. In this respect the text captures a key displacement in the discourse of national/ racial decline. The oft-asserted ‘degeneration’ of the urban populace, though centered on casual labourers and other poor, was often linked in a scientifically empty but ideologically powerful way to a blood-thinning urban atmosphere of decadence and non-productivity whose subject, at least implicitly, was the bourgeoisie of late imperial capitalism. (1992: 621)

The cultural crisis of Conrad in *The Secret Agent*, indeed, consists in his typical ideological location between the seeming security of capital’s “Social Imperialism” and a threat, posed up to that security, by his “pre-existing dread” of “revolutionary methods” (Ash, 1999: 201). This ideological stupor combines with an acute personal agenda in Conrad’s next political novel in discussion, *Under Western Eyes* that deals in the themes of Russia and revolution in a singular way. As a son of one of the most spirited participants in the Polish National Committee, and with a profound fear of Russian autocratic power in his blood, political issues like nationalism, the forces of imperialism and rebellion, were the first and deepest parts of his inheritance. Conrad’s character was linked to the patriotic and nationalistic ardour of his father’s nature, an idealist revolutionary, and to the conservatism of his uncle Tadeusz Bobrowski, his guardian during youth. The duality of thought conditioned by Apollo Korzeniowski, the father, and Tadeusz Bobrowski made his character divided all his life long. The political approach in *Under Western Eyes* exemplifies the writer’s duality of thought. In order to write this novel Conrad found

suggestions in the writings of Russian novelists, mainly Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (1866). Although the book fully justifies this assertion, the writer denies it and even affirmed in a letter to a friend that he had a "Russophobia", and that he did not like the works of the famous Russian writer (Baines, 1971: 433). Baines is one of the critics who discuss the parallels between the course of events in *Under Western Eyes* and *Crime and Punishment* and he even talks about "verbal echoes" of the latter in the first (444). Starting from the idea that Conrad attacks the anarchists that politically challenge the existing capitalist social order, it is legitimate to claim that in *Under Western Eyes* he cultivates an acquired distaste for the revolutionary ideology as well. General T might be Conrad's mouthpiece when he says:

I detest rebels. These subversive minds! These intellectual debauchees! My existence has been built on fidelity. It's a feeling. To defend it I am ready to lay down my life – and even my honour – if that were needed. But pray tell me what honour can there be as against rebels – against people that deny God Himself – perfect unbelievers? Brutes! It is horrible to think of.
(Conrad, 1994: 530)

On the other hand, Conrad insists that revolutionaries are also victims and that revolt is as hopeless as submission. In fact, *Under Western Eyes* documents Conrad's apathy against the idea of any kind of revolution on a much larger scale than what he did in his *The Secret Agent*. Russia is regarded by Conrad as a land of complete negation of values, and in such an enunciation the author is merely replicating the image of the country already stereotyped by the imperialist Western Europe. Before going into a systematic study of Conrad's stereotypical representation of the ideas of revolution and Russia, we may proceed by outlining the plot of the novel in brief.

Conrad's prejudice does have its ideological ramifications in the novel. And yet in spite of his lack of objectivity, Conrad achieves a great artistic success in the novel because of his favourite theme of isolation. *Under Western Eyes* has for theme moral "isolation" as represented by the case of its protagonist - the Russian student Razumov. As in many of Conrad's stories, the first-person narrator is somewhat

removed from the action of the story; in this case, it is an old English professor of languages residing in Geneva, who has received the personal record of a young orphaned Russian student named Razumov. An orphan and a child left to live on fortune, the protagonist, at the outset is as lonely in the world as a fish swimming in the sea. His prospects are destroyed by the uninvited confidence shown in him by Haldin, a student revolutionist, who, having brought off a political assassination, takes refuge in Razumov's rooms. Since that moment, Razumov is ill-fated to endure a trapped and anguished conscience in utter loneliness. This is his state as he tramps the streets in the winter night, crystallizing his decision to give Haldin up. He betrays Haldin to the police, but the betrayal does not save Razumov's career. He is involved, and the police have a use for him. He seeks to terminate his association with Councillor Mikulin, a cold and creepy Russian bureaucrat, and vainly asserts his 'right to be done for all with that man':

An unhurried voice said:

'Kirylo Sidorovitch.'

Razumov at the door turned his head.

'To retire,' he repeated.

'Where to?' asked Councillor Mikulin softly. (560)

It is significant to note that the last phrase occurs in *The Secret Agent* also at a crucial moment. Chief Inspector Heat having come to the conclusion that Stevie's identification was indisputable advised Mr. Verloc to "vanish, clear out" (438). The sense of an existential entrapment of human soul is echoed in the voice of Verloc too when he snarls at the Commissioner in response to the following words: "Where to?" (438). It is told that Razumov is the symbol of agony and affliction in the inane and tyrannical atmosphere of Czarist Russia. He is an ordinary young man with a healthy capacity for work and sane ambition and has an average conscience. Being nobody's child, he is justified in looking on all Russia as his heritage. He feels for his country and sees into its history of distress and tyranny, yet he cannot think of the insanity of revolutionary activities as a political solution to the predicaments of the state. His conversations with Haldin are very useful to cast focus on his ideological stand:

I have no domestic tradition, I have nothing to think against. My tradition is historical... You came from your province, but all this land is mine—oh I have nothing... I am content in fitting myself to be a worker. And what can you people do by scattering a few drops of blood on the snow ? On this Immensity. On this unhappy Immensity. (536-537)

The violent futility of the crimes and the sacrifices stuffed in that amorphous mass crushes and repels Razumov. He is also shown to be a man of fine potentialities but yields to temptation or fear at the critical moment like Conrad's other protagonists, namely, Kurtz, Jim, Nostromo, and so many others in his fictions. But he is primarily a Russian— an abstracted, self-analysing, questioning Slav. Conrad diagnoses a solid speck of Russian cynicism engraved in Razumov. He has something of Hamlet in him as well. He was sceptical about killing Haldin in the room because “the corpse hanging round his neck would be nearly as fatal as the living man” (518). Finally he thought of giving him up. The psychologically tormented man plays upon the theme of betrayal in his thought:

Betray. A great word. What is betrayal? They talk of a man' betraying his country, his friends, his sweetheart. There must be a moral bond first. All a man can betray is his conscience. And how is my conscience engaged here; by-what bond of common faith, of common conviction, am I obliged to let that fanatical idiot drag me down with him? (522)

But the actual betrayal, if successful from one point of view, did not help. He was torn asunder and knew no mental rest. He tried to write an essay but could do nothing except scribbling five lines one after the other:

History not theory
Patriotism not internationalism
Evolution not Revolution

Devotion not Destruction

Unity not Disruption. (539)

The act of betrayal took its toll on the heated mind of Razumov, who passed the following night in anguish and nightmares. Countless complications followed in its wake. The process by which everything he had planned to accomplish seemed hopeless of attainment. He was led finally to espionage for the Russian government. When he met Haldin's sister, Nathalie, in Geneva, a new weight of remorse, mixed with bitter love, penetrated his soul. His whole existence was a living lie, based upon theories, the outlines of which were losing their validity. After a brief period of deceptive tranquillity he knew that he must confess to Nathalie, tell her of his betrayal and perish. Like Dostoevsky's Raskolnikov, Razumov remained a split personality and had some relief in the confession of his guilt. But one of the revolutionary scamps, Nikita, deprived him for life by a fearful blow on either ear. Later he was seen crippled, ill, getting weaker every day, and Tekla the Samaritan tended him untiringly with the pure joy of unselfish emotion. Thus Razumov, Conrad's ordinary young man from Russia of the pre-Haldin era ends as one of the most complex studies of the Russian mind. But Conrad claims more than usual authenticity and perfection of his portrayal of the Russian mind in the person of Razumov. In the "Author's Note" Conrad discusses his convictions on the Russian national nature and says:

The ferocity and imbecility of an autocratic rule rejecting all legality and in fact basing itself upon complete moral anarchism provokes the no less imbecile and atrocious answer of a purely Utopian revolutionism encompassing destruction by the first means to hand, in the strange conviction that a fundamental change of hearts must follow the downfall of any given human institutions. These people are unable to see that all they can effect is merely a change of names. The oppressors and the oppressed are all Russians together; and the world is brought once more

face to face with the saying that then tiger cannot change his stripes nor the leopard his spots. (Quoted in Baines, 1971: 433-434)

Therefore, as a Russian, Razumov, according to Conrad's bias, is free of the ideologically corrosive imbecility of a quintessentially Russian self. If Razumov shows the perception and self-questioning Slav, Haldin represents the height of senseless desperation provoked by senseless tyranny. This is the spirit of noble, disinterested and perhaps fanatical idealism. His patriotism is shown in contrast to the hollowness of Peter Ivanovitch and Madame de S. But Conrad has given his due to such devoted souls as Sophia and the poor Tekla. The bunch of revolutionaries in *Under Western Eyes* seems to be a supplement to that in *The Secret Agent*, and Conrad does not spare a single chance to criticise the creed of revolution by making its representatives as inwardly improper and inept on the moral ground. Razumov's political philosophy is conducive to the maintenance of the conservative order in the state and therefore is shown as heroic, though futile, by Conrad in the final evolution of thought in the novel. The narrator of the novel, being a self proclaimed foreigner to things Russian, observes incidents through a western cultural viewpoint.

Conrad's obsession with the issues of honour, responsibility, fidelity and betrayal can only be properly understood in the light of Polish Romantic literature and the Polish Romantic tradition. In nineteenth-century England the ethos of chivalry did not play such an important role as it did in Poland. The Polish nobility or *szlachta* (a term referring to the Polish nobility or gentry, all of whose members were equal under the law) constituted the most important section of Polish Society and – numerically speaking – was considerably larger than the aristocracy in Germany, England or France. As Conrad says, “[the] life of the nation was therefore dominated by the values now commonly called *soldierly* and *aristocratic*”, “descending from the mediaeval ideals of chivalry” (quoted in Najder, 1964: 2-3). It is evident that only knowledge of Conrad's Polish background might allow a reader to understand Conrad's message in its entirety. In discussing Razumov it is impossible not to begin with a presentation of the novel's narrator, for *Under Western Eyes* is a story told by an old language teacher who translates and edits a secret document – Razumov's

diary. The narrator becomes a transmitter of Razumov's thoughts and emotions. His eyes are the titular eyes of the West. We are surprised when this language teacher – for whom words are the most important medium – says that “words, as is well known, are the great foes of reality” (Conrad, 1994: 501-502). Moreover, he says that although he is able to translate Razumov's diary, he admits to having: “no comprehension of the Russian character” (502). He sees the world “as a place of many words, and man appears a mere talking animal not much more wonderful than a parrot” (502). This narrator is aware of the otherness of his subject matter. He also lacks imagination, assuring the reader that he has no talent and his “excuse for this undertaking lies not in its art, but in its artlessness” (620). *Under Western Eyes* involves a serious political complexity in interpretation of the author's point of view in relation both to the roles of the narrator and the protagonist, Razumov, as well. As it is known from the outset, Razumov, the student dedicated to the conservation of culture, betrays a revolutionary, Haldin, whose friends are plotting against the institutions of national culture. Employed by the official guardians of the institutions, against his desire, further to investigate its enemies, Razumov is finally overcome by remorse and confesses his deed to Haldin's friends. At this moment of moral liberation, he is maimed for life by an anarchist fellow-traveller of the Haldin circle. In the face of this stupefying and almost wanton form of cruelty, the reader is justified in demanding the ethical and dramatic necessity for Razumov's extreme punishment. He had, it is true, betrayed the revolutionary as seriously as Dostoevsky's Raskolnikov had done in *Crime and Punishment*; but, unlike Raskolnikov, he had been forgiven by society, at least on the face of it, for his betrayal. Here, the moral law is in opposition to social law or to false institutions though individual atonement must still be exacted. However, the sardonic narrator of *Under Western Eyes* makes it unmistakably clear that Haldin's circle is arrogant, fanatic and preposterous, so that it would seem as if Razumov's confession reunites him, through the process of guilt, not with human solidarity but with the foes of it. The ambiguity is a subtle one. As in *Lord Jim*, one hesitates how far to identify Conrad with the narrator he has interposed. Our strongest encouragement for uniting Conrad's sympathies with those of the professor in this novel is Conrad's well-known repugnance to things Russian and his horror of the political revolutionary extremist, a type he treated with brilliant and savage irony in *The Secret Agent*. Due to this excessive repugnance, Conrad is

able to 'otherise' Russia and the Russian culture comprehensively by presenting them as something distant, something not normally known to the residents of Western Europe, in this case the English narrator at the very beginning of *Under Western Eyes*. For Conrad, anything Russian is foreign, dark and elusive and frankly regressive to the imperial romance of European progress. In "Autocracy and War" he announces:

Considered historically, Russia's influence in Europe seems the most baseless thing in the world; a sort of convention invented by diplomatists for some dark purpose of their own, one would suspect, if the lack of grasp upon the realities of any given situation were not the main characteristic of the management of international relations... As an ally, Russia has been always unprofitable, taking her share in the defeats rather than in the victories of her friends, but always pushing her own claims with the arrogance of an arbiter of military success. (Conrad, vol. 3, 2004: 72)

Conrad goes even further to suggest that the idea of Russia is comparable only with the idea of a '*Neant*' – a state of extreme negation – as he writes that,

[T]here is an awe- inspiring idea of infinity conveyed in the word *Neant* - and in Russia there is no idea. She is not a *Neant*, she is and has been simply the negation of everything worth living for. She is not an empty void, she is yawning chasm open between East and West; a bottomless abyss that has swallowed up every hope of mercy, every aspiration towards personal dignity, towards freedom, towards knowledge, every ennobling desire of the heart, every redeeming whisper of conscience. (72)

The English narrator, being an outsider to the Russian milieu ascribes to such ideology of Conrad in stereotyping Russia in the *Under Western Eyes*. Everything that we see of Russian autocracy and Russian revolutionaries through this particular narrator's western eyes seems to be incomprehensible and tragic. As he explains: "If to the Western reader they appear shocking, inappropriate, or even improper, it must be remembered that as to the first this may be the effect of my crude statement. For the rest I will only remark here that this is not a story of the West of Europe" (Conrad, 1994: 514). The reader is given a story (that of Razumov) within a story (that of the narrator), and again, as in *Lord Jim*, it is up to the reader to find the novel's message. There is a multitude of opinions on the role of the old language teacher in *Under Western Eyes*. A few examples will show just how broad the spectrum of interpretation is. There are critics who have seen the narrator as Conrad's mouthpiece. Douglas Hewitt claims that "the teacher speaks for Conrad himself" (1952: 81). Jacques Berthoud says that he is trustworthy and reliable – "a reasonable, liberal Englishman" – and if he does not understand the Russians, then it is "because [...] they are not understandable" (1978: 161). For Keith Carabine "the narrator in the *story time* of Parts Second and Third" is turned into "a stooge and a dupe" because Conrad decided to keep his readers "in the dark" (1996: 213). Carabine argues that at the beginning of Part Four the old teacher reveals "the central theme of the novel – humankind's *miserable ingenuity in error*" and at the same time the reader is invited to modify his or her "relation to both the teller and his tale" (213). When the old teacher sees that Razumov is going to make a confession by telling Miss Haldin the truth, he says that the "[Westerner] in me was discomposed" (Conrad, 1994: 694). In the narrator's "western eyes" the Russians become a nation of suffering people:

It is strange to think that, I won't say liberty, but the mere liberalism of outlook which for us is a matter of words, of ambitions, of votes (and if of feeling at all, then of the sort of feeling which leaves our deepest affections untouched), may be for other beings very much like ourselves and living under the same sky, a heavy trial of fortitude, a matter of tears and anguish and blood. (694)

At moments like this the narrator's voice, as Carabine rightly observes, "no longer detaches his creator" (1996: 239). If the provision of a western and non-Russian narrator provides Conrad with an opportunity to justify his position as an authentic commentator on Russian revolutionary life to his English readers, then Razumov professes for his ideological justification more intimately. Razumov's theoretical preference of 'evolution' over 'revolution', as quoted earlier in this chapter, unequivocally echoes Conrad's ideological stupor. Revolution is a rupture in the wake of tradition, and consequently challenges the rampart of a given capitalist society, thriving as empire in Conrad's era. Conrad deliberately prepares ground for such a rupture in the thematic design of the novel, and then subverts the process by being utterly critical of the ethical value of revolution as he is writing in between two seemingly opposite ideological standpoints. His polish background and his weakness for his dead father's lifelong ideal install the strong anti-Russian feeling in him. But Conrad is not hopeful of any political solution to the autocracy prevalent in Russia even in his strongest antipathetic feeling for the latter. Revolution for him is yet another creed that cripples the imaginative capacity of any human being and he attaches more importance to the scientific and natural process of 'evolution' to bring forth a viable change in the socio-political fabric of a doomed country. He writes in "Autocracy and War":

The ground of every revolution had to be intellectually prepared. A revolution is a shortcut in the rational development of national needs in response to the growth of worldwide ideals. It is conceivably possible for a monarch of genius to put himself at the head of a revolution without ceasing to be the king of his people. For the autocracy of Holy Russia the only conceivable self-reform is – suicide. (Conrad, vol. 3, 2004: 79)

Fleishman argues that Razumov's creed is also Conrad's profession of faith and that it is not only "an anti-revolutionary utterance, but also an anti-individualistic one. The philosophy that stands behind each of its values is that of the organic state, evolution through history in the direction of patriotic unity" (1967: 228). The critic

further says that both the men, i.e., Conrad and his hero want “to separate themselves from [...] the liberal individualism of the West, which minimizes the communal life of men and from the populist revolutionism of Russia, which pushes the theory of organism into mysticism and terrorism” (228). According to Carabine, Razumov’s political creed can be read as Conrad’s attempt “to balance the competing ideological traditions of his Polish heritage in relation to the painful accusations of betrayal he endured” (1996: 122). One might agree with these opinions concerning Razumov’s creed as he is shown imagining a country where there is no contradiction between morality and legality and where “political institutions are justified by ethical principles and ethical principles substantiated by political institutions” (122).

In *Under Western Eyes*, the textual strategy is to identify the culture of the revolutionaries with that of the Czarist Russia, which is located in Eastern Europe, and therefore is a natural ‘other’ to the culture of the Western Europe. Thus stereotyped the idea of political revolution, resisting the hegemony of imperial Europe, is adequately subverted. To follow the history of this subversive treatment, we may go back to one of Conrad’s famous observations made in “Autocracy and War”: “To pronounce in the face of such a past the word Evolution, which is precisely the expression of the highest intellectual hope, is a gruesome pleasantry. There can be no evolution out of a grave. Another word of less scientific sound has been very much pronounced of late in connection with Russia’s future, a word of more vague import, a word of dread as much as of hope – Revolution” (Conrad, vol. 3, 2004: 77-78). Conrad’s anxious ideological relationship with the idea of revolution consists in his critical yet desperate belief on the innate goodness of a monarchical system of empire. He declares:

In Europe the old monarchical principle stands justified in its historical struggle with the growth of political liberty by the evolution of the idea of nationality as we see it concreted at the present time; by the inception of that wider solidarity grouping together around the standard of monarchical power these larger agglomerations of mankind. This service

of unification, creating close-knit communities possessing the ability, the will, and the power to pursue a common ideal, has prepared the ground for the advent of a still larger understanding: for the solidarity of Europeanism, which must be the next step towards the advent of Concord and Justice; an advent that, however delayed by the fatal worship of force and the errors of national selfishness, has been, and remains, the only possible goal of our progress. (75-76)

The unflinching hope of the author on the monarchical, feudal culture of Western Europe is dialogically related to his conviction in the futility of any revolutionary creed. The teacher of languages, speaking with Conrad's voice, articulates his belief to Nathalie Haldin:

In a real revolution – not a simple dynastic change or a mere reform of institutions – in a real revolution the best characters do not come to the front. A violent revolution falls into the hands of narrow-minded fanatics and of tyrannical hypocrites at first. Afterwards comes to the turn of all the pretentious intellectual failures of the time. Such are the chiefs and the leaders. You will notice that I have left out the real rogues... Hopes grotesquely betrayed, ideals caricatured – that is the definition of revolutionary success. There have been in every revolution hearts broken by such successes. (Conrad, 1994: 582)

While discussing Conrad's obsession with the idea of a predestined failure of any revolutionary activity, Baines argues that the author's "insistence that revolutionaries are also victims and that revolt is as hopeless as submission again reveals his extreme pessimism and, as in *Nostramo*, his conviction of the ultimate futility of all political action" (1971: 436). Conrad makes the terms 'revolution' and 'Russia' contributory to each other in their negative effect of holding up resistance to

anything positive, stable, and therefore, western and imperial in essence. Sarah Cole perceives this ideological branding in Conrad in her essay “Conradian Alienation and Imperial Intimacy” as she says that, “Conrad’s ‘double mapping’ of empire and Europe involves the positioning of Russia as a limit against which ‘the West’ invents itself, that Russia functions in multiple senses as a location of instability for Conrad” (1998: 270). *Under Western Eyes*, in reality, generates a political tragedy that is fashioned out of a sensitive mind’s anxious musings on the future of empire- states in the early part of the twentieth century. In this sense, the two overtly political novels of Conrad, *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes*, practically apply in their thematic concerns on issues of culture and empire and fits in well with the tempo of Conrad’s famous series of novels comprising of *Heart of Darkness*, *Lord Jim* and *Nostramo*. The average imperial enterprise of Western Europe in the Victorian era was not on accord with the contemporary cultural trends of Russia and therefore the latter have been subverted by Conrad in the political novels.

The journey of the characters in *Under Western Eyes* is preoccupied by a range of presences or spectres. Razumov is repeatedly haunted by his idea of Russia, the land of spectral ideas and disembodied aspirations. It might be argued that Haldin haunts Razumov throughout the novel as the spectre of revolution, reminding the latter of what he wants to forget but cannot. The preoccupied psyche of the protagonist, as part of the purpose of *Under Western Eyes*, is to present Razumov's moral and political dilemmas and eventual maturation into a human agent failing the revolution but sustaining humanity. If we turn to issues like revolution, political idealism, personal moral code and their manifestations in *Under Western Eyes*, Razumov’s crisis may be approached as having difficulties in developing parameters of preferences for such issues in one’s own experiences. Firmly placed in an existential context, Razumov appears as blank and empty as the Russia which he or the narrator figures as “a monstrous blank page awaiting the record of an inconceivable history” (Conrad, 1994: 519). And if Razumov has difficulty in conceiving his history, there are others only too ready to do it for him. For the Revolution has indeed, in the person of Haldin, sought him out to his instinctive and unconscious aspirations. Conrad's presentation of Razumov's psychology is firmly placed in its cultural context and Razurnov is not presented in isolation from his

autocratic environment. Every attempt of the protagonist to isolate himself from his surroundings is part of his denial of a growing awareness of the world outside himself.

The true degree of the calamity of this denial may be traced in Conrad's ultimate acceptance of the imperial discourse, despite his vicious criticism of the same in his novels. *Under Western Eyes* is as well steeped in the language of enlightened cultural superiority of Western imperialism. It is this vocabulary that provides the lexical structure for debate, and Conrad's lexical reconstruction of revolutionary Russia appropriates its cultural marginalisation in the power play of politics dominated by the empire. The split that was set up between Europe/not-Europe in the construction of an imperialist hegemony is replicated internally as a split between Western Europe and Eastern Europe in *Under Western Eyes*. With specific reference to the novel, the Russian domination of Poland indeed may be read as displaced by Conrad in this novel onto an internal struggle within Russia, where he geographically projects the past Poland to Geneva, where the Russian revolutionary exiles gather. Thus a geographical and conceptual split between the colonist and the colonized, which legitimates imperialist intervention in foreign territory, the oppression of native peoples and the suppression of indigenous cultures, is replicated and modified in the division between Western and Eastern Europe. In a country like Russia every effort of revolution against the established norm is vain and therefore satirized and subverted. Irony serves the purpose of Conrad to this end, as individuals capable to foment disruption to the imperial nation states by anarchic or revolutionary deeds have deceptive identities and ideals as double agents either in *The Secret Agent* or in *Under Western Eyes*.

Yet, Conrad's acute ideological ambivalence leaves the moral viability of an anti-capitalist revolution still open as it is debated in *Under Western Eyes*. Razumov's fragmented textual production (which also includes his would-be prize winning essay) can also be read as a self-reflexive attempt at the writing and rewriting of the accretion of contradictory and confusing experiences that plot the text of the novel. Najder has assembled them under the rubric of "confessions" (1997: 79). Under this generic term he includes Razumov's journal, his report to Mikulin and the verbal

confession to Nathalie Haldin (79-81). *Under Western Eyes*, as confessional narrative, incorporates both the textual and bio-political aspects of the confessional mode which locates Conrad writing in between national culture and trans-national political movements leading to revolutions. Benita Parry, in discussing the relationship between empire and the revolutionary cultures cropping within its matrix, recalls Lenin's assumptions on the issue. Parry records:

It is well known that Lenin's writings enlisted Hobson's model of imperialism as a stage of capitalism where the export of European capital exceeded that of goods. The structural explanation of Marxists attributes imperialism's aetiology to the dynamics of a system which in the epoch of advanced capitalist production was under pressure to find further sources of raw material and new world markets in order to sustain its continued growth: in the words of Rosa Luxemburg, '[i]mperialism is the political expression of the accumulation of capital in its competitive struggle for what remains still open of the non-capitalist environment' (2004: 115).

The "non-capitalist environment", mentioned above, is ideally the goal of the revolutionaries, which is perceived by Conrad as a flat impossibility. His predominant tragic vision of individual futility and betrayal precludes his vision to imagine any hint of socio-political or cultural transformation in the revolutionary creed. Thus Kurtz betrays the imperial myth of cultural superiority, Jim betrays the gallant European heroic code, Nostromo betrays himself in stealing the silver, Verloc betrays his wife's absolute trust on him and Razumov finally betrays Haldin and the revolutionaries. The entire corpus of Conrad's literary exploits is strictly woven around the binary of fidelity to and betrayal of one's own ethical values or ideas. This idea of fidelity is vital enough to appreciate Conrad's deliberate juxtaposition of two notions: the notion of Russian national culture, the 'Russian-ness' and the destructive cruelty of the creed of revolution, both of which, according to Conrad, are corrupt

from within. The conscious effort of describing both in terms of a futile negativity is easily seen in lines like the following:

The nineteenth century began with wars which were the issue of a corrupted revolution. It may be said that the twentieth begins with a war which is like the explosive ferment of a moral grave, whence may yet emerge a new political organism to take the place of a gigantic and dreaded phantom. For a hundred years the ghost of Russian might, overshadowing with its fantastic bulk the councils of Central and Western Europe, sat upon the gravestone of autocracy, cutting off from air, from light, from all knowledge of themselves and of the world, the buried millions of Russian people. Not the most determined cockney sentimentalist could have had the heart to weep for joy at the thought of its teeming numbers! (Conrad, vol. 3, 2004: 67-68)

Therefore Russia appears as marginalised being a land without knowledge and any hope of redemption while the ideal of revolution appears marginalised by virtue of its being “corrupted”. Beth Sharon Ash looks at the process of marginalisation in the novels and examines:

Like *The Secret Agent*, the central conflicts in *Under Western Eyes* involve the phantasmatic polarities of melancholia—abandonment/idealization, suicide/murder - against which Conrad defends by means of irony, whether in the form of argument or authorial posture. Razumov's primary psychodrama moves from defensive idealization of the father to the collapse of this defense into an uncanny ambivalence that cannot be dispelled, and into self-loathing, abandonment, and isolation as he traces the downward

trajectory of depression. Yet by staging this ill-being within a Dostoevskian frame Conrad can label it a malaise of the 'Russian soul,' as if such malaise were endemic to a national type rather than a consequence of the way Conrad displaces his own psychological idiom onto that 'soul'. (1999: 273-274)

The English narrator chronicles the incidents in the text with a certain cultural distance and makes repeated efforts in the novel to suggest that the features of the fundamental values like honour and shame of the persons depicted in the novel are ways different from the usual aspects of the Western culture. Therefore, the underlying fact remains that Western Europe forms the gaze that scrutinizes the social worlds of Russia and revolutions, and the same gaze impels Conrad to define his text with the title *'Under Western Eyes'*. Being engaged in the process of this cultural estrangement of the narrator with his subjects, Conrad unconsciously marginalises the social environ of the events narrated and politicises his authorial stand. The narrator, though claimed to be impartial in judging the cultural and political values and motives of the revolutionaries in the text, practically expresses his ideological commitments covertly through Razumov. Razumov's conviction in the imperceptible evolutionary changes of a society without perceptible revolutionary interventions does betray the noncommittal cultural mindset of a traditional imperial British subject. The cultural narrative of empire is maintained without disruptions like anarchy and revolts in the social, political and the cultural spheres whatsoever.

And yet, Conrad is suspicious of the utopian and benevolent discourse of the empire, whose reckless capitalistic ambition is no more sacrosanct to him, as is already evinced in the previous chapter on *Nostromo*. This dual and ambivalent position of Conrad is imperative in appreciating the narrator's ideology in *Under Western Eyes*, and Ash casts light on this aspect as she highlights that the narrator's "conventional English decency, modified by a general refusal to take responsibility, is actually the irresolute liberal response to social conflict (utopianism and authoritarianism) in the Western world" (275). The final position that Conrad takes ideologically in the texts like *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes* is that of a complete rejection of all possible political creeds as the key characters in his novels

remain ultimately in “an equivocal deferral of all positions” (286). The experience of the revolutionaries in Russia, or the devastating aftermath of the anarchist activities in London are all cordoned off in their otherness. The essentialist power of the empire represents resistance in the failure of the anarchists and the revolutionaries and simultaneously critiques its myths of rationality and enlightenment in the Western Institution’s intrinsic vulnerability to any attempt of disruption. If Razumov carries within him the essential aspects of the Western enlightenment and rationality, in contrast to the ardent emotional sentimentality of the revolutionaries in *Under Western Eyes*, then his maimed condition at the end of the novel brings to light the inner vulnerability of the same discourse of enlightenment that is ingrained within the culture of the individual. In fine, we may close in with the brilliant observation of Ash when she perceives the ideological duality of Conrad working behind the political themes of *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes* as a product of the author’s psychosocial dilemma and further adds that “in effect, [Conrad] leaves himself no location that is not woven from the strands of a dangerous ambiguity, wherein all political places or affiliations become susceptible to subversion by his view of a world collapsing under the weight of vainglory and duplicitousness” (286). Joseph Conrad, born as a Polish subject of Russian autocracy and afterwards naturalized into British citizenship, finally remains ideologically located between culture and empire as his position in the narrative of European imperial eminence is at once that of an insider and an outsider.

Conclusion

Conrad, more than most British novelists, was affected not only by important historical events in imperial Britain but also by those on the European continent, which began to be felt in Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century and culminated at its close. As we have seen, his childhood and his youth were to colour his sceptical view of civilization and of humanity. World War I did reinforce his already dark perception of the world. Much of Conrad's time was spent in South-East Asia experiencing first the role of the conquering European nations in the non-European world. Furthermore, Conrad's briefer experience in Africa may be counted in that it influenced him and resulted in a masterpiece, *Heart of Darkness*. Tzarist Russia's rule of Poland has been of particular and long-lasting effect on Conrad. Throughout his life, he remained suspicious of all political activity, and his dark, sceptical outlook on the world can be traced to his early Polish and Russian history and politics. Although he wrote little that directly related to Poland, the latter's fate affected Conrad both directly and indirectly. The 1863 Polish uprising, his parents' voluntary participation in the event and its aftermath shaped Conrad's view of Russia and also coloured his view of revolution, revolutionaries, and politics in general, as is evident from the reading of his two late novels on anarchic and revolutionary cultures – *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes*. His first hand experience of the empire and its self-conceited capitalistic exploits in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Western Europe itself made him aware that imperialistic enterprises were mere excuses to gain power and unlimited wealth under the pretence of 'civilizing missions'. In locating himself as an agency, writing between culture and empire, Conrad recognizes his own burden, that of the literary representation of a period of European history that witnessed the emergence of the a new voracious imperialism through capitalistic and colonial expansions in the world. Although he was deeply complicit in the imperialist project, first as a captain in the British Merchant Service and second as a citizen member of the British nationality, his fictional works expresses the disillusionment that prevailed as a result of the crying discrepancy between the humanitarian ideals and the reality of colonial exploitation and dehumanization. This signifies, in fact, the

British-Polish author's ambivalent narrative attitude towards issues of culture, both ethnic and political, and the question of empire.

Conrad's affiliation to the European imperial tradition and his acute awareness of non-European and revolutionary cultures, resulting from his first hand experiences of worldwide travel, is investigated in this thesis by reading five select novels, i.e., *Heart of Darkness*, *Lord Jim: A Tale*, *Nostramo: A Tale of the Seaboard*, *The Secret Agent: A Simple Tale* and *Under Western Eyes*, in relation to the socio-cultural and political milieu of the age in which they were produced. These explorations serve to focus his text's confluences with and divergences from a dominant ideology of the empire and their utterly indefinite textual inscriptions. In addition, putting Conrad's select texts into dialogue with other contemporary texts and his own non-fictional writings indicates something of the multiplicity of voices which speak within and against the dominant ideology of empire of a Western European society. Reading Conrad with his contemporaries in a number of narrative fields (travel and adventure writings, historical, anthropological and political essays) therefore produces both a methodology and a cultural context in which to read his novels. The analysis of the texts chosen is informed by various strands of contemporary literary theory which takes in post-structural, postcolonial, new historicist and psychoanalytic approaches as well as applying aspects of textual analysis. This methodology allows a reading of Joseph Conrad's texts which entangles the analysis of the empire's cultural perspective out of which he wrote. The present thesis tends to read his texts adequately placing him as a writer engaged with the discourse of new capitalism in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first ones of the twentieth century. Conrad's approach projects the lineaments of a critique of imperialism, but ultimately refuses what it uncovers by relapsing into an equivocal endorsement of the imperial system. To achieve this end, Conrad's novels have been put within a cultural frame in relation to the intellectual and political developments which informed his lived experiences and his creative imagination. This involves contextualising Conrad's writing within an emerging socio-cultural moment of a long drawn humanitarian tradition, reading his texts with the writings of his contemporaries that facilitate to produce a more ambiguous Conrad, writing between culture and empire.

The polarities present in a novel of Joseph Conrad may be viewed as characteristic of the ideological dualism that the author in question endured lifelong. Many critics have seen Conrad achieving a unity of sorts between the two discordant issues of culture and empire by preserving the distinctiveness of nations in his texts. Brian Spittles says, “Conrad constantly stressed both the difference of foreign cultures— seeing them in their own right, with their own values, not simply as amusing, or barbaric, variations from European definitions of civilization – and a possible fundamental unity of human experience” (1992: 17). Boehmer, on the other hand, addresses the “ambiguity of his representations” in her discussion on the colonial drama in *Lord Jim* and explains the issue of racial superiority of a white man that, however weak to hold to the end, underlies the true identity of Jim in Patusan (2006: 61). Conrad’s approach to empire consists of a crucial realization of its self-defined civilizing mission, where the power position of the capitalist empire rests both on the ‘otherness’ of the colonized cultures and the marginalized representations of any political resistance in the shapes of political anarchy or revolts. The culture, moral standard and the politics of the colonized and the antagonists on the fringes of the empire are represented by Conrad with feeling. But his imagination is unmistakably informed with the essential imperial ideas of cultural superiority. Boehmer perceives:

The insecurity surrounding colonial interpretation is widely reflected in imagery of the vastness and shapelessness of the other land. It is there in evocations of the terror contained in that shapelessness, as in Conrad’s African forest, and of the distressing opacity of the native peoples to European understanding, usually represented as their ignorance and dullness, their black magic and strange fetishism.... (89)

It is evident from the above discussion that the conclusion cannot be some smart generalization. That there is something in Conrad’s character that defies pinpointing may be gleaned from something that one finds in *Heart of Darkness*, when at the beginning Marlow was about to embark on his narrative, the primary

frame narrator predicted “that we were fated, before the ebb began to run, to hear about one of Marlowe’s inconclusive experiences” (Conrad, 1994: 6). The statement, made here, may connect well with what the same frame narrator said earlier of Marlow that “to him the meaning of an episode was not inside like a kernel but outside, enveloping the tale which brought it out only as a glow brings out a haze” (5). Conrad’s mode of narration as referred to here is pristine in that it refuses closure. As Patrick Brantlinger says, the difficulty in fitting him to the sacrosanct canon of English imperial literature crops up “when Conrad is read sympathetically today, it is typically because of his modernist innovation and subsequent refusal to conform systematically to any single ideological position” (1985: 251). Some may go as far as to see schizophrenia in his contradictory purposes. That is what Brantlinger discovers in Fredric Jameson’s explications, while going through the latter’s *The Political Unconscious*. Brantlinger adds a little further down: “Conrad is simultaneously a critic of the imperialist adventure and its romantic fictions, and one of the greatest writers of such fictions, his greatness deriving partly from his critical irony and partly from the complexity of his style – his ‘impressionism’” (373-375).

As is seen above, Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, *Lord Jim*, *Nostramo*, *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes* are all featured with his ambivalent ideological response to the social and political history of his time. The texts’ relevance to the political and historical issues such as imperialism, colonialism and capitalism paves the way for our consideration of reading them in the author’s ideological perspective, a reading, which aims to read the relationship between culture and empire in Conrad’s novels. The novels have been read in their biographical and cultural contexts to observe to what extent Conrad reflected the prevailing ideas of the time and to examine the nature of his ideology as reflected in his texts. The novels written in a period of imperialism and colonialism took their incidents and characters from the imperial world. Conrad himself was a member of the imperial culture and utilized his own experiences he gained as a seaman in the various terrains of the empire.

Heart of Darkness is partly based on Conrad’s four-month command of a Congo River steamboat. Conrad learned, during his journey, about atrocities made by the European explorers and traders in the Congo, and created, in the character of

Kurtz, the embodiment of European imperialism. Written several years after Conrad's gruelling sojourn in the Belgian Congo, the novel tells the story of Marlow, a seaman who undertakes his own journey into the African jungle to find the European trader, Kurtz. An attempt has been made to understand the extent of the effect of the imperial culture of the time on this widely read text of Conrad. The imperial literary culture of the late 19th century is put into a dialogue with the text as it deals with issues of culture and empire. Marlow, in the novel, believes in the benevolent light of civilization and Conrad, in his real life, believed that civilization had been brought to the Dark Continent by Europe; Marlow discovers the disappointing reality that, instead of civilization, barbarism has occurred in Africa and Conrad himself saw the disparity between his idealized expectations and the disappointing reality about colonialism. Through an intertextual study involving a parallel reading of *Heart of Darkness* and the travel narratives of the imperial era, it has been observed that Conrad was affected by the tradition of the empire in appropriating the marginalised version of a dark Africa. Conrad critiques the ideological assumptions behind the idea of empire in *Heart of Darkness* though his novel belongs to the same episteme. It has been indicated that the novel subverts the dominant ideology of the time, that is, imperialism and colonialism and the European consideration of 'the white man's burden' through its representation of imperialism and colonialism as robbery, savagery and greed. But the mainstay of the criticism again comprises the binaries between civilization/ savagery and light/ darkness.

Lord Jim is a novel whose characters and incidents were partly drawn from real people and events. It involves the story of Jim, who is haunted by the memory of a moment of lost nerve during a disastrous voyage, and submits to condemnation by a Court of Inquiry. He evades the civilized world and escapes to Patusan where he regains his lost heroism. What we have observed here is that, in the creation of his character, Jim, Conrad utilized his own experiences. He projected his repressed feelings in Jim's character. We have observed that Jim's jump from the *Patna* parallels Conrad's desertion of his native land, Poland. The main theme, betrayal has been observed to have come from Conrad's sense of guilt stemming from his quitting Poland. It has also been observed that the motifs of desertion, failing one's duty and shame are the central moral themes in Conrad's text and they are the reflections of

Conrad's own feelings. On the one hand, Jim's failure is of great importance in that Conrad subverts the image of the 'western seaman' and the codes of the British Merchant Marine, the ideas of fidelity, duty, responsibility, honesty and courage attached to the British culture. Conrad subverts the concept of the hero created by the British imperialism and recognized as the embodiment of many accomplishments in the exotic places far from the civilized parts of the world. Conrad, being aware of the dangers of personal imperialism, makes Jim fail in realizing his idea, and presents Jim's career of benevolent lawgiver and arbitrator at Patusan as a failure. On the other hand, Conrad prepares the just ground for Jim to prove his heroic worth on a moral scale in the Malayan colony as he bravely accepts death at the end without shirking away from his obligations. Conrad at once subverts the imperial idea of European heroism and revives it successfully in *Lord Jim*.

Nostramo is arguably Conrad's greatest and most complex novel. Conrad shows, in this novel, the social and political turmoil in South America in the vortex of new capitalism and skilfully relates it to the moment's imperial economic history. *Nostramo* is also a novel of profound psychological insight and of powerful political implications. It tells the story of a South American state whose silver mine serves both literally and metaphorically as the source of the country's "value", finance and politics. While writing *Nostramo* Conrad was aware of the policies of the world's great capitalist powers that aid the empire's sustenance, and his text, to some extent, was shaped by the pervasive capitalist ideologies of the time. Conrad's pessimistic world view persistent in *Nostramo* – a sense of history as futile and cyclical, of individuals as impenetrable and solitary, of human values as relativistic and irrational – has been observed to have been the result of both his individual psychology and the ideological pessimism in the period. In setting *Nostramo* in the historical context, we have observed that Conrad created characters representing the political views of the time. The characters in the novel are the epitomes of the general historical process – Mr. Gould is the representative of the British imperial idealism, Holroyd is a representative of America and its sheer capitalist agenda, Viola is a republican and Nostromo is the representative of a man entangled in issues serving various interests – political, financial and, finally, moral. Of course, Conrad did not employ these symbolic figures in his novel just for the sake of symbolism; rather, he ensures a

sense of vanity to all these ideas, making his characters fail miserably in their efforts to live up to them. All the characters in the novel are disillusioned by the idea that there is always a discrepancy between the ideal and the real, which comes out by man's obsession with 'the material interests'. As a sceptic, Conrad subverts each ideology represented by the characters. Through the disillusionment of Mr. Gould, who fails to perceive the real face of imperialism, Conrad subverts the idea of colonial adventurism and the British imperialism; through Sir John's, the American capitalist-imperialism; through Viola's, liberty and patriotism and through Nostromo's, the individual moral action. And yet, it is observed that, his scepticism remains complicit within capitalism's worldwide hegemonic discourse, as the attempts of revolution and self-determination are shown utterly futile at the end of the novel.

The Secret Agent and *Under Western Eyes* are the two most politically vocal novels of Conrad. In *The Secret Agent*, the surreptitious plot of exploding the Greenwich Observatory, a symbol of British Empire's highest position among nations of the world, is shown to have resulted in an inevitable failure and human tragedy. *Under Western Eyes* again underscores revolutionary activities by exposing them in almost a macabre way. The irony pervading the plot development and thematic consequences in *The Secret Agent* is explicit enough to indicate Conrad's final purpose of denouncing any attempt that may disturb the apparent notion of complacency in a capitalist nation sustaining on its exploits of the colonies. The irony gives way to a serious indictment founded on his personal disliking of things Russian in *Under Western Eyes*. Russia is symbolically replaced by the political credo of revolution and Conrad employs his essential Polish experience, engraved deep within him, to construct the Russian culture in the novel as his animus. It is observed in the reading of the novel that the Eastern European Culture of Russia is the 'other' to the mainstream discourse of empire upheld by the Western European nations. Attempt of political revolution is a resistance to the hegemony of the Western Europe's political supremacy, and hence their voices are hushed up in the caricatures of Russian Characters and in the forced aural incapacity of the protagonist, Razumov. Individual will, resulting in revolution, is always viewed with a sceptic eye by Conrad. Conrad is thoroughly quizzical about any method of qualitative change, commencing as a

method of erasure of the old empire-centric power of the state. The hegemony of power that he narrates in these two novels satisfies the conditions of his belief in the worth of evolution rather than in revolution in facilitating socio-political changes in a state. Thus he carefully portrays the anarchists in *The Secret Agent* and the revolutionaries in *Under Western Eyes* to demean their loyalty to the methods of resistance and revolutionary ideals and to degrade their ideological status. He makes Razumov the hero, who himself in reality, is a betrayer to their cause. The revolutionaries here ultimately become dislocated identities owing heavily to the unflinching alliance to their betrayer.

The hidden discursive nature of such typical representations, indeed, contributes to the discourse of inconclusiveness in Conrad's novels that composes the very tissue of the modernist culture. The ensuing manipulation of representations and images is thus turned into a means of domination. And yet, he is an unflinching critic of the imperial propaganda, at least at the outset, in texts like *Heart of Darkness* or *Lord Jim*. But any attempt to examine this criticism of the imperial ideology by the author lands the reader virtually to assertions, with almost impossible yet innate polarities, from the very bitterest against Conrad to the most extolling. And that really is the crux of this postcolonial reading of the select novels of Joseph Conrad here. The evidence to classify him as a custodian or condemner of the imperial agenda, to count him as a champion or maligner of the cultures that he came across in his sea-life will turn out to be on all sides, forever nebulous and conflicting. It seems that the clue to this ideological ambiguity is inherent in the author's multi-exilic life that leaves him writing between culture and empire, without being frankly assertive of any one or the other.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Conrad, Joseph. "Author's Note". 1917. *Nostromo: A Tale of the Seaboard*. 1904. Ed. and intro. Richard Curle. London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1963. xv - xxiii.
- . *A Personal Record: Some Reminiscences*. 1912. New York: Doubleday and Page, 1923.
- . *Conrad's Polish Background: Letters to and from Polish Friends*. Ed. Zdzisław Najder. Trans. Halina Carroll. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- . *Joseph Conrad: Primary Non-Fictional Sources*. 6 vols. New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 2004.
- . *Joseph Conrad: Selected Works*. New York: Gramercy Books, 1994.
- . *Lord Jim: A Tale*. 1900. Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1985.
- . *Nostromo: A Tale of the Seaboard*. 1904. Köln: Könenmann, 1998.
- . *Notes on Life and Letters*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1921a.
- . *Notes on My Books*. London: William Heinemann, 1921b.
- . Preface. 7-13. *The Secret Agent*. 1907. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1953.
- . Preface. *The Nigger of the "Narcissus" and Typhoon, Amy Foster, Falk, To-morrow*. 1897. London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1957. vii - xii.

- . *Selected Literary Criticism and The Shadow-Line*. Ed. Allan Ingram, London: Methuen, 1986.
- . *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, 1861 -1897*. Vol. I. Ed. Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1983.
- . *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, 1898 - 1902*. Vol. II. Ed. Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1986.
- . *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, 1903-1907*. Vol. III. Ed. Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1988.
- . *The Complete Works of Joseph Conrad*. 25 vols. New York: Doubleday and Page, 1926.

Secondary Sources

- Abrams, M. H., Et. al. eds. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. 2 vols. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1986.
- Allen, Graham. *Intertextuality*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Alstyne, Richard W. Van. *The Rising American Empire*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1960.
- Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses." *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader*. Ed. Kiernan Ryan. London: Arnold, 1996. 15-21.
- . *Essays on Ideology*. London: Verso, 1984.
- Ambrosini, Richard. *Conrad's Fiction as Critical Discourse*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Armstrong, Paul B. "The Politics of Irony in Reading Conrad." *Conradiana* 26. 2 (1994): 85-101.
- Ash, Beth Sharon. *Writing In Between: Modernity and Psychosocial Dilemma in the Novels of Joseph Conrad*. Houndmills. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999.
- Baines, Jocelyn. *Joseph Conrad: A Critical Biography*. 1960. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson; London: Pelican Books, 1971.

Bakhtin, Mikhail Michailovich. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Ed. and trans. Carly Emerson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

---. *Speech, Genres and Other Late Essays*. Trans. Vern W. Mcgee. Ed. Carly Emerson and Michael Holquist. USA: University of Texas Press, 2006.

---. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Carly Emerson and Michael Holquist. USA: University of Texas Press, 1994.

Barthes, Roland. "From Work to Text." *The Norton Anthology of Literary Criticism*. Eds. Vincent B. Leitch Et. al. New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 2001. 1470-1475.

---. "The Death of the Author". *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. Ed: David Lodge and Nigel Wood. New York: Pearson Education, Inc., 2000. 146 - 150.

Baum, Joan. "The Real Heart of Darkness". *Conradiana*, 7, 2 (1975): 183-187.

Bentham, Jeremy. *Panopticon Letters*. Ed. Miran Bozovic. London: Verso, 1995.

Berman, Jeffery. *Joseph Conrad: Writing as Rescue*. Boston: Astra Books, 1977.

Berthoud, Jacques. *Joseph Conrad: The Major Phase*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Bhabha, Homi, ed. *Nation and Narration*. 1990. London and New York: Routledge, First Indian Reprint, 2008.

---. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Billy, Ted, ed. *Critical Essays on Joseph Conrad*. Boston and Massachusetts: G.K. Hall & Co., 1987.

Bloom, Harold, ed. *Joseph Conrad: Modern Critical Views*. NY: Chelsea House, 1986.

---, ed. *Joseph Conrad's Lord Jim*. New York, New Haven and Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987.

---, ed. *Joseph Conrad's Nostromo: Modern Critical Interpretations*. New Haven: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987.

---, introd. and ed. *Joseph Conrad*. Philadelphia: Chelsea house Publishers, 2003.

Boehmer, Elleke, ed. *Empire Writing: An Anthology of Colonial Literature*. Great Britain: Cox & Wyman Ltd., 1961.

---. *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors*. New Delhi: Oxford, 2006.

Bohlmann, Otto. *Conrad's Existentialism*. London: Macmillan, 1990.

Bonney, William W. *Thorns and Arabesques: Contexts for Conrad's Fiction*. Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1980.

Booth, Wayne C. *A Rhetoric of Irony*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Bozovic, Miran, ed. *Panopticon Letters*. London: Verso, 1995.

Brannigan, John. "History, Power and Politics in the Literary Artifact: New Historicism". *Introducing Literary Theories: A Guide and Glossary*. Ed. Julian Wolfreys. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001. 169 -183.

---. *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998.

Brantlinger, Patrick. "Heart of Darkness: Anti-Imperialism, Racism, or Impressionism?" *Criticism* XXVII, 4 (1985): 363-385.

Brook, Thomas. "Preserving and Keeping Order by Killing Time in *Heart of Darkness*". *Heart of Darkness: A Case Study in Contemporary Criticism*. Ed. Ross C. Murfin. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989. 239 - 257.

Carabine, Keith. *Joseph Conrad: Critical Perspectives*. 4 vols. Mainfield, East Sussex: Helm Information, 1992.

---. *The Life and the Art: A Study of Conrad's Under Western Eyes*. Amsterdam, Atlanta: GA Rodopi, 1996.

Casement, Roger. "The Congo Report, The 1903 Diary". *The Black Diaries: An Account of Roger Casement's Life and Times, with a Collection of His Diaries and Public Writings*. Eds. Peter Singleton-Gates and Maurice Girodias. New York: Grove Press Inc., 1959. 96 - 191.

Chamberlain, Joseph. "The True Conception of Empire". 1897. *Empire Writing: An Anthology of Colonial Literature*. Elleke Boehmer, (ed.), Great Britain: Cox & Wyman Ltd., 1961. 212 - 215.

Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and its Fragments : Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993.

Chaudhary, Mukhtar. "Races as a rhetorical construct in Joseph Conrad's fiction". *Literature and Linguistics Series* 21, 2 (2003): 41-77.

Chesterton, G. K. *Heretics*. London: The Bodley Head, 1905.

- Clifford, J. "On ethnographic self-fashioning: Conrad and Malinowski." *The predicament of culture: Twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988. 92 – 113.
- Cole, Sarah. "Conradian Alienation and Imperial Intimacy." *MFS* 44, 2 (1998): 251 - 281.
- Colebrook, Claire. *New Literary Histories*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997.
- Collits, Terry. *Postcolonial Conrad: Paradoxes of Empire*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Conroy, Mark. *Modernism and Authority: Strategies of Legitimation in Flaubert and Conrad*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1985.
- Cox, C. B. *Bibliographical Series on Writers and Their Work: Joseph Conrad*. England: Longman Group Ltd., 1977.
- , ed. *Conrad: Heart of Darkness, Nostromo, and Under Western Eyes: A Casebook*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981. 152 – 155.
- . *Joseph Conrad: The Modern Imagination*. London: Dent, 1974.
- Cox, Jeffrey N., and Larry J. Reynolds. *New Historical Literary Study*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Curle, Richard. *Joseph Conrad: A Study*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1968.

---. Introduction. 1955. *Nostromo: A Tale of the Seaboard* (1904). By Joseph Conrad.

London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1963. v - xi.

---. *Joseph Conrad and His Characters*. London, Melbourne and Toronto: Heineman,

1957.

---. *The Last Twelve Years of Joseph Conrad*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co.

Ltd., 1928.

Curtis, William Eleroy. *Venezuela; a Land Where it's always Summer*. London: 1896.

Daleski, H.M. *The Way of Dispossession*. London: Faber and Faber, 1977.

Dallimore, Jonathan, and Alan Sinfield, eds. *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in*

Cultural Materialism. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985.

Darras, Jacques. *Joseph Conrad and the West: Signs of Empire*. 1982. Trans. Anne

Luyat. London: The Macmillan Press, 1986.

Davis, Roberta Con, and Ronald Schleifer. *Literary Criticism: Literary and Cultural*

Studies. New York: Longman, 1998.

Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. 1903. Chicago: A.C. Mc Clurg & Co.,

1968.

Ducharme, Robert. "The Power of Culture in *Lord Jim*". *Conradiana* 22.1 (1993): 3-

10.

Eagleton, Terry. "Form, Ideology and *The Secret Agent*". *Joseph Conrad: New*

Casebooks. Ed. Elaine Jordan. London: Macmillan, 1996. 158 - 167.

---. "Literature and History". *Context for Criticism*. Ed. Donald Keeseey. London and Toronto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1987. 427 - 435.

---. *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory*. London: New Left Books, 1976.

---. *The English Novel: An Introduction*. UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

Eastwick, Edward B. *Venezuela: or Sketches of Life in a South American Republic; with the History of the Loan of 1864*. London: n. p., 1868.

Elridge, C. C., ed. *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1984.

Emerson, Carly, ed. and trans. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

Emmett, V. J. "Carlyle, Conrad and the Politics of Charisma: Another Perspective on *Heart of Darkness*". *Conradiana* 7, 2 (1975): 145 - 153.

English, James F. "Anarchy in the Flesh: Conrad's 'Counterrevolutionary' Modernism and the Witz of the Political Unconscious." *MFS* 38, 3 (1992): 615 - 630.

Epstein, Hugh. "Reading *Nostromo* 'With Conditions Attached'". *The Conradian* 24, 2 (1999): 75 - 94.

Erdinast-Vulcan, Daphna. *Joseph Conrad and the Modern Temper*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1991.

---. "'Sudden Holes in Space and Time': Conrad's Anarchist Aesthetics in *The Secret Agent*." *Conrad's Cities: Essays in Honour of Hans van Marle*. Ed. Gene M. Moore. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992.

---. *The Strange Short Fiction of Joseph Conrad: Writing, Culture, and Subjectivity*. Oxford: OUP, 1999.

Fairclough, Norman. *Discourse and Social Change*. UK: Polity Press, 1992.

Finnegan, Edward G. Et al. comp. and ed. *New Webster's Dictionary of the English Language* (College Edition). Chicago and New York: Consolidated Book Publishers, 1971.

Fleishman, Avrom. *Conrad's Politics: Community and Anarchy in the Fiction of Joseph Conrad*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967.

Fogel, Aaron. *Coercion to Speak: Conrad's Poetics of Dialogue*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 1985.

Foucault, Michel. "What Is an Author?". *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. Ed. David Lodge and Nigel Woods. New York: Pearson Education, Inc., 2000. 174 - 187.

---. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.

---. *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*. Ed. Donald F. Bouchard. Trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997.

---. *Power/ Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972 - 1977*. Ed. Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980.

---. *The History of Sexuality*. 3 vols. London: Penguin Books, 1998.

---. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of Human Sciences*. London: Routledge, 1974.

Fraser, Gai. *Interweaving Patterns in the Work of Joseph Conrad*. London: UMI Research Press - Ann Arbor, 1988.

Freedman, Ralph. *The Lyrical Novel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963..

Friedman, Alan. *The Turn of the Novel*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Froude, James Anthony. "From *The English in the West Indies*". 1888. *Empire Writing: An Anthology of Colonial Literature*. Ed. Elleke Boehmer. Great Britain: Cox & Wyman Ltd., 1961. 112 - 119.

Gann, L. H., and Peter Duignan. *Colonialism in Africa: 1870-1960*. vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Garnett, Edward. "Art drawn from memory". *Heart of Darkness*. By Joseph Conrad. Ed. Robert Kimbrough. New York: Norton. 1971. 125-126.

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., ed. "Race," *Writing and Difference*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Ghent, Dorothy Van. *The English Novel: Form and Function*. New York: Rinehart, 1953.

- Gillon, Adam. *The Eternal Solitary: A Study of Joseph Conrad*. NY: Bookman Associates, 1960.
- GoGwilt, Christopher. "Lord Jim and the Invention of the West." *Conradiana* 27.1 (1995): 43 - 62.
- Goonetilleke, D. C. R. A. *Joseph Conrad: Beyond Culture and Background*. London: Macmillan, 1991.
- Graver, Lawrence. *Conrad's Short Fiction*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.
- Greaney, Michael. *Conrad, Language, and Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Grewal, O. P. "The Conservative Attitudes of Henry James and Joseph Conrad." *Literature and Ideology: Essays in Interpretation*. Ed. Veena Singh. Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 1998. 90-107.
- Griffith, John W. *Joseph Conrad and the Anthropological Dilemma: Bewildered Traveller*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Griffith, Kelly. *Writing Essays About Literature: A Guide and Style Sheet*. United States: Thomson and Wadsworth, 2006.
- Guerard, Albert. *Conrad the Novelist*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Guetti, James L. *The Rhetoric of Joseph Conrad*. Folcroft Library Editions, 1970.

Guha, Ranajit. *Dominance without Hegemony : History and Power in Colonial India*.
Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 1997.

Halverson, John, and Ian Watt. "The Original Nostromo: Conrad's Source". *The
Review of English Studies*. New Series I, 37, Feb. (1959): 45 - 52.

Hamner, Robert D. ed. *Joseph Conrad: Third World Perspectives*. Washington, D.C.:
Three Continents Press, 1990.

Hampson, Robert. *Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Malay Fiction of Joseph Conrad*.
Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000.

Hampson, Robert. *Joseph Conrad: Betrayal and Identity*. Basingstoke: Macmillan,
1992.

Harpham, Geoffrey Galt. *One of Us: The Mastery of Joseph Conrad*. Chicago: The
University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Hawkins, Hunt. "Conrad and Congolese Exploitation." *Conradiana* 13. 2 (1981): 94 -
100.

---. "The Issue of Racism in *Heart of Darkness*." *Conradiana* 14. 3 (1982): 163 - 171.

Hawthorn, Jeremy. *Cunning Passages: New Historicism, Cultural Materialism and
Marxism in the Contemporary Literary Debate*. Great Britain: J. W.
Arrowsmith Ltd., 1996.

---. *Joseph Conrad: Narrative Technique and Ideological Commitment*. London:
Edward Arnold, 1990.

Hawthorn, Joseph. *Conrad: Language and Fictional Self-Consciousness*. London: Edward Arnold, 1979.

Hay, Eloise Knapp. *The Political Novels of Joseph Conrad: A Critical Study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.

Henricksen, Bruce. *Nomadic Voices: Conrad and the Subject of Narrative*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

Henthorne, Tom. "An end to imperialism: *Lord Jim* and the Postcolonial Conrad." *Conradiana* 32. 3 (2000): 202 - 214.

Hewitt, Douglas. *Conrad: A Reassessment*. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1952.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914*. London: Abacus, 2010.

---. *Uncommon People: Resistance, Rebellion and Jazz*. London: Abacus, 2009.

Hobson, John Atkinson. *Imperialism: A Study*. 1902. Ed. and Introd. Philip Siegelman. USA: The University of Michigan, 1965.

Holland, Norman N. "Style as Character: *The Secret Agent*." *Joseph Conrad. Modern Critical Views*. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Chelsea House, 1986. 53 - 62.

Holquist, Michael and Carly Emerson, eds. *Speech, Genres and Other Late Essays*. Trans. Vern W. Mcgee. USA: University of Texas Press, 2006.

Holquist, Michael, ed. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. Trans. Carly Emerson and Michael Holquist. USA: University of Texas Press, 1994.

Hooper, Myrtle, and Gail Fincham, eds. *Under Postcolonial Eyes: Joseph Conrad After Empire*. Rondebosch: University of Cape Town Press, 1996.

Ingram, Allan, ed. and introd. *Selected Literary Criticism and The Shadow-Line*. By Joseph Conrad. London: Methuen, 1986.

Israel, Nico. "Exile, Conrad and 'La difference essentielle des races'." *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*. 30. 3 (1997): 361 - 380.

Jameson, Frederic. *The Political Unconscious*. 1981. 1983. London: Routledge; London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2002.

JanMohamed, Abdul R. "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature." "Race," *Writing and Difference*. Ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986. 78-106.

Jean-Aubry, Gérard, ed. *Joseph Conrad: Life and Letters*. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1927.

---. *Joseph Conrad in the Congo*. London: n. p., 1926.

---. *The Sea-Dreamer: A Definitive Biography of Joseph Conrad*. Trans. Helen Sebba. Great Britain: Novello and Company Ltd., 1957.

Johnson, Bruce. *Conrad's Models of Mind*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.

Johnson, James M. "Victorian Anthropology, Racism, and *Heart of Darkness*." *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature* 28. 4 (1997): 111-131.

Johnstone, Barbara. *Discourse Analysis*. UK: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Jones, Michel Pusey. *Conrad's Heroism: A Paradise Lost*. Michigan: Umi Research Press, 1985.

Jones, Susan. *Conrad and Women*. Oxford: OUP, 1999.

Jordan, Elaine, ed. *Joseph Conrad: New Casebooks*. London: Macmillan, 1996.

Karl, Frederick R. *Joseph Conrad: The Three Lives*. London: Faber & Faber, 1979.

Karl, Frederick R., and Laurence Davies, eds. *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad 1861-1897*. Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

---, eds. *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, 1898-1902*. Vol. II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1986.

---, eds. *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad, 1903-1907*. Vol. III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1988.

Keesey, Donald, ed. *Context for Criticism*. London and Toronto: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1987.

Keppel, Henry. *A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H.M. Ship "Maeander": With Portions of Journal of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B.* Vol. II. 1853. Great Britain: Elibran Classics, 2002.

Kettle, Arnold. *An Introduction to the English Novel: From Henry James to 1950*. Vol. II. 1953. London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1969.

- Kiernan, V. G. *Imperialism and its Contradictions*. Great Britain: Routledge, Inc., 1995.
- Kimbrough, Robert, ed. *Heart of Darkness*. Norton's Critical Edition. New York: Norton. 1971.
- Kingsley, Mary. *Travels in West Africa*. 1897. London: Everyman - J. M. Dent., 1993.
- Kipling, Rudyard. *The Jungle Book*. 1894. London: Folio Society, 1992.
- Kirschner, Paul. *Conrad: The Psychologist as Artist*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1968.
- Kosellek, Reinhart. *Futures Past*. Trans. Keith Tribe. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985.
- Lacan, Jacques. "The Insistence of the Letter in the Unconscious". *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. Ed. David Lodge and Nigel Wood. New York: Pearson Education, Inc., 2000. 62 - 86.
- Leavis, F. R. *The Great Tradition: George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1948.
- Lee, Robert F. *Conrad's Colonialism*. Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1969.
- Leitch, Vincent B. et.al. eds. *The Norton Anthology of Literary Criticism*. 2 vols. New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 2001.
- Lentricchia, Frank. *Criticism and Social Change*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1983.
- Lodge, David, and Nigel Wood, eds. *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. New York: Pearson Education, Inc., 2000.

Longman Webster English College Dictionary, England: Longman Group Ltd., 1984.

Lothe, Jacob. "Narrators and Characters in *Lord Jim*". *Conrad's Literary Career*. Ed. Keith Carabine, Owen Knowles and Wieslaw Krajka. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

---. *Conrad's Narrative Method*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Lucas, Michael. *Aspects of Conrad's Literary Language*. Lublin: Maria Curie-Sklodowska University, 2000.

MacCarthy, Cameron, and Warren Crishlaw, eds. *Race, Identity and Representation in Education*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Mann, Thomas. Introduction. "The Secret Agent". By Joseph Conrad. *The Secret Agent: A Selection of Critical Essays*. Casebook Series. Ed. Ian Watt. London: Macmillan, 1993.

Marshall, P. *Demanding the Impossible: a History of Anarchism*. London: HarperCollins, 1992.

Marten, Harry. "Drama and Theme in *Nostromo*: The Relationship of Nostromo, Dr. Moneyham and Emilia Gould". *Conradiana* 8, 1 (1976): 27 - 35.

Marwick, A. *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War*. London: Macmillan, 1991.

Marx, Karl, and Friedrich Engels. *Selected Works in One Volume*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1991.

- Masterman, George Frederick. *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*. London: n. p., 1869.
- Maudsley, Arthur. *Reports From The Ports of Mexico and Chille*. London, 1907.
- McDonald, Peter D. *British Literary Culture and Publishing Practice 1880-1914*. Cambridge: CUP, 1997.
- McNair, Major Frederick. *Perak and the Malays*. London, n. p., 1878.
- Megroz, R. L. *Joseph Conrad's Mind and Method: A Study of Personality in Art*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964.
- Metcalf, T. *Ideologies of the Raj*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Meyer, Bernard C. *Joseph Conrad: A Psychoanalytic Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967.
- Meyers, Jeffrey. *Joseph Conrad: A Biography*. London: John Murray Ltd., 1991.
- Miller, J. Hillis. "Lord Jim: Repetition as Subversion of Organic Form". *Joseph Conrad's Lord Jim*. Ed. and introd. Harold Bloom. New York, New Haven and Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987. 99 - 115.
- . *Hawthorne and History: Defacing it*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- . *On 'Lord Jim' in Fiction and Repetition: Seven English Novels*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1982.
- Montrose, Louis Adrian. "The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text". *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*. Ed. Patricia Parker and David Quint. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. 303 - 340.

- Moore, Gene M., ed. *Conrad's Cities: Essays in Honour of Hans van Marle*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992.
- Morf, Gustav. *The Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad*. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. Ltd., 1930.
- Moser, Thomas. *Joseph Conrad: Achievement and Decline*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 1957.
- Mudrick, Marvin, ed. *Conrad: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966.
- Murfin, Ross C. *Conrad: Revisited: Essays for the Eighties*. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1985.
- . ed. *Heart of Darkness: A Case Study in Contemporary Criticism*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989.
- Nadelhaft, Ruth. ed. and introd. *Nostromo*. By Joseph Conrad. Orchard Park: Broadview, 1997: 7-29.
- . *Joseph Conrad*. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991.
- Najder, Zdzisław, ed. *Conrad's Polish Background: Letters to and from Polish Friends*. Trans. Halina Carroll. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- . *Conrad in Perspective: Essays on Art and Fidelity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . *Joseph Conrad: A Chronicle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

- O'Hanlon, Redmond. *Joseph Conrad and Charles Darwin: The Influence of Scientific Thought on Conrad's Fiction*. Edinburgh: Salamander Press, 1984.
- Pakenham, Thomas. *The Scramble for Africa*. London: Abacus, 1993.
- Palmer, John A. *Joseph Conrad's Fiction: a Study in Literary Growth*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968.
- Parker, Patricia, and David Quint, eds. *Literary Theory/ Renaissance Texts*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.
- Parry, Benita. *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005.
- . *Conrad and Imperialism: Ideological Boundaries and Visionary Frontiers*. London: Macmillan, 1987.
- Payne, Robert. *The White Rajahs of Sarawak*. New York: 1960.
- Pennycook, Alastair. *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Peters, John G. *Conrad and Impressionism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Petterson, Torsten. *Consciousness and Time: A Study in the Philosophy and Narrative Technique of Joseph Conrad*. Abo: Abo akademi, 1982.

- Pinar, William F. "Notes on Understanding Curriculum as a Racial Text". *Race, Identity and Representation in Education*. Ed. Cameron MacCarthy and Warren Crishlaw. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Price, Martin. "Conrad: Satire and Fiction." *Yearbook of English Studies* 14 (1984): N. Pag.
- . "The Limits of Irony: *Lord Jim* and *Nostramo*". *Joseph Conrad: Modern Critical Views*. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1986.
- Raval, Suresh. "Narrative and Authority: Conrad's Art of Failure". *Joseph Conrad's Lord Jim*. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York, New Haven and Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987. 77 - 98.
- Ray, Martin. *Joseph Conrad: Interviews and Recollections*. London: Macmillan, 1990.
- Ressler, Steve. *Joseph Conrad: Consciousness and Integrity*. NY: NYUP, 1988.
- Riley, Denise. *The Words of Selves: Identification, Solidarity, Irony*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Rising, Catharine. "Raskolnikov and Razumov: From passive to active subjectivity in *Under Western Eyes*." *Conradiana* 33.1 (2001): 24 - 39.
- Roberts, Andrew Michael. *Conrad and Masculinity*. London: Macmillan, 2000.
- Rorty, Richard. *Consequences of Pragmatism: Essays 1972-1980*. Brighton: Harvester, 1982.

- Rosenfield, Claire. *Paradise of Snakes: An Archetypal Analysis of Conrad's Political Novels*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- Roussel, Royal. *The Metaphysics of Darkness: A Study in the Unity and Development of Conrad's Fiction*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1971.
- Runciman, Steven. *The White Rajahs: A History of Sarawak from 1841 to 1946*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960.
- Ryan, Kiernan, ed. *New Historicism and Cultural Materialism: A Reader*. London: Arnold, 1996.
- . "Revelation and Repression in Conrad's *Nostromo*." *Joseph Conrad's Nostromo: Modern Critical Interpretations*. Ed. & introd. Harold Bloom. New Haven: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987. 43 - 55.
- Ryf, Robert S. *Joseph Conrad*. New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 1978. New York: Pantheon Books; London: Penguin Books, 2003.
- . *Beginnings: Intentions and Method*. Baltimore: MD, 1975.
- . *Culture & Imperialism*. 1993. London: Vintage, 1994.
- . *Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography*. Cambridge and Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- . *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard UP, 1983. 90 - 110.

- Saveson, John E. *Joseph Conrad: The Making of a Moralist*. Amsterdam: Rodopi NV, 1972.
- Schwarz, Daniel R. *Conrad: Almayer's Folly to Under Western Eyes*. London: Macmillan, 1980.
- . *Conrad: The Later Fiction*. London: Macmillan, 1982.
- . *The Transformation of the English Novel 1890-1930: Studies in Hardy, Conrad, Joyce, Lawrence, Forster and Woolf*. 2d ed. New York: St. Martin's, 1995.
- Schwarz, Henry. *Writing Cultural History in Colonial and Postcolonial India*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Seeley, John. "From *The Expansion of England*". 1883. *Empire Writing: An Anthology of Colonial Literature*. Ed. Elleke Boehmer. Great Britain: Cox & Wyman Ltd., 1961. 72 - 79.
- Sherry, Norman. "The Greenwich Bomb Outrage and *The Secret Agent*." *Conrad: The Secret Agent- A Casebook*. Ed. Ian Watt. London: Macmillan, 1973. 202 - 28.
- Sherry, Norman, and Thomas Moser, eds. *Joseph Conrad: Lord Jim: An Authoritative Text Backgrounds, Sources, Essays in Criticism*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1968.
- Sherry, Norman. *Conrad and His World*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.
- . *Conrad's Eastern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.

- . *Conrad's Western World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Singh, Veena, ed. *Literature and Ideology: Essays in Interpretation*. Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 1998.
- Singleton- Gates, Peter, and Maurice Girodias, eds. *The Black Diaries: An Account of Roger Casement's Life and Times, with a Collection of His Diaries and Public Writings*. New York: Grove Press Inc., 1959.
- Spatz, Hartley S. "Nostromo's Chronology: The Shaping of History". *Conradiana*, 6, 2 (1974): 37 - 46.
- Spittles, Brian. *Joseph Conrad: Text and Context*. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- Stallman, R. W., ed. *The Art of Joseph Conrad: A Critical Symposium*. USA: Michigan State University, 1960.
- Stanley, H. M. *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures and Discoveries in Central Africa*. London, 1874.
- . *Through the Dark Continent*. 2 vols. 1878. New York: Dover Publications, 1988.
- Stape, J. H., ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Joseph Conrad*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Symons, Arthur. *Notes on Joseph Conrad with Some Unpublished Letters*. London: Myers & Co., 1925.
- Tanner, Tony. *Conrad: Lord Jim*. Great Britain: Butler G. Tanner Ltd. 1964.
- Templar, John C. ed. *The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke*. Vol. I. London: n. p., 1853.

- Thorburn, David. *Conrad's Romanticism*. New Haven (CT): Yale UP, 1974.
- Thornton, Archibald Paton. *Imperialism in the Twentieth Century*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.
- . *Doctrines of Imperialism*. USA: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1965.
- Tillyard, E. M. W. "The Secret Agent Reconsidered." *Conrad: A Collection of Critical Essays*. Ed. and comp. Marvin Mudrick. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1966.
- . *The Elizabethan World Picture*. 1943. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987.
- Van Ghent, Dorothy. Introduction. *Nostromo*. By Joseph Conrad. New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1961. vii - xxxv.
- Vidan, Ivo. "One Source of Conrad's *Nostromo*". *The Review of English Studies*. New Series. 7, 27, Jul., (1956): 287 - 293.
- Visser, Daniel. "Crowns and Politics in *Nostromo*." *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature* 23.2 (Spring 1990): 1 - 15.
- Voitkovska, Ludmilla. "Homecoming in *Nostromo*." *The Conradian* 29. 2 (2004): 31 - 48.
- Wallace, Alfred Russel. *The Malay Archipelago*. 1894. Singapore: Periplus Editions, 2000.
- Walton, Priscilla L. "This vague feeling of their difference: Race, gender, and the originary impetus in Conrad's *Almayer's Folly*." *Ariel: A Review of International English Literature* 26. 2 (1995): 1 - 14.

- Warren, Robert Pen. "On *Nostromo*". *The Art of Joseph Conrad: A Critical Symposium*. Ed. and introd. R. W. Stallman. USA: Michigan State University, 1960. 209 - 227.
- . *New and Selected Essays*. New York: Random House, 1989.
- Watt, Ian, ed. *Conrad: The Secret Agent- A Casebook*. London: Macmillan, 1973.
- , ed. *The Secret Agent: A Selection of Critical Essays*. Casebook Series, London: Macmillan, 1973.
- . "The Ending of *Lord Jim*". *Critical Essays on Joseph Conrad*. Ed. Ted Billy. Boston and Massachusetts: G.K. Hall & Co., 1987. 85 - 102.
- . *Conrad in the Nineteenth Century*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1981.
- Watts, Cedric, ed. *Joseph Conrad's Letters to R.B. Cunninghame Graham*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- . *A Preface to Conrad*. London and New York: Longman, 1982.
- . *Joseph Conrad: A Literary Biography*. Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1989.
- . *The Deceptive Text: An Introduction to Covert Plots*. Sussex: Harvester Press, 1984.
- Wells, H. G. *The History of Mr Polly*. 1910. London: Pan, 1963.
- White, Allon. *The Uses of Obscurity*. Boston: Routledge, 1981.

- White, Andrea. *Joseph Conrad and the Adventure Tradition: Constructing and Deconstructing the Imperial Subject*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- . "Conrad and Imperialism". *The Cambridge Companion to Joseph Conrad*. Ed. J. H. Stape. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 179 – 202.
- White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Whitworth, Michael. *Einstein's Wake: Relativity, Metaphor, and Modernist Literature*. Oxford: OUP, 2001.
- Williams, Frederick Benton. *On Many Seas: The Life and Exploits of a Yankee Sailor*. London, 1897.
- Williams, Raymond. *Culture and Society 1780-1950*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961.
- . *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- . *Problems in Materialism and Culture*. London: Verso, 1980.
- Wilson, Robert. *Conrad's Mythology*. Troy, NY: Whitston, 1987.
- Wolfreys, Julian, ed. *Introducing Literary Theories: A Guide and Glossary*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001.
- Wollaeger, Mark A. *Joseph Conrad and the Fictions of Skepticism*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford UP, 1990.
- Wright, Walter F. *Romance and Tragedy in Joseph Conrad*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1966.

