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COLONIALISM IN THE FICTIONAL WORKS OF JOSEPH CONRAD

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Para Marly

Para meus pais e irmãos.

A B S T R A C T

This dissertation deals with the theme of colonialism in Conrad's fiction.

Despite his general reputation as a political conservative, Conrad's treatment of colonialism (particularly in Heart of Dakness and Nostromo) is liberal and modern in flavor. Conrad breaks with the ethnocentric Anthropology of the 19th century and begins to see native cultures on their own terms. His conservatism is based not on dogmatic belief but sceptism which leads him to see that a self-deluding idealism allows western entrepreneurs to rationalize their own primitive motives.

R E S U M O

Esta dissertação lida com o tema do colonialismo na ficção de Conrad.

Apesar de sua reputação genérica de político conservador, o tratamento que Conrad dá ao colonialismo (particularmente em Heart of Darkness e Nostromo) é liberal e de conotação contemporânea.

Conrad rompe com a antropologia etnocêntrica do século XIX e começa a ver o sentido das culturas aborígenas. Seu conservadorismo não se baseia em crença dogmática, mas em ceticismo, que lhe permite ver um idealismo ilusório influenciando os empresários do ocidente na racionalização de seus proprios motivos "primitivos" que lhes eram inerentes.

Contents

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

It is the aim of this dissertation to make use of socio-literary approach in order to concentrate mainly on Conrad's Heart of Darkness and Nostromo. Other works are consulted too, namely, The Nigger of the Narcissus, The Secret Sharer Under Western Eyes, and Lord Jim. The themes chosen as connecting links among them are Anthropology and polities. In the present study we discuss Conrad's acquaintance with Anthropology in relation to the writer's political posture.

Politics seems to have been a fascinating theme for Conrad since it appears recurrently in the writer's works, even outside his political novels. Eloise Hay Knapp and other eminent critics such as Howe and Baines infer that the author's concern for politics results from his Polish background which affects Conrad's view of life and literature.

We intend to discover in our work what is the relevance that Conrad gives to colonialism and imperialism in his fiction and how they are related to his politics.

According to this, our main concerns in the present dissertation are to evaluate Conrad's approach to colonialism through the characters of the novels and the importance of Conrad's knowledge of Anthropological writings. In the process, we will try to answer questions such as, was Conrad an aristocratic racist? What are the political implications of the gospel of work it is possible to find in his books? What is the relation between colonialism and the writer's view of idealism in this period?

How contemporaneous is Conrad's politics to the twentieth century? Is it legitimate for us to consider Conrad a reactionary as do some critics? If so, does Conrad infer through his characters that the individual is able to avoid a political posture in life? Is the supposedly moralistic and conservative author always inconsistent in his concern with politics? How important is anthropological analysis to the understanding of the politics of Heart of Darkness and Nostromo?

The answer to these themes will be developed in this dissertation and they will be studied in the context of the author's pride in late Victorian Society. The action of our two principal novels is developed in a different country: namely the Congo (Heart of Darkness) and the fictitious Costaguana (Nostromo), a representative country of South America. How do these societies reflect British imperialism? We will see that Conrad's genius could foresee, so to speak, the kinds of troubles and anxieties which imperialism would inflict on mankind in our century.

This dissertation will try to relate this to Conrad's knowledge of Anthropology. The work is divided in 5 parts. The first chapter contains an introduction with a review of criticism, a statement of purpose and this statement of problem. The second chapter contains a brief anthropological background. The third chapter contains a section about Conrad's politics in relation to The Nigger of the Narcissus, The Secret Sharer and Under Western Eyes.

The fourth and fifth chapters analyse Heart of Darkness and Nostromo. After this a conclusion is provided. The review of criticism and the background of Cultural Anthropology are very important for the understanding of Conrad's politics as

we shall see throughout this dissertation.

REVIEW OF CRITICISM

I. Heart of Darkness, Lord Jim and Early Novels

Sherry in his book Conrad's Western World discusses the evidence of how accurately Conrad's own experiences in the Congo are reflected in Heart of Darkness as a literary work. His study comes from information provided by contemporary newspaper accounts, particularly the Movement geografique*, and also private and official documents. Yet he assumes that the previous short-story An Outpost of Progress could be taken as the introduction work to the two important themes developed more fully and skillfully in Heart of Darkness. These two important themes are the ironization of the concept of progress in relation to trading posts in the jungle and the disintegrating effects of solitude and primitive societies on the health and mind of the so-called civilized man. Sherry also concludes that there are good grounds for stating that "An Outpost of Progress depends much more upon Conrad's reading and much less upon his direct experience than Heart of Darkness."[1] Another of his conclusions is that Conrad was very much influenced by Stanley's conceptions in terms of his exploits and of his ideals in Africa. His criticism also establishes that" Conrad does not accept the colonizing process as one

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* A small weekly review, published in Brussels, and the official organ of the Independent state and the commercial companies of the Belgian Congo.

of improvement and bringing in light, his story (Heart of Darkness) being an inquiry into the nature of "light" and "darkness" "in this context"[2]

Ellen Mae Kitonga in the critical article "Conrad's image of African and Colonizer in Heart of Darkness" refers to the European image of Africa and the African (Busara II, nº 2 pp. 51-53) where Conrad's Heart of Darkness is cited as a leading example of the idealized and false presentation of Africa by European writers. At the same time Heart of Darkness is regarded as a good source of insight into the mind of the colonialist. Yet Kitonga states that it is a "distorted picture of Africa and the Africans reflecting the spirit of some of the explorers and civilizers who came to Africa".[3] Another important item to be taken in consideration according to her is the irony that" dark is the world introduced by the bringers of light and civilization".[4] Afterwards she points out that such distorted presentation is to be interpreted at the level of artistic license. Kitonga goes on saying that the story gives evidence of Marlow's changing attitude towards the African as he moves toward self-discovery, and that at the time he is telling his previous experiences to his listeners he repeats enthusiastically the discriminative terms "nigger" and "native"[5] making thus a parody of their racism. Next, Kitonga says that Marlow's acceptance of the African as a loyal and resourceful worker also reflects his paternalistic and patronizing attitude. As a matter of fact, the African is interpreted at two levels. Firstly, this reflects the early idealist Marlow being introduced to the awareness of the nature of the evil. Secondly, the African is a caricature, a symbol of the sava

ge within all men. Kitonga exemplifies this by citing the beginning of the novel, when Marlow compares the Roman explorers of the barbaric England with the Congo colonization. This seems to suggest that civilization must move out from London to the primeval jungle. This would be a very naive conception of the progress of the civilization, nevertheless Marlow undertands that the call to civilize can be taken as a disguise for devastation and racism in the name of the "cause of progress".[6] The criticism goes on and notes that through self-discovery Marlow tries to interpret the evil which haunts civilized man. Two categories of evil are then cited. Firstly, the evil which moves idealist avaricious people like the manager who is only moved by greed ("the devil of a rapacious and pitiless folly")[7]. Secondly, the evil that links the highly idealistic Kurtz to the others. In the conclusions of Kintonga's article she introduces the idea that through self-discovery Marlow realizes that the causes responsible for Kurtz remain buried in the European culture. Yet hope lies not in Kurtz's death, but in Marlow's facing truth. Finally, Kitonga infers that "Hope is the individual's ability to face truth, as Marlow did. In this way the supposedly civilized can come to terms with savagery and present the heart of darkness to others to be faced and conquered."[8]

John E. Saveson in "Conrad's view of Primitive Peoples in Lord Jim and Heart of Darkness"[9], a critical article that seems very important to the aims of our study, argues that Conrad's view of primitive races changes between his first two novels, Almayer's Folly and Outcast of the Island, and Lord Jim. In Lord Jim he says that Conrad conveys an un-Spencerian view of

primitive mentality in comparison to the view of Intuitionist writers with the view of Hartmann. This article establishes Conrad's familiarity with relevant anthropological and philosophical writings widely discussed in the Late Victorian period. Saveson argues that the moral perspective of Almayer's Folly and Outcast of the Islands is rather uncomplicated but Lord Jim reveals a difference in literary quality and a change in Conrad's moral assumptions. It seems that Conrad's chief guide was H.G. Wells (later Ford Madox Ford took his place). Lord Jim, Almayer's Folly and An Outcast of Islands suggest knowledge of anthropological terms and concepts. There is a persistence of some Spencerian attitudes and abandonment or alteration of others between An Outcast of the Islands and Lord Jim, says Saveson, and he also implies that Marlow's moral and psychological suppositions in Lord Jim are post-Spencerian. Conrad's thought is regarded as having been influenced by the XIX century controversy over the moral and intellectual capacities of savages. He possibly knew the works on evolution by Spencer, Lecky, Mivart and Wallace, and Conrad's post-Spencerian view of the natives in Lord Jim would then correspond to the post-Spencerian view of Mivart and Wallace. The critic informs us that it is rather difficult to answer which of these evolutionist writers was the most influential for Conrad. Possibly he was most influenced by Wallace on the matters related to Malay culture. The first part of the article concludes that an intricate network of cross references exists in evolutionary literature, and Conrad entered it at any point assisted by Wells, who was very familiar with this sort of literature.

The second part of the essay infers that the view of the Intuitionists and Wallace's observation of the Malays have accounted for Marlow's estimate in Lord Jim of the work of primitive peoples, though it does not explain his pessimism towards the future. Marlow appears fascinated by the progress of his civilization and the pessimism refering to his unprogressive view of the Patusan society extrapolates the Utilitarian dislike for the mode of life of backward peoples. Here the reader is introduced to the idea that anyone who read Mivart and Wallace would consider Hartmann's radical law of evolution. Saveson remarks that Conrad's reading followed that pattern. Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious[10] establishes that the irresistible will which is the unconscious makes use of evolution to perfect and enable the race and to destroy inferior types with rare callousness. Hartmann's view of evolution bears contradictions; while the primitive are understood as doomed living in a unenviable state, paradoxically it affirms that the condition of civilized man is more undesirable: "a being is happier the obtuser is his nervous sistem." (III 115)[11] Wallace and Mivart in contrast believe in human possibilities. Nevertheless, Hartmann admires the Malay life, he seems to exempt it from the fate of inferior races. This sort of celebration spoils Hartmann's belief in the intellectual advancement of the race. The final point is that his theory of evolution is thus frustrated.

The last part of the essay concentrates on Heart of Darkness which is said to convey Hartmann's influence more strongly than Lord Jim. Saveson argues that two backward races that stand out in the Philosophy of the Unconscious persist in Conrad's

writings. Hartmann admires the Malays, but he conceives the Africans as degraded people whom no effort can save from extinction (II, 12 ff)[12]. The criticism also concludes that Conrad's ethic is the same as the ethic of those bemused humanitarians in Hartmann who devoted themselves to the improvement of backward races. Heart of Darkness would represent a parallel with another of Hartmann's arguments which says that in the world process, commercial exploitation is one of the best ways to hasten the extinction of inferior races (II, 13)[13]. We find evidence of this item in Marlow's description of the Africans in the Grove of Death: "...They were nothing earthly now-nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation, lying confusedly in the greenish gloom."[14] Thus, the labor of the victims of the European system of law is useless: "It wasn't a quarry or sandpit, anyhow. It was just a hole. It might have been connected with the philanthropic desire of giving the criminals something to do."[15] The critic suggests that the context of the novel implies the genocidal result-Hartmann's results of ventures taken in the name of universal benevolence.

Kurtz's withdrawing from his humanitarian ideals also makes Saveson establish links between Conrad and Hartmann. Firstly, Kurtz wrote an idealistic report to the Company and afterwards added the postscript "Exterminate all the brutes!"[16] On the other hand, Hartmann had written "The true philanthropist, if he has comprehended the natural law of anthropological evolution cannot avoid desiring an acceleration of the last convulsions, and laboring for that end."[17] The following idea is that Heart of Darkness is comparable not only with Hartmann's racial theories

but also with his social theories which would give rise to a parallel with Hartmann's chief metaphysical principle, the fact of the Unconscious. An example of this would be Marlow's recognition in himself of the same savage character as that of the Africans on board the steamer, who are said to reveal themselves as creatures of irrational impulse: "The mind of man is capable of anything-because everything is in it, all the past as well as the future."[18] Saveson quotes the principle of Hartmann's primitive unconscious: "The Unconscious has always something uncomfortably demonic about it." (II, 40)[19] Since Hartmann is said to find the capacity for evil in geniuses and in the supremely civilized, it seems rather obvious that Conrad followed this principle in order to build Kurtz's character.

The article also draws our attention to the fact that Marlow seems to follow a naturalistic philosophy. This is due to his finding evil not only in the acts of colonialists, but in natural manifestations, and the "vengeance of wilderness"[20] on Kurtz and other Europeans because of their interference making them an instrument of dark purpose. This is taken as a transliteration of Hartmann's theory of the world process. Such treatment of nature in Heart of Darkness, says Saveson, shows that Conrad was affected by Hartmann's pantheistic theories, too. Next, by literary means, the symbolism of the journey and the superiority of Marlow's point of view in Heart of Darkness is said to communicate the unconscious in its anteriority of time. An example given is that Kurtz's regression stands for the apprehension of the unconscious in its anteriority of time. Marlow apprehends the unconscious too in the sense that his

voyage is Kurtz's as well. In conclusion, the article infers that the unconscious in Conrad's fiction given the Conrad-Wells relationship (the latter was familiar with the German Pessimist), makes the reader refer to Hartmann, who articulated to Late Victorian thought the theory of the Unconscious. Saveson remarks that in his study he did not mean that the dominant thematic veins in Heart of Darkness and Lord Jim agree with Hartmann's philosophy necessarily. It tries to establish a relevance. The final point is that Marlow reflects an ambivalent mind which stretches itself in one direction or another. According to the current article Marlow's inconsistency reflects Conrad's mind at a certain point in his development as a moralist.

Eloise Knapp Hay in The Political Novels of Joseph Conrad develops a chapter on Heart of Darkness relevant to our study. Initially she complains about the fashion of collecting Conrad's imagery for exotic gems. As a result, the solid soil of the story is quite overturned. Initially, she does not go straight to the text of Heart of Darkness. Firstly, Knapp Hay conveys some details of the political milieu from which the novel arose. She refers to England, almost a decade after Conrad's journey in 1880. According to her Conrad was a man for whom "race" meant "nation" more than "pigmentation", and for whom "nation"[21] was a sacred image. The nineteenth-century's cultivation of racism as a means of commercial profit through tyranny was history's most agonizing chapter. Conrad's novel is taken as a vehement denunciation of imperialism and racism. Between 1880 and 1910 the competition in the acquisition of territory and the fight for influence and control was the most important factor in the international relations of Europe. British explorers like

Traves and Rhodes who identified themselves entirely with their nation's right are cited as possible prototypes for Kurtz. The rise of imperialism is said to be contemporaneous with the extension of the suffrage in 1867 and 1884, and this implies that popular pressure was more important in the growth of imperialism than was the action of the ruling class, according to Willian L. Langer in The Diplomacy of Imperialism,[22] 1890-1902. Knapp remarks that when Conrad started the actual writing of Heart of Darkness, the Boer war in South Africa had come to an end after two years. Also Conrad was deeply concerned with two questions: his loyalty as a man and as writer to England, and his sharp disbelief in the way "civilizing work"[23] was being accomplished by the European powers in Southeast Asia and in Africa. He did not see this war between South Africa and England as a "just war"[24] being unsympathetic with this violent form of British imperialism. He gave evidence of being in favor of a government by the Africans themselves. The critic also argues that throughout his life Conrad wrote as if two nations, and in fact nationalism itself, were in a state of continual emergency and that he refused to "allow a place in heaven for England's conquests."[25]

Secondly, the article centers on the Marlow of Lord Jim and the Marlow of Heart of Darkness. The first is said to believe that even dangerous knowledge is worthy of public examination and the latter, in opposition, is said to believe that dangerous knowledge must be suppressed. Marlow is seen as detached from Conrad. An example of this would be the words of the very English Marlow about the Roman referred to as "chaps who were not much account really"[26], whereas the Pole Conrad insisted

that Rome was the main source of western civilization and that Poland's culture originated directly from it. The critic insists that in spite of Marlow's agitation about reality and unreality it is rather his own faculties that he mistrusts than those of his listeners. So, the reader is warned at the start that Marlow will interpret the Congo episode "only as a glow brings out a haze."[27] And still he treats his listeners as identical to himself making the remark that they will see the story in the way that he sees it. Another parallel is drawn between the Marlow of Lord Jim and the other of Heart of Darkness. The first is said to enjoy the "absolute truth"[28] while the latter is not permited the vision of "imperishable reality"[29]. It is argued that Conrad conveys as a virtue Marlow's not knowing what he means. He is able to see, but he cannot see clearly. Only Kurtz in the end could do that. Although Knapp Hay believes that Marlow reaches a certain maturity out of his Congo experience and that he has to kill off a part of his own enlightenment with lies in order to save the"beautiful world of British civilization"[30] and the beautiful world of Kurtz's Intended. This beautiful world of civilization is rather a very weak society. When men most need the institutions their civilization is proud of -especially in primitive lands-they cannot be found. As a result, civilized man may regress and be possessed by his primal savage instincts as in the case of Kurtz's joining "unspeakable rites."[31]

In spite of the fact that previously Knapp has considered Marlow detached from Conrad, she also finds important links between the two. Marlow's ironic appreciation of Kurtz's valuable postscript ("Exterminate all the brutes!"[32]) which is

"the exposition of a method"[33] is given as a relevant proof that he has reached Conrad's level of irony. Even so, Knapp points out that such appreciation by Marlow of a racist and ethnocentric report gives more evidence of his inability to see the truth. Marlow's standard of efficiency, an important rule of his culture, which is carried along his journey, the critic infers, represents Marlow speaking of Conrad in his fidelity to this western criterion of measurement. Heart of Darkness could be read in part as a deep questioning of this point of view. Although in the Congo all work - including Marlow's - turns into unutterable stupidity, Marlow says that through the work he was hired to do one has the "change to find yourself"[34] which is "the most you can hope for"[35]; it is the criminality of the civilizing work itself that is highly emphasized in the entire novel. Also according to Hay Knapp, Kurtz who finds in himself evil unsimulated, goes until his last words in a constant posture as standard-bearer of European superiority in matters of efficiency and ideas. Yet it is assumed that the question which the novel does not answer is whether good work any more than evil work justifies the imperialistic colonialism in Africa.

Another conclusion Knapp Hay notes is that Marlow's talk of "devotion to efficiency"[36] possesses a religious implication as threatening as his reference to an "unselfish belief in the idea - something you can set up, and bow down before and offer a sacrifice to."[37] (Marlow's early justification of British colonialist policies). She relates these images to the "pilgrims," the ivory ("you could think they were praying to it"[38]), the Russian's worship of Kurtz's ideas, and Kurtz

himself, self-glorification," insatiable of splendid appearences, of frightful realities."[39] Next, the criticism infers that Marlow admits the savages in the jungle to be "virtuous"[40] and humane in their society as he is in his own. His rebellion limits itself to the criticism of the hypocrisy that is ruining his society. When he conceals the truth he has seen, it is not because it is evil but because he has a conservative nature in the political sense. He conceals it for the good of the white society. It is legitimately claimed that Heart of Darkness has possibly for its principal theme the idea that civilization depends for its conquest of the earth on a combination of lies and forgetfulness. On the other hand, it is also inferred that when Marlow admits that all Europe contributed to the making of Kurtz, the novel establishes that Marlow has failed to see that England is not released from this doom either. The article ends with the idea that Marlow's guilt grows as he gradually submits himself to Kurtz, which is gradual submission to Europe's brutal arrogance in "dark"[41] lands.

II. Criticism of Nostromo

In Conrad's Western World Norman Sherry provides us an interesting study of the sources which possibly Conrad used in the building of his book Nostromo, a novel that most critics regard as one of the major works of modern English Literature. Sherry infers that in opposition to Heart of Darkness, which is considered a book where Conrad's own experience in the Congo is decisive to the building of the fictional matter, Nostromo rather

reflects an author's intense reading course for writing the book. According to him Conrad himself told Cunninghame Graham that his own experiences of South America were superfluous: "I just had a glimpse 25 years ago."[42] It is claimed that the writer's intensive readings on the South America of his time enabled Conrad to portray characters, names, incidents, topography and of course the historical, socio-economic world of the novel. Sherry claims that he had himself read over 200 books on the area in search of Conrad's sources. The books were written by Europeans, usually English, expatriates then working in several republics, or visiting speculators, newspapers correspondents or curious travellers. Their literature is regarded as repetitive on the matters observed such as people, places and events. The critic yet shows that in spite of the very convincing picture of Conrad's Costaguana it should be interpreted as a generalized visualization of South America acquired by the writer's reading. On the other hand, even considering that the history of Costaguana condenses that of the continent as a totality, Sherry infers that Conrad gives a careful individual history of the State in his novel. Conrad's sources and the theme he elaborates from them are said to have imposed explicit limitations upon his method of character presentation. Sherry however claims that in terms of the nature of the book these limitations should not necessarily be interpreted as faults. So, the characters are relevant in relation to race, status, occupation and history, and represent types which persist obviously in the history of South America. Conrad's conception of the background of the English Gould family as having been "liberators, explorers, coffee planters, merchants,

revolutionists"[43] is possibly based on the book The English in South America, says Sherry, because it shows Englishmen executing all these functions on the continent, and the presentation of characters in relation to their past lives furnishes links with historical events and themes such as Gould in relation to the history of the mine, which is very significant to the affairs of Costaguana. Sherry points out, too, that the sources add little in terms of individual character and this is related to Conrad's insufficient experience and the nature of his sources. This would then explain the presentation of characters in quasi allegorical postures. Gould is distinguished for his strongly English characteristics: "Spare and tall, with a flaming moustache, a neat chin, clear blue eyes, auburn hair, and a thin, fresh red face, Charles Gould looked like a new arrival from the sea."[44] Nostromo before his corruption is frequently seen on his silver-grey horse, "active, vigorous, a leader for men."[45] Sherry's essay also remarks that the main theme of Nostromo, that of the predomination of "material interest"[46] and "material progress"[47] in the province of Sulaco, reflects Conrad's study of the literature on the South American continent. Most of these books had "material interest"for the central concern according to Sherry's own reading of this sort of literature in his study of Conrad's sources. Finally he concludes that the unquestioning optimism embracing the ideology of material interests clearly reflects a contemporary attitude in Conrad's time, but Conrad did not agree with such optimism. The novel provides evidence of such an attitude if the following is taken in consideration: the sacrifice of a Decoud and a Hirsh, the corruption of Nostromo, the empty life of Mrs. Gould and the deaths in the revolution.

Baines criticism of Nostromo in Joseph Conrad: A Critical Biography compares the novel to the classical of universal literature War and Peace. He lists the books On Many Seas: The Life and Exploits of a Yankee Saylor by Frederick Benton Williams, George Frederick Mastermann's Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay and Edwárd B. Eastwick's Venezuela as possible relevant sources for Conrad's writing of Nostromo. Sherry also refers to these books as sources. In the first book Conrad happened to read about Nicolo's story and then got the inspiration to elaborate certain details for Nostromo's story. From Masterman's book, Baines affirms that Conrad took most of the names of his characters namely, Gould, Decoud, Coberlān, Mitchell, Fidanza (Nostromo's surname), Barrios and Monygham. Yet from the same book he says that Conrad found sources for Dr. Monygham's torture and confession which are based on Mastermann's own experiences. Also it provided the material for the Montero Brothers and the cruel Guzman Bento. These two characters would evoke the character and career of the tyranical dictator Francisco Solano Lopes. Also from Eastwick Baines remarks that Conrad took names for people and geographical features such as Mt. Higuerota. The critic infers that Conrad does not really plagiarize, having used such books as sources for the raw material with which he constructed his elaborate writing. If a comparison is made it rather serves to prove Conrad's powerful creativity.

Next, Baines talks about the absence of a narrator such as Marlow in Nostromo. Baines points out that the novel is mostly written in the third person and that only occasionally such anonymity is interrupted. The sardonic Dr. Monygham, the sceptical Decoud and the talkative and ominous Capitain Mitchell

are regarded as performing the usual functions of Conrad's narrator, namely commenting and reflecting about the events many times through irony. The use of time-shifts according to Baines almost abolishes time in Nostromo and favors a synchronism of visual experience which a picture presents. He also infers that Conrad builds up Nostromo's reputation in frequent allusions to his figure, in a similar way to that of Kurtz in Heart of Darkness throughout the narrative. Nevertheless, Nostromo is not the book's hero. On the other hand, the critic argues that the desire for gaining the silver only influences the lives of Nostromo and Sotillo, who is killed during his frenzied search for the sunken light. Silver is considered the personification of material interests which are transforming Sulaco, capital of the isolated Occidental Province. The article notes the Goulds as opposite types of idealist: whereas Charles Gould trusts in "material interests"[48] only in pcsitive terms, and becomes obssessed with an ideal of self-interest, Mrs. Gould distrusts material interests and progress, but immerses herself in the ideal of service. Holroyd the American millionaire who finances the mine also is seen as an idealist who has "the temperament of a puritan and an insatiable imagination for conquest."[49] Also Viola the old Garibaldino, with his "worship and service of liberty"[50] and Don José Avellanos who believed that the embodiment of material interests in the silver mine would transform his country in a civilized nation. Baines remarks that Nostromo is indeed a very pessimistic book, because its story infers that idealism and scepticism, faith and want of faith, apparently lead to disaster anyway. The critic argues that this possibly stands for Conrad's own pessimism concerning political matters and quotes the following words from an article Conrad wrote on Anatolé France just after finishing

Nostromo. "Political institutions, whether contrived by the wisdom of the few or the ignorance of the many, are incapable of securing the happiness of mankind".[51] The critic calls the attention of the reader to the fact that in spite of the revolutions and violence in Costaguana, at the end of the novel the country as a whole has not improved. Baines also relates Nostromo to Conrad's essay "Autocracy and War" quoting the writer's point of view about material interests as follows: "The true peace of the world ... will be built on less perishable foundations than that of the material interest."[52] Another conclusion is that Conrad did not limit such thoughts only to Costaguanero's reality, but to the condition of humanity. It is important to consider that Baines believes that Conrad tries to portray in the political immaturity of the Costaguaneros his own Russian - dominated Poland. He infers that Conrad left Poland because he did not believe that her political aspirations were sufficient to obtain her freedom. If he believed the opposite he would have stayed to take part in the fight. Finally, Baines concludes that when Conrad condemns Decoud's sceptical attitude to life he is possibly revealing his own situation in Marseilles and that when Decoud's thoughts tell him that "it seemed to him that every conviction. as soon as it because effective, turned into that form of dementia the gods send upon those they wish to destroy,"[53] he acts as a mouth-piece for the mature Conrad.

In Irving Howe's Politics and the Novel[54] one finds important considerations about some of Conrad's political novels such as: Under Western Eyes, The Secret Agent and Nostromo. We will only discuss the criticism on the last of the three novels listed, since we are not concerned with the previous ones in the

present study. To begin with, Howe considers Conrad a person hostile to political matters because of the writer's temperament and discipline. He claims that Conrad dislikes the artifice of intrigue and understood ideological politics as radicalism. Howe sees Conrad as an austere man who disagreed with the "modern" tendencies and impatience before traditional duties.[55] Nevertheless, the critic infers that in a paradoxical attitude related to literary life, Conrad quite often abdicated his pre-conceived subjects and turned to the world of London anarchists, Russian émigrés, and Latin revolutionaries, although in a distasteful way. The criticism implies that Conrad's distaste for Dostoevsky who he once described as "a grimacing and haunted creature"[56] is because the latter's novels projected the Russian-occupied Poland he had escaped from during youth. Still it focuses indirectly on Conrad's father's figure, a leftist revolutionist, an adept of Polish nationalism, in spite of Conrad's claim that his father was a simple "patriot."[57] Howe compares Korzeniowski to Garibaldi, whose struggle also was to create a free and unified country. Furthermore, a distinction between revolutionary nationalism and revolutionary socialism is provided. The first is conceived in terms of a romantic political attitude which attempts to exalt a national mysticism, instead of the exaltation of the war of the classes; of the latter, it rather aims idealistic fraternity instead of social antagonism. Howe believes that such romanticism condemned Polish nationalism to frustration, so that he sees it as a desperate and quixotic melancholic movement. In 1863 after the failure of the Polish rebellion, Korzeniowski became an exile in Russia with his wife and five-year old Joseph. As a young man he escaped from the world of both his father and those who had

persecuted his father, writes Howe. Next, he infers that Dostoevsky novels brought to Conrad's mind painful remembrances such as the following: the odious oligarchy of Tzarism and the revolutionaries against this oligarchy who Dostoevsky describes as caricatures. Such procedures might have hurt Conrad because of his political memories. Howe warns us that his present comments on Conrad's experiences and ideas are his modified interpretation on Gustav Morf's thesis that Conrad lived his life in the shadow of his Polish heritage and that many of his novels are efforts by symbolic indirection to justify or expatiate his "desertion"[58] of the national cause. He also remarks that some of Morf's connections between Conrad's life and work are irrelevant to his thesis, although he agrees that because Conrad left his country he thereafter remained a stranger, a wanderer at sea and an alien inland. Next he considers Conrad one of the first modern writers who disagreed with the "nonsense"[59] of bohemia, having adopted a noble way of life in his bourgeois prudence. Thus Conrad's conservatism found good grounds to be developed in England. Nevertheless, the critic believes that the writer's conservatism is not an aggressive one, if one considers him as having been an anti-imperialist in an age of imperialism. Howe says that it is legitimate to claim that Conrad's attitude is similar to that of the "Little Englanders."[60] Conrad like them is interpreted like those who adopt a politics of defense desiring to remain untouched by the effects of industrialism, being let alone by history, retaining privileges and values that were slipping away. An attempt is made to relate his conservatism with the philosophy of Conrad's novels which seem to expose his political conservatism.

The stoical attitude is considered as commensurate with most forms of politics. This is explained thusly in one way, stoicism may stand for quietism, but one the other hand, it also may represent a disguise for revolution. Howe then remarks that Conrad's strong emphasis in his novels upon order and anarchy, restraint and decorum, fortitude and endurance, are representative of an unspectacular conservatism. This is a self-confident politics whose members still insist on retaining power. According to Irving Howe, Conrad's political milieu could represent the writer as a second-rank dignitary of the old Roman republic, standing in austerity for the value of simplicity and restraint as they suffer attack from tyrants and mobs. Secondly, Conrad's motif of fidelity as the essential human duty and his statement that the universe cannot be taken as ethical, provide evidence for what Howe denominates Conrad's insecure stoicism. Another important remark of the critic compares Dostoevsky's novels to Conrad's. For Dostoevski, in spite of the terror of human life, men seek in each other for comfort and support. For Conrad this terror also is considered but each man must face it alone. There is only a solidarity of isolated victims. Thirdly, Howe believes that besides Conrad's severe stoicism and conservatism, the author shows a terrible radical skepticism. He infers that these characteristics of a Conradian endurance cannot hide in the author's work an image of desolation, of the terror that is left when belief breaks up. Howe at this point introduces Conrad's "job sense"[61] and tries to explain it according to what has been discussed above. For if there is nothing better by which to live, one may fall back on his way of earning a living. Yet the critic

considers that Conrad compensates for the crudeness of his stoicism with a romanticism and the exoticism often present in his sea - stories.

Howe believes that the politics Conrad accepts and the politics he rejects are both rooted in Polish nationalism. Pressed by Prussians and Tzars, Poland favoured an aristocratic nationalism and Poland's reactionary aspect reveals a country which had not been fully touched by the Enlightenment. The critic also remarks that conservatism and anarchism present in Conrad's politics are not so opposed as they seem to be at first sight. Conservatism is the anarchism of the fortunate and anarchism the conservatism of the deprived.

Secondly, let us focus our attention on the section of the article in which Howe analyses Nostromo. To begin with it is inferred that this novel should be read as a fictional study of imperialism. First of all the critic relates Nostromo to Leon Trotsky's theory of the "permanent revolution."[62] According to such theory, the semi-colonial nation suffers a lot in an industrialized world. It must compete with the advanced countries yet it cannot; it desperately needs their capital yet strives to resist the domination that is the price of capital. Howe then associates such ideas with the history of revolutions in Costagua na's political history. Next, he refers to the different interpre tation that Albert Guerard Jr. and Robert Penn Warren give to the ending of Nostromo. The first realizes that the mine" corrupts Sulaco, bringing civil war rather than progress,"[63] while Warren argues that this is "far too simple. There has been a civil war but the forces of 'progress' - i.e., the San Tomé mine and the

capitalist order have won. And we must admit that the society at the end of the book is preferable to that of the beginning."[64] Howe remarks that he considers the two critics to be right and adds his own interpretation. For him the civil war brings capitalism and capitalism will bring civil war: progress has come out of chaos but it is the kind of progress that is likely to end in chaos. Afterwards he remarks that the central point of Nostromo is that imperialism brings a false order, which is imposed and which devastates the rhythms of native life and provokes rages of nationalism. Yet Howe infers that Conrad analyses the relationship between Costaguana and the foreign investors and reveals the gradual change in power among the imperialists. As a result of this, British capital is replaced by American capital. The shift is represented by Charles Gould turning to the financing of Holroyd, a token American millionaire.Howe claims that the politics of Costaguana means that decades and perhaps centuries will pass before the conquerors of the land are driven away. He points out that the polar forces of the novel are politics and loneliness, social vortex and private desolation. Nostromo, according to Howe, acquires political insight when he becomes agitated with his secret, and is said to pay the price of loneliness. His history is regarded as an anticipation of the fissures of consciouness that in a near future will be effective through the people, and Nostromo's alienation represents the understanding of different class interests and acute class antagonisms. On the other hand, Howe infers that Gould's blind confidence in the logic of imperialism makes him the most remarkable political figure in the novel. The mine is regarded

as the symbol of a "subtle conjugal infidelity"[65] to Mr. and Mrs. Gould. As Howe directs his final interpretation he infers that the Europeans who live in Costaguana represent the failure of Europe to cope with Costaguana. To begin with he infers that Capitain Mitchell, Don Avellanos, Giorgio Viola and Decoud - each signify aspects of European thought that are transplanted to Latin America. Mitchell's endurance and faithfulness in Howe's interpretation are ineffective to alter Costaguana's reality and stand for Conrad's realization that the English job sense will not get the job done in South America. Avellanos, the critic believes, stands for Conrad's belief that the classical liberalism of restraint is irrelevant to a country like Costaguana. Viola would be the obsolescence of the classical liberalism of heroic action to Costaguana. Decoud would represent the failure of importing European modes of behavior to Costaguana and the Jewish trader Hirsh would be interpreted as an alien among aliens. The article closes with the idea that at the end of the novel society appears ressurgent and confident but men are dehumanized by material interests that the San Tomé Silver mine represents.

In Eloise Knapp Hay's essay on Nostromo in The Political Novels of Joseph Conrad we find ideas very relevant to the present study. To begin with she remarks that in Heart of Darkness Conrad recognized that the assertion that English society was better than any other on earth was unfair. So that if truth was brought to the beautiful English world it would perish. Marlow had thus refused to face the logic of historical ideas in Heart of Darkness. Knapp argues that in Nostromo Conrad brings this logic to the surface. She says that Conrad's passive English readers of

Heart of Darkness have the historic process as the subject of the story in Nostromo. Silver stands for the hero of the story representing material interests, the reason of modern economics and politics. According to her, Conrad asks how it happens and what will happen next. In a sense she believes that Conrad uses modern history with its initial revolt against religion and monarchy in Costaguana's history in the style of a political analyst. Charles and Emilia Gould believe that their mining would provide justice and progress to Costaguana. Though the novel provides evidence of the usefulness of material interest to the progress of the oppressed Costaguaneros and for the happiness of their oppressors, the critic infers that Gould is the immature model of the real capitalist, in comparison to the mine financer, the American millionaire, Holroyd, a real capitalist. Gould and Holroyd are interpreted as the ones responsible for the future disaster of Costaguana. The oppressed people do not care about Charles Gould's idealism and realise that "the rich must be fought with their own weapons."[66] Knapp believes that the next struggle will be between the marxist who appears at the end of the novel, the hater of capitalism and Holroyd. She also believes that Conrad has deceived the "common reader"[67] into thinking that Nostromo's story was the novel's inspiration. Values and convinc tions in the world of politicians and businessmen was his entire interest, but if readers missed Conrad's theme, the critic believes it to be due to Conrad's insistence on values already obvious and impracticable, whereas social sacrifices for material interests had been discussed by writers such as Flaubert, Zola, and Hardy among many others. Next, she centers on Conrad's

antipathy to American politics, institutions and characters. This antipathy had been expressed in books such as The Rescue with the negro-hating yankee gun-monger and in Nostromo. Yet Knapp refers to Conrad's sympathetic comments on Spanish business at the time of the Spanish - American war of 1898 and quotes Conrad's words from the Doubleday edition of his letters: "If one could set the States and Germany by the ears!."[68] She infers that Conrad like Eastwick, whose book Venezuela had been used as source for Nostromo, believed that the worst possible government was preferable to civil war, although one is not to understand that Spanish imperialism was preferable to civil war.

Secondly, focussing on Nostromo, Knapp parallels this novel to Heart of Darkness. She regards that both novels contrast men who have "an insatiable imagination of conquest"[69] and the others who are their victims. She also parallels Kurtz's miscellaneous national background to Holroyd's heterogeneus national background: "his parentage was German and scotch and English, with remote stains of Danish and French blood, giving him the temperament of a Puritan and an insatiable imagination of conquest."[70] Another parallel is that in Heart of Darkness the Russian forsees new conquests for his "race"[71] and the American financeer insinuates the vulnerability of his people to resist the call of their manifest destiny. Finally, Charles Gould (regarded as the most important political figure of Nostromo) is compared to Marlow in his experience in the Congo, an experience which views the development of backward areas in terms of efficiency and redemption. Kanpp points out that one of the strong themes in all of Conrad's political novel carries

the following implication: one is to be faithful to the past without strenghtening its errors. She warns us that such a theme never becomes quite clear, but even so she uses Mrs. Gould's political reflections to illustrate such an implication. Consider the following:

> "It had come into her mind that for life to be large and full it must contain the care of the past and of the future in every passing moment of the present. Our daily work must be alone to the glory of the dead, and for the good of those who come after."[72]

She continues with this approach considering Charles Gould's sentimentalism as part of his sincere endeavor to repair the past mistakes of his father and mainly of Europe. She goes farther arguing that Decoud's consideration that Gould acts idealistically because he is not able to act rationally is either a tragic or satirical observation. Another relevant observation Knapp makes relates Conrad's thought about the anarchy of capitalistic societies in which politics is directed by business interests. She sees Gould's refusal to entrust his mine to anyone politically trustworthy as an extension of this thought.

Next, the article focuses on Christian faith in Nostromo. According to it at the beginning of the novel, the Church in Latin America let itself be identified with the Spanish Empire. After the power has been transfered to the interests of the San Tomé mine, Coberlán determines to regain the Church properties confiscated during the many libertations of Costaguana. This suggests Conrad's belief that the hierarchy of

the Church should always center in the fate of man and not be concerned with material interests. An opposition is made to Coberlán, and the police corrupt Father Berón and the saintly Father Román. Padre Román and Coberlán are regarded as having heroic characters, but Padre Román is considered a better priest since he cares only for the spiritual comfort of his congregation while Father Berón is considered more worried about politics. Knapp extends this sort of comparison to Charles Gould and Nostromo. She considers the latter as the double of the first, in the sense that Gould would be responsible for Nostromo's corruption when he is chosen to save the silver of the mine. Father Román is considered a representative of a form of Christianity which serves God instead of serving any current representative of material interests. Padre Román and Decoud represent Conrad's sketch of people that in fact are not conscious of the right aims of politics which is the benefit of the secular community, according to Knapp's point of view. They get involved in politics for individualistic interests, the first for the Church and the latter for Antonia Avelanos. Paradoxically she concludes that both men have better chances for success in politics than the two others who take political action seriously in themselves. Eloise Knapp Hay does not agree with Baines who argues in Joseph Conrad: a Critical Biography that Conrad attempts an analogy between Costaguana and Poland as prototype of a politically inexperienced nation. Her argument implies that if this were true Conrad's sympathy would have been more freely with his destructive judgement in Nostromo and of the character of Decoud. On the other hand, she agrees with Baines' argument

that the main figures in Nostromo "exist for what they represent rather than for what are"[73]. The silver is considered the "real hero,"[74] consequently Nostromo's secret life is a symbol for the silver. Nostromo's work is compared to the value of the silver which is determined more by what people think him to be than what he really is. Silver preserves its value because it is not corroded by rust, while Nostromo's character is corrupted. The critic's conclusion is that Nostromo's change stands for Gould's hypothesis that the silver can be regarded as an agent of moral reform. He is not able to make morality out of the silver, and Nostromo cannot make himself in the image of a material thing. Another item is that in the end the novel gives evidence of Conrad's severe judgement against material interest in Nostromo's vain attempt, even when he tries to give up and be redeemed in his deathbed. Nostromo's fall is interpreted as follows: his manner of falling could be seen a result of his "unintelligence,"[75] about the assertion that he is almost strong enough to resist his corruption by the treasure. Dr. Monygham is regarded as a realist in politics and a personalist in human relationships, and according to Knapp he proposes the union of politics and morality, which Conrad perhaps believed was probably impossible in human history. Dr. Monyghan has the right to summarize the political "message"[76] of the novel which is that "There is no peace and rest in the development of material interest".[77] In the last conclusions of Knapp's chapter on Nostromo she remarks that the novel is chiefly a novel of ideas and its theme develops as a revelation of the logic of ideas in history. Yet it rejects ideas, intellectually, and infers that moral sensibility is the

proper guide for political action. Next she comments that the great objection to Conrad among intellectuals is his moralizing, and if he had not made his novels so difficult, non-intellectuals would have enjoyed his books. Her final remark is that in spite of the fact that in Nostromo Conrad addresses more our heads than our hearts he conquers the sympathy of the readers beyond head and heart reaching our very soul with an appeal similar to that of Heart of Darkness and Lord Jim.

This section of our work attempted to provide a general picture of anthropological criticism as apposed to psychological, and political analysis as opposed to stylistic or symbolic study. We aimed to dicuss different critical interpretations of Conrad's politics. Some claim he was essentially a radical and moralist, while others claim that Conrad was ambivalent in politics and that in spite of that he was a writer conscious of the problems of his time. Howe and Baines are representative of the first group while Knapp, Saveson, Sherry and Kitonga represent the second group. Our principle of critical selection is due to our main purpose in this dissertation, namely Conrad's anthropological and political background mainly in relation to Heart of Darkness and Nostromo.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This chapter has dealt with my aim in this dissertation and with the review of the critics' ideas. Colonialism and imperialism in Conrad's political novels are a very broad subject, but we hope we have succeeded in determining our area of interest. As it is has been already suggested, we will be trying to show that Conrad follows neither strictly the Victorian Anthropology in his approach to colonialism nor adopted the optimism about imperialism typical of his era. What we are trying to say is that although Conrad was an anti-imperialist in an age of imperialism, the writer had a doubleness of attitude on this matter.

The questions we will be trying to answer here have been raised by my reading of both Conrad's works and the critics' ideas. Critics have controversial opinions about Conrad's politics; some like Howe, claim that the writer's approach to politics is unsatisfactory because of his conservatism and radicalism. On the other hand, some critics like Knapp and Sherry claim that in spite of Conrad's conservatism he was a writer conscious of the problems of his time.

Throughout this dissertation we will see that Conrad's politics is not based on dogmatic radicalism but on skepticism which leads him to see the ambivalent nature of the colonialist enterprise and its implications of evil and idealism.

Because of Conrad's doubleness of attitude we will see that at times he is apparently an impetuous antagonist of the

evils of colonialism. Yet at other moments he seems to try to justify the preservation of the European superiority in its imperialist aims. Considering the author's criticism of the evils of capitalism we will see that one could hardly interpret Conrad as a pro-marxist. Finally, we intend to demonstrate that in a general way, Conrad's criticism of colonialism and imperialism could be paralleled to the anti-colonialist, anthropological posture of the present days.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1 SHERRY, Norman. Conrad's Western World (Great Britain, 1980), p. 133.

2 Ibid., p.121

3 KITONGA, Helen Mae. "Conrad's Image of African and Colonizer in Heart of Darkness", Busara 3, I (1970), p. 33.

4 Ibid., p. 33

5 Ibid., p. 33

6 Ibid., p. 34

7 Ibid., p. 35

8 Ibid., p. 35

9 SAVESON, John E. "Conrad's View of Primitive Peoples in Lord Jim and Heart of Darkness". In: Modern Fiction Studies, 16, pp. 163-83.

10 SAVESON, op. cit., p. 174

11 Ibid., p. 174

12 Ibid., p. 176

13 Ibid., p. 176

14 Ibid., p. 176

15 Ibid., p. 177

16 Ibid., p. 177

17 Ibid., p. 177

18 Ibid., p. 178

19 Ibid., p. 179

20 Ibid., p. 180

21 HAY, Knapp Eloise, The Political Novels of Joseph Conrad (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., 1972), p. 112.

22 Ibid., p. 119

23 Ibid., p. 121

24 Ibid., p. 125

25 Ibid., p. 128

26 Ibid., p. 135

27 Ibid., p. 130

28 Ibid., p. 131

29 Ibid., p. 131

30 Ibid., pp. 135-36

31 Quotations are mine

32 HAY, op. cit., p. 140

33 Ibid., p. 140

34 Ibid., p. 141

35 Ibid., p. 141

36 Ibid., p. 147

37 Ibid., p. 147

38 Ibid., pp. 147-48

39 Ibid., p. 148

40 Ibid., p. 148

41 Ibid., p. 153

42 SHERRY, op. cit., p. 150

43 Ibid., p. 354

44 Ibid., p. 355

45 Ibid., p. 355

46 Ibid., p. 356

47 Ibid., p. 356

48 BAINES, op. cit., p. 369

49 Ibid., p. 369

50 Ibid., p. 370

51 Ibid., p. 371

52 Ibid., p. 376

53 Ibid., p. 379

54 HOWE, op. cit., pp. 76-113

55 Ibid., p. 76

56 Ibid., p. 77

57 Ibid., p. 77

58 Ibid., p. 78

59 Ibid., p. 79

60 Ibid., p. 79

61 Ibid., p. 81

62 Ibid., p. 101

63 Ibid., p. 106

64 Ibid., p. 106

65 Ibid., p. 109

66 KNAPP, op. cit., p. 163

67 Ibid., p. 164

68 Ibid., p. 167

69 Ibid., p. 180

70 Ibid., p. 180

71 Ibid., p. 181

72 Ibid., p. 185

73 Ibid., p. 202

74 Ibid., p. 202

75 Ibid., p. 204

76 Ibid., p. 209

77 Ibid., p. 209

VICTORIAN ANTHROPOLOGY

To begin with, our aim in the present section has not the intention to focus widely on everything written about the problems of colonialism. The enormous number of works written on this area and the increasing rate of new articles and books makes this impossible. Obviously, our main focus is not Cultural Anthropology, but English literature. Therefore we want to point out that we have a general concern with the 19th century Anthropology. Otherwise our intention is to look at the details of Conrad's reading of it in the chapters dealing with individual novels or stories.

According to some relevant criticism mainly on HD[1], Conrad was familiar with Anthropology. (Possibly in Nostromo he also shows the influence of anthropological writings though surely not as strong as in HD). Such knowledge seems to obtrude in Conrad's fiction. Saveson[2] thinks that this is true not only of HD, but also of some of Conrad's earlier works such as AF, OI and LJ. From the two novels on which we center our study we conclude that (possibly at times, the author used his anthropological background to denounce the evils of contemporary Victorian society, such as racism, genocide and the destructive forces of imperialism), in spite of the fact that a considerable number of critics consider Conrad a conservative. We are going to examine these items in more detail in other sections of our study. The purpose of the present section is to give a brief historical background to the so-called Victorian Anthropology of

the XIX century.

Firstly, we would like to point out that this introductory chapter has no intention of considering Conrad strictly a writer of anthropological problems or to reduce him to a pamphleteer. As a matter of fact, we intend to discuss the relevance of anthropological theory to the analyses of the characters in HD, so that our preliminary intention is to identify in the light of anthropological theory the effects of colonialism upon Conrad's European characters in Africa (HD) and in Costaguana, a fictitious country in South America (N). We associate colonial characteristics with individual behaviour and the context of the novels.

Anthropology is traditionally understood as the science which studies man. Lévi-Strauss considers Rousseau[3] as its founder. Rousseau in the XVIII century worried about the insufficiency of knowledge about man because of the lack of awareness of the non-European groups. Rousseau emphasized the necessity of fieldwork. LLobera[4] argues that Anthropology arose as an unselfish discipline dedicated to explaining the problems of cultural diversity. He points out, however, that Anthropology is far from what an unselfish discipline should be and conceives it as a product of colonialism: he refers to Lévi-Strauss's remark which affirms that both Anthropology and colonialism emerged simultaneously and that since their conception they have kept up an ambivalent dialogue of submissions to colonialist ideals and confrontations[5] with those ideals through the realization that Anthropology should serve humanity and not only the interests of the dominant class. LLobera also notes that historically, colonia

lism represents the primordial condition for Anthropology. He goes farther and affirms that the development of the latter was effected in a situation of quasi dependence by the anthropologists on the colonialist enterprises. LLobera infers that although most anthropologists are aware of this fact there is a contemporary tendency to minimize it or ignore it. Later on his Postcriptum[6] he provides a division of what he understands by modern colonialism: colonial expansion (until world war I), colonial consolidation (until world war II) and finally colonial disintegration (until the present). In this work we are mainly concerned with the first item of this division because it brings us back to the Victorian Anthropology of Conrad's time.

At the period of colonial expansion, evolutionism represented the current anthropological ideology. Copans[7] remarks that the XIX century was evolutionist in essence. He illustrates his thought refering to the economical and technical progress of the last century. Yet Copans notes the biological evolutionism in which the stages of human evolution were sought. As a result, "primitive"[8] societies were considered the predecessors of modern western societies. This conforms to the unilinear evolutionist theory. According to it, such succession of stages is necessary and obligatory so that, by transformational stages human societies pass from the inferior levels (namely savagery, barbarism)to the superior one . And the superior level is specifically European civilization. Contemporary primitive groups were seen as inferior according to the Evolutionist unilinearism which believed that backward societies had stagnated,while only white civilization has managed to reach the ideal stage of organization.

Tylor, Lubbock, Morgan and Livingstone are the main representatives of Evolutionary thought. Victorian Anthropology and the Evolutionary School supported ethnocentric values. It favoured colonization and expansionism while the superiority of European cultural values were considered unquestionable in comparison to non-european groups in which Europe assumed the posture of the "sacred mission of bringing colonization".[9] The ethnocentric character of such a mission made the explorer, the missionary and the anthropologist of the XIX century intolerant towards the "unevolved" groups. Actually, the Victorians could not manage to "educate"[10] the primitive societies because of a lack of objectivity. The Victorian anthropologist identified himself only with the European standards.

In HD, from the moment of his contact with the Africans, this is made clear in Kurtz's attitude. In his manuscript he begins with the deduction that the advanced white civilization from which he comes from must be interpreted by the "savages"[11] in the nature of the supernatural things. And yet he thinks that the white man approaches the non-Europeans with the might of a "deity".[12]

Evolutionist Anthropology also provided important contributions to modern Anthropology. Tylor, considered the father of evolutionism, is regarded by Copans[13] as a pioneer of indispensable current methods, namely, the systematization of comparativism and data quantification. He also considers the importance of Tylor's studies on religion and animism in terms of an initial approach which explains the ideological and mythological functions. Yet Tylor has been considered as the one who

provided the modern implication of the term culture: "That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".[14] Not only Copans but a good member of modern anthropologists consider Tylor's contributions important to modern cultural Anthropology. In the decade of the 1870's Tylor, Lubbock and Morgan published their more important works.[15] Since evolutionist ideology emphasized greatly the advantages of Western society, colonial expansion seemed to be essential to the "enlightenment"[16] of illiterate groups. Unfortunatelly, the West used violent methods, such as genocide through ethnocentrism and racism to destroy ethnic groups in order to demostrate its own superiority. Victorian anthropologists were guilty not only because they cultivated the western superiority in their writings. Their guilt lay in not having rebelled against the violent methods of white expansionism and imperialism. Modern anthropologists can criticize the last century evolutionists beyond their radically ethnocentric ideology mainly because their judgements were based on false facts and theories.[17] Spencer, one of the most argumentative and most discussed English thinkers of the late Victorian period, the prophet of evolution and progress, believed that primitive men were smaller, less intelligent and more emotional than civilized man.[18]

Marvin Harris[19] quotes Lowie's reprimand of Lubbock's remarks on the Europeans pre-historic sequences in his Pre-Historic Times.

> "The Andamanese have" no sense of shame"; "many of their habits are those of beasts."(...) The Iroquois have no religion, no word for god, Fuegians not the least spark of religion."(...) There can be no doubt, as an almost universal rule savages are cruel." |Lowie 1937:24|[20].

Marvin Harris argues that in last century evolutionsts had gone as far as to believe that if any of them had grown up among savages, they would nonetheless have behaved like Victorian gentleman.[21]

Leclerc's A Crítica da Antropologia[22] refers to Tylor and Livingstone's thought as justifications of imperialism through colonialism. According to the first, every individual was the product of a previous era and his social role was to "prepare"[23] the next generation. This preparation means the establishment of the white social values wherever a contemporary aboriginal society is being colonized. Secondly, Gerard Leclerc also infers that for Livingstone, a missionary and Africa explorer, religious conversion must not be carried on without the recognition of the benefits of industrial society.[24] Livingstone seems to have come to the conclusion that the success of the white missionary in Africa did not lie in the conversion of natives. He thought that the proper work of men like himself was that of pioneering, opening up and starting new ground, leaving native agents to work out the details. And that's the gist of his later work.[25]

It does not seem to us an oversimplification to agree with Leclerc about the ethocentric character of Victorian Anthropology. As a matter of fact, in the last century Antropology

lacked the critical posture typical of our times. Like other sciences which had arisen in the XIX century, Anthropology adopted the optimism of the time. Modern Anthropologists denounce the initial involvement of Anthropology with the colonial practices. They refuse the "sacred mission of civilizing the primitive."[26] On the other hand, in the present days, Anthropology is still accused of participating in the selfish interests of imperialism and the domination of powerful nations over the third world.

We do not think that discussing the jingoist, ethnocentric posture of evolutionism represents an individual radicalism. Firstly, this position is affirmed by the great representatives of modern anthropology such as Lévi-Strauss and (mainly) Malinowski. The latter is considered the father of Functionalism, the recent Anthropological school which criticizes Evolutionist ethnocentrism. Malinowski, in contrast to Livingstone and Tylor (who were apologists of the progress without limits notion) rejects such a concept because this form of progress destroys the plurarity of cultures. Malinowski believed that attacking other cultures was as serious as attacking his own.[27]

Admitedly the evolutionist provided important contributions to modern Anthropology. For example, Frazer's theory of a general development of modes of thought from the magical to the religious and finally to the scientific is no longer accepted, yet even so, it is said that it enabled him to summarize and confront a wider range of information about religious and magical practices than has been achieved by any single anthropologist.[28] Frazer also made the mistake of many evolutionists who worked with the comparative method though

neglecting the importance of fieldwork. He travelled little and was in indirect contact with missionaries and administrators who provided him with information and valued his interpretation of it. Gérard Leclerc remarks that whenever anyone asked Frazer if he had been close to "savages" he would reply: "certainly not, for god sake!"[29]

Similar to Frazer is Conrad's ambivalence in anthropological matters. Let us take into consideration the fact that Conrad himself had experienced the astonishing violence of colonization. Those experiences inspired HD where Marlow probably represents Conrad's mouthpiece. In spite of that, Marlow who had also undergone the colonial experience, watching the brutality of the European agents against the Africans, lies to the Intendend saying that Kurtz was a great man. In his conservatism Marlow prefers to hide the brutal attitudes of the expansionist society he lives in. Also, at the beginning of Marlow's tale he points out that the progressive England of Victorian times had passed through Roman colonization. Therefore, he seems to suggest that the Belgian colonization of the Congo is similarly inevitable. At this moment Marlow ignores the violent methods he had seen in the Congo.

It is important to notice that the colonialist enterprise is not only characteristic of Victorian times. Actually, it is as old as the history of mankind. All of us are aware of Roman colonialism. According to Leclerc the colonialist ideology in the Renaissance was to exchange god for gold, while in the XIX century it meant the exploitation of unexplored regions with their unused wealth. In the XX century it is done in name of science and

technique.[30]

Finally, we intend to reaffirm the fact that Conrad had done a good deal of reading in late 19th century Anthropology. HD and N are two of his major works set in places where the anthropology of colonized nations could serve as a major theme. On the other hand, we are going to see in the sections centered in HD and N Conrad's ambivalence in relation to Victorian Anthropology; he partially agrees and partially disagrees with the accepted anthropological thinking at the time.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1 H = Heart of Darkness

AF = Almayer's Folly

OI = An Outcast of the Island

LJ = Lord Jim

N = Nostromo

2 SAVESON, John E., "Conrad's View of Primitive Peoples in Lord Jim and Heart of Darkness". In: Modern Fiction Studies, 16, pp. 163-83.

3 LLOBERA, R. José, "Postcriptum: Algunas Tesis Provisionales Sobre La Natureza de La Antropologia". In: La Antropologia Como Ciência (Barcelona: Anagrama, 1971), pp. 374-75.

4 LLOBERA, op. cit., p. 375

5 Ibid., p. 376.

6 Ibid., p. 377.

7 COPANS, J., "Da Etnologia a Antropologia". In: Antropologia-Ciência das Sociedades Primitivas (Lisboa: Edições 70, 1971), p. 25.

8 Ibid., p. 26.

9 Quotations are Mine.

10 Idem

11 Idem

12 CONRAD, Joseph, "Heart of Darkness" (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1979), p.

13 COPANS, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

14 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. (William Benton Publisher, USA, 1965), vol.

15 Ibid., p.

16 Quotations are mine.

17 HARRIS, Marvin, "Evolutionism: Methods". In: The Rise of Anthropological Theory (Columbia University, 1968), p. 164.

18 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. Copyright. Under International Copyright Union, U.S.A., 1965, p.

19 Ibid., p. 162

20 Ibid., p. 162

21 Ibid., p. 164

22 LECLERC, Gérard, A Crítica da Antropologia (Editorial Estampa, Lisboa, 1973), pp. 19-28.

23 Ibid., p. 24

24 Ibid., p. 19

25 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. (William Benton Publisher, U.S.A., 1962), Vol. 14, p. 239.

26 Quotations are mine.

27 LECLERC, op. cit., p. 50

28 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. (Copyright Under International Copyright Union, U.S.A., 1965), Vol. 9, p. 819.

29 LECLERC, op. cit., p. 52

30 Ibid., p. 29

CONRAD AND POLITICS

In order to discuss the relevance of politics in Conrad's fiction we refer to Howe's idea of the political novel[1] and to Knapp's research on the writer's political background[2].

To begin with, Howe notes that he has no intention of imposing another inflexible category in his concern with the political novel:

> "I am concerned with perspectives of observation not categories of classification."[3]

He also affirms that terms such as the "political" and "psychological" novel are indeed ineffective ones if we take into consideration the fact that they do not point out any essential distinction of literary form. Regardless of such ideas, Howe attempts to define the political novel as follows:

> "A novel in which WE TAKE TO BE DOMINANT[4] political ideas or the political milieu, a novel which permits this assumption without thereby suffering any radical distortion and, it follows, with the possibility of some analytical profit."[5]

Holman also provides a similar definition:

> "A novel which deals directly with significant aspects of political life and in which those aspects are essential ingredients of the work and not merely background material or secondary concerns."[6]

Knapp makes use of Conrad's biography in order to clarify Conrad's use of political matters in his fiction. She warns us that Conrad's family background and his national

contingency helped the writer to develop a political slant in literature. Yet the critic remarks that politics has influenced Conrad's perceptiveness of all human affairs. This is not to say that our approach to the political Conrad intends to interpret the novelist as a political dogmatist. As Knapp says, "to seek out the "political Conrad" is by no means to suggest that Conrad, the novelist, wrote as a Polish partisan, or any other kind of partisan."[7] Conrad can be understood then as a novelist whose fulfillment was to turn politics from action to art. In reference to his parentage the influences of the writer's father and the uncle and tutor seem very evident in Conrad's fiction, as far as Knapp is concerned. Tadeuz Bobrowski, the uncle, is regarded as having an austere concern for duty, condemning the aims of idealism. Appollo Korzeniowski, the father, is considered an idealist revolutionary and Bobrowski's is said to be exactly opposite in character. Knapp tries to explain Conrad's ambivalence in relation to politics based on this opposition.

It seems to us that Howe also attempts to elucidate this same subject according to biographical data.

The critics do not agree about Joseph Conrad's political stance. Some claim he is reactionary, some conservative, while some find a radical potential in his criticism of imperialism. In order to analyse the writer's politics we study significant themes of Conrad's fiction such as loyalty and betrayal, the dubious implications of political commitment, the criticism of idealism in political matters and the author's posture towards duty. At times, Conrad's Polish background will be worthy of discussion.

To beguin with, let us consider the political Conrad in The Nigger of the Narcissus. (1897)

In this story the reactionary and conservative sides of the writer predominate .

In the begining of the tale we detect Conrad as a partisan of the Victorian stereotype about primal groups. For example:

> "Old Singleton, the oldest able seamen in the ships, sat apart on the deck right under the lamps, stripped to the waist[8], tatooed like a cannibal chief all over his powerful chest and enormous biceps."[9]

There is also the evidence of the author's strong racial prejudice in relation to the black race. For instance:

> "The boy, amazed like the rest, raised the light to the man's face. It was black. A surprised hum - a faint hum that sounded like the suppressed mutter of the word "Nigger" - ran along the deck and escaped out in the night. The nigger seemed not to hear (...) - a face pathetic and brutal: the tragic, the mysterious, the repulsive mask of a Nigger's soul."[10]

Racial prejudice obtrudes throughout the story and we should take in consideration the fact that it is a black man who personifies the evil of the world here. It is true that evil is also represented by Donkin who is a white man. Nevertheless, it is Wait, the black man, the most important element to the introduction of evil among the crew. Throughout the Nigger of the Narcissus abound cruel references to Wait's color. Consider the following:

> "You couldn't see that there was anything wrong with him: a Nigger does not show."[11] He was not very

> fat - certainly - but then he was no leaner than other Niggers we had known. He coughed often, but the most prejudiced person could perceive that, mostly, he coughed when it suited his purpose. He wouldn't or couldn't, do his work."[12]

It seems fair to claim that Conrad is implying that James Wait is evil not only because of his black skin but mainly because blacks do not do their work well.

In this short story the emphasis on discipline and on the work code are very important themes. Conrad is very conservative in his approach to work in The Nigger of the Narcissus. He seems to note that only through work and discipline one achieves maturity and a nobility of character. Singleton, captain Allistoun and Podmore, the cook, are entirely faithful to their work. Singleton's attachment to work and discipline makes him a model of perfection to the ordinary man. On the other hand, such a rigid posture towards work provides an ambivalent conclusion about characters such as Singleton and Capitan Allistoun. Their total commitment to work diminishes Singleton's and Allistoun's imaginative sensitivity.

Consider the following:

> "Singleton lived untouched by human emotions. Taciturn and unsmiling, he breathed amongst us - in that alone resembling the rest of the crowd. We were trying to be decent chaps, and found it jolly difficult; we oscillated between the desire of virtue and the fear of ridicule; we wished to save ourselves from the pain of remorse, but did not want to be made the contemptible dupes of our sentiment."[13]

Captain Allistoun is the other prototype of perfection through the discipline of work who lives untouched by

human emotions . Conrad says:

> "Captain Allistoun never left the deck, as though he had been part of the ship's fittings."[14]

On the other hand, what Conrad seems to imply in the passages above is that through the obedience to work code, one gets free from absurd sentimentalism. This amounts to saying that the crew is in a way sympathetic to Wait's influence because they are too immature to understand that work must always come first.

It is important to remark that in The Nigger of the Narcissus work has a religious connotation and represents salvation. Conrad's position seems in fact close to that of Thomas Carlyle, on that aspect of Carlyle in which the Victorians discovered a further rationale for imperial expansion. The good workers in the story are ready to die in the performance of their duty. Against them stands wait who cheats and does not do his duties. As a result, Wait is afraid of death. On the other hand, the cook acts like a priest, and despite the chaotic situation during the storm he still submits to the work code:

> "Cook's going crazy now, said several voices. He yelled: 'crazy, am I? I am more ready to die than any of you, officers incloosive - there! As long as she swims I will cook! I will get you coffee."[15]

The author also implies that those who do not do their work and cheat are dead in life. Donkin seems to represent Conrad's mouthpiece at the moment that he refers to Wait as "a thing - a bloody thing. Yah - You corpse."[16]

Conrad is also conservative in his use of the Victorian theme which implies that in the ship's hierarchy lies the model

of social harmony:

> "They anwered in divers tones: in thick mutters, in clear, ringing voices; and some, as if the whole thing had been an outrage on their feelings, used an injured intonation: for discipline is not ceremonious in merchant ships, where the sense of hierarcy is weak, and where all feel themselves equal before the unconcerned immensity of the sea and the exacting appeal of the work."[17]

As a result, the writer points out that there is security and respectability only in sea - life:

> "The etiquette of the forecastle commanded us to be blind and dumb in such case, and we cherished the decencies of our life more than ordinary landsmen respect theirs."[18]

The ship represents England. Therefore British society is regarded as being dependent on each individual performing the duty of his station, under the command of a royal master. On the other hand, such conclusion reflects too the optimistic ideology of industrialized England in the Victorian times:

> "The passage had begun and the ship , a fragment detached from the earth went on lonely and swift like a small planet (...) she had her own future: She was alive with the lives of those beings who trod her decks; like that earth which had given her up to the sea; she had an intolerable load of regrets and hopes."[19]

Secondly, the radical conservative Conrad is here entirely against revolutionaries because of their non - submission to the work code. As a result, Donkin is presented as a complement

of the evil personified by the lazy Wait. Donkin is referred to as one who cheats and as somebody who "slacks off" at work:

> "His devotion to Jimmy was unbounded. He was for ever dodging in the little cabin, ministering to Jimmy's wants, humouring his whims, submitting to his exacting peevishness, often laughing with him. Nothing could keep him away from the pious work of visiting the sick, especially when there was some heavy hauling to be done on deck."[20]

Donkin preaches socialism. Conrad criticizes the idealism of social reformers. He remarks that rebels and social reformers are lazy people who neglect the discipline of work. At the moment of Donkin's introduction in the story he is presented as "the man who curses the sea while the others work."[21] Conrad goes further in his criticism and ironically refers to Donkin. Consider the following:

> "The man who can't do most things and won't do the rest, the pet of philanthopists and self-seeking landlubbers. The sympathetic and deserving creature that knows all about his rights, but knows nothing of courage, of endurance, and of the unexpressed faith, of the unspoken loyalty that knits together a ship's company. The independent offspring of the ignoble freedom of the slums full of disdain and hate for the austere servitude of the sea."[22]

We may fairly say that the quotation above shows the writer's sceptical view of human rights.

In the end of the story Conrad reinforces his dislike of revolutionaries saying that:

> "Donkin, who never did a decent day's work in his life, no doubt earns his living by discoursing with

filthy eloquence upon the right of labour to live."[23]

There are therefore good grounds in our analysis of the Nigger of the Narcissus for stating that Conrad is anti - socialist, anti - revolutionary and critical of those who cheat in work. It is fair to say that Conrad's posture towards rebels and work changes in later works. In order to show that let us take in consideration first the treatment which is given to the work code in The Secret Sharer; then we will discuss Conrad's treatment of revolutionaries in Under Western Eyes.

In The Secret Sharer (1909) the work code is related to Conrad's professionalism as a ship officer and his preoccupation with the idea of initiation; passing from boyhood to manhood.

It is important to notice that "the theme of initiation does not refer only to adolescence facing manhood; in Conrad man is always an apprentice to the dark imponderables within life and within himself."[24]

In this story the immature captain faces his first command. He is not yet sure of this own ruling potentialities. The captain feels afraid of the sea code and doubts his ability to enforce discipline. The captain's embarrassment and fear of the chief mate provide evidence of this. For example:

> "At midnight I went on deck, and to my mate's great surprise put the ship round on the other tack. His terrible whiskers flitted round me in silent criticism."[25]

Conrad's treatment of the work code in The Secret Sharer differs from The Nigger of the Narcissus. In the latter

there's the conservative implication that if one does good work throughout life then human potentialitics for evil can be avoided. In the first, the writer implies that man should know himself better in order to be able to do good work. In other words in The Secret Sharer Conrad seems to infer that man must learn to accept the evil of his nature before one can do good work. On the other hand, the captain's pity on Leggatt who had killed one of the crew of the Sephora provides an important question: "How does one reconcile the demands of society with personal, humanitarian imperatives?"[26]

In spite of the different positions taken by the two works, there are still themes which are common to the two such as the security of sea life in contrast to land life. For example:

> "I rejoiced in the great security of the sea as compared with the unrest of the land."[27]

Secondly, the writer criticizes the lack of a rigid discipline:

> "Goodness only knew how that absurdly whiskered mate would "account"[28] for my conduct, and what the whole ship thought of that informality of their new captain "[29]

Despite the different treatment of the work code, the importance of doing a good work is stressed. For instance:

> "I became annoyed at this, for exactitude in small matters is the very soul of discipline."[30]

Throughout the novel there is the evidence that the captain's immaturity is a liability that hinders him from

doing good work. As a result, he seems to act in a crazy manner. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that fidelity to work code requires self - knowledge and maturity.

Through his double the captain recognizes his limitations. He realizes that morality is a matter of circunstance too. This is implied from Leggatt's words:

> "But you don't see me coming back to explain such things to an old fellow in a wig and twelve respectable tradesman, do you? What can they know whether I am guilty or not - or of WHAT[31] I am guilty, either? that's my affair."[32]

We want to point out that the Captain's "sensitivity" or "imagination" (qualities condemned in The Nigger of the Narcissus) are in short term impediments to discipline. But in the long run, this "madness" of the Capitain is "cathartic": he can only gain self control by temporarily losing it:

> "And now I forgot the secret stranger ready to depart, and remembered only that I was a total stranger to the ship I did not know her."[33]

Finally, Conrad's theme of initiation has a radical conclusion which says that manhood means "the perfect communion of a seaman with his first command."[34]

In conclusion, if one contrasts Conrad's The Nigger of the Narcissus to the Secret Sharer he will observe that the writer is still a conservative concerning the virtue of work. But in the later story he is liberal in the sense that he believes one must recognize his limitations in order to develop his potentialities towards maturity.

Next, let us take in consideration the treatment given to rebels and anarchy in Under Western Eyes.

It is my main purpose to discuss three relevant topics namely: the author's view of revolution and anarchism and its, relation with his Polish experience; how critical Conrad is of both autocracy and revolution and finally to discuss where in the novel the writer is sympathetic to revolution.

To begin with, let me mention some aspects of Conrad's Polish background. First of all, he was a Pole, born in the Russian-occupied Poland of 1857 as the 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. Politics, nationalism, the forces of imperialism and rebellion, were the first and deepest part of this 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 Tadeuz Bobrowski, his guardian during youth. The duality of thought conditioned by Apollo Korzeniowski, the father, and Tadeuz 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. 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.[35]

Baines is one of the critics who discusses

the parallels between the course of events in Under Western Eyes and Crime and Punishment. The critic even talks about "verbal echoes"[36] of the latter in the first.

My second aim is to discuss how critical Conrad is of both autocracy and revolution. The criticism of Russian autocracy dominates the book. Autocracy controls the destiny of every character in it. Consider the following:

> "The ferocity 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 ... in the strange conviction that a fundamental change of hearts must follow the downfall of any given institutions."[37]

Starting from the idea that Conrad attacks the anarchy of a political movement of the right it is legitimate to claim that in Under Western Eyes he cultivates an acquired distaste for ideology. As a result, General T might be Conrad's mouthpiece at the moment that he says:

> "I detest rebels of every kind. I can't keep it. It's my nature ... I detest rebels. These subversive minds! These intellectual débauches."[38]

On the other hand, Conrad insists that revolutionaries are also victims and that revolt is as hopeless as submission. Haldin's murder of Mr. de P - is caused by autocracy. His betrayal by Razumov is also a result of the autocratic pressure. In a way both are mistaken; Haldin in the sense that his protest action is useless and Razumov in the sense that through betrayal he believes he is going to escape from a political commitment.

He has to pay the price of the "man in the middle". His destruction follows from his desire to insulate himself from the complications of the great world. In the strategy of the novel, Haldin's assassination of a minister has an effect of an act against the individual Razumov as much as against the Russian autocracy. Since politics is total in the modern world and offers no exemptions, Razumov has to think of an identification between himself and his nation.[39] Consider the following:

> "I don't want any one to claim me. But Russia can't disown me. She cannot! Razumov struck his breast with his first. I am it."[40]

In the novel the victims of autocracy are all Russians "under a curse", in their submission or in their revolt. The servants of the autocracy such as Prince K - , General T - , councilor Mikulin and Razumov, and even the utopian revolutionists, are all possessed by the dream of Russia's sacred mission among the nations of the world.[41] An example of this would be Haldin's words:

> "My spirit shall go on warring in some Russian body till all falsehood is swept out of the world. The modern civilization is false, but a new revelation shall come out of Russia."[42]

Razumov also tries to justify his betrayal of Haldin according to the dream of Russia's Sacred mission:

> "Like other Russians before him, Razumov in conflict with himself, felt the touch of grace upon his forehead ... grace entered into Razumov. He believed now in the man who would come at the appointed time."[43]

In this criticism of revolutionaries Conrad uses Peter Ivanovitch , physically a victim of autocracy "imprisoned in fortresses, beaten within an inch of his life, and condemned to work in mines, with common criminals."[44] Despite those experiences, the writer does not present him as a hero. He is given the character of an eloquent, woman-exploiting egoist."[45] Peter Ivanovitch takes advantage of madame de S - , an "avaricious, greedy, and unscrupulous woman". He proclaims in public grandiloquent feminist ideals, but in private life he is a tyrant, a coward who bullies the inoffensive and good-natured Tekla. The character of Peter Ivanovitch probably stands for Conrad's condemnation of the idealist who acts like a fanatic. As a matter of fact, the whole revolutionary enterprise is ironically presented as being corrupt: Madame de S - is always described as a monster, a robot, a galvanized corpse, and the revolutionaries headquarters in Geneva is always described as a desolate place.[46] For example:

> "The Château Borel, embowered in the trees and trickets of neglected grounds had its fame in our days, like the residence of that other dangerous and exiled woman ... only the napoleonic despotism, the booted heir of the revolution, which counted that intellectual woman for an enemy worthy to be watched, was like the autocracy in mystic vestments, engendered by the slavery of a Tartar conquest."[47]

Ziemianitch (described by Haldin as a "bright Russian soul") is in fact a worthless drunk also responsible for Haldin's arrest. The latter refers ironically to the first: "It's extraordinary what a sense of the necessity of freedom there is in that man."[48]

Conrad's criticism of politics and autocracy furnishes the observation that atheism lays just a little way beneath the Russian's orthodox ecstasies. An example of this would be the words of the Russian Minister of the Interior: "The thought of liberty never existed in the Act of the Creator."[49]

This quotation reveals again the mystical conception of the Russian autocracy.

As a result of the degeneration of autocracy, Slavophilism arose.[50] It was a response to the French and German romantic stress on idealized conceptions of the nation and the source of strength in folk cultures. This movement is imprinted in most of the characters in Under Western Eyes. Conrad does not believe in the Christian Mysticism of the writings of the slavophilst, instead he discusses the apotheosis of the Russian laborer in opposition to the deification of the tsar and state. This is particularly expressed in Under Western Eyes by the hallowing of the sledge-driver Ziemianitch and by the servant Tekla's powerful devotion to all broken and downtrodden people.

The basic assumption in this section is that the narrator's words summarize Conrad's critical view of revolution:

> "Hopes grotesquely betrayed, ideals caricatured that is the definition of revolutionary success."[51]

Thirdly, let me discuss the topic of Conrad's sympathy for revolution. This aspect seems to me to be centered in the treatment of the character of utopian revolutionaries. Their idealistic view of an ideal society involves political commitment. In contrast with this idea the genuine idealist Sophia Antonovna and Viktor Haldin are noble characters. Ironically their

nobility is based on optimism and illusion. Haldin sees Ziemianitch (whose drunkness leads to his arrest) as a "bright Russian soul". Sophia Antonovna (who proclaims, "I don't think, young man, I just simply believe."[52] is decieved by the monstrous Nikita and the hypocritical Peter Ivanovitch. The book closes with Sophia's comment that "Peter Ivanovitch is an inspired man."[53] Besides Sophia and Viktor we should include Natalia Haldin and Tekla, the dame de compagnie, as revolutionaries characterized by a noble humanism and political principles both sound and concrete. An example of this would be the way Viktor Haldin expresses an exalted and principled dedication to the best hopes of man with extraordinary poignancy: "The Russian soul that lives in all of us ... has a future. It has a mission, I tell you, or else why should I have moved to this-reckless-like a butcher in the middle of all these innocent people-scattering death I! ... I wouldn't hurt a fly[54]

The sympathy of the writer for the humanitarian revolutionaries is greatly evidenced in Natalia Haldin's character. Her words hallow the lives of the conscientious revolutionaries: "Destruction is the work of anger. Let the tyrants and the slayers be forgotten together, and only the reconstructors be remembered."[55]

Conrad is very sympathetic to Natalia Haldin indeed. She is a noble and intensily idealistic girl. She has a mystical belief in the superior destiny of Russia: "We Russians shall find some better form of national freedom than an artificial conflict of parties ... there are nations that have made their bargain with fate ... we need not envy them."[56]

Perhaps the author's sympathy for Natalia's unselfish and intelligent character illustrates the fact that she is one of those who "may begin a movement" but one of those who" do not come to the front". Let us consider this:

> "If I could believe all you have said I still wouldn't think of myself ... I would take liberty from any hand as a hungry man would snatch at a piece of bread. The true progress must begin after. And for that the right men shall be found."[57]

One could add yet that Miss Haldin stands for the mysticism of political ideas, as does her brother. Noble youths like them have their prototypes in French revolutionists.[58]

It is relevant to consider the different treatment that Conrad gives to the male and to the female revolutionaries in this novel. Peter Ivanovitch once described in the book as "an inspired man" is in fact a hypocritical and coward character. Ziemianitch, the "bright Russian soul" is in fact a worthless drunk. On the other hand, Sophia Antonovna is wise, Tekla is highly humanitarian and Miss Haldin represents nobility of character.

If in Conrad's critical approach to autocracy and politics he discusses the diseases of dogma, the corruptions of power, the impoverishment of fanaticism, he also risks his hopes in the private virtues of the noble revolutionaries, who are well represented by Natalia Haldin. Consider her following statement:

> "I believe that the future will be merciful to all. Revolutionist and reactionary, victim and executioner, betrayer and betrayed, they shall all be pitied

> when the light breaks on our sky at last. Pitied and forgotten; for without that there can be no Union and no love."[59]

Nevertheless, the quotation above does not infer that revolutionaries are ok in general, but that in terms of personal results revolutionaries fare no better than reactionaries.

We may therefore conclude that in spite of Conrad's sympathy for utopian revolutionaries, here the writer expresses a skeptical or cynical attitude toward revolutionaries.

In conclusion it is legitimate to claim that Conrad's view of revolution and anarchism in Under Western Eyes is related do his Polish experience. Conrad himself admitted that this novel has a personal relevance. Its subject-Russian character despotism and revolution is one which (as a Pole whose nation and family had suffered under the heel of Russian imperialist occupation) he was sooner or later bound to come to terms with in his art.[60]

Secondly, we may assume that the writer is not a partisan of autocracy and revolution but rather he is critical of both.

Thirdly, Conrad's sympathy for revolution can be found in the sympathetic way in which he builds the character of the noble revolutionaries.

Finally, Conrad's treatment of the male revolutionaries and the female revolutionaries is different. We have noted his antipathy in relation to the first and his sympathy towards the latter.

In this chapter we have seen that despite Conrad's moralism and ambivalence, there is an evolution in his treatment of main themes such as the work code (in The Nigger of the Narcissus and The Secret Sharer and his criticism of rebels and anarchy in Under Western Eyes).

The writer's conservatism is not a political position dogmatically taken, but a product of his general scepticism. Presumably it is this fact that allows him to seem liberal in his criticism of colonialism, as we shall see in more details in the following chapters.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

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31 Author's italics.

32 ABRAMS, op. cit., p. 2333.

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35 ZABEL, M.D. "Introduction to Under Western Eyes".In: A Selection of Critical Essays (Englenwood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1966), p.

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40 CONRAD, op. cit., p.

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42 CONRAD, op. cit., p. 36.

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44 Apud., Baines, op. cit., p.435.

45 Ibid., p. 435.

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47 CONRAD, op. cit., pp. 123-24.

48 Ibid., p.

49 Ibid., p. 15.

50 KNAPP., op. cit., p. 288.

51 CONRAD, op. cit., p.

52 Apud Baines, op. cit., p. 436.

53 Ibid., p. 314.

54 Ibid., p. 26.

55 Ibid., p.

56 Apud., Knapp, op. cit., p.

57 CONRAD, op. cit., p. 118.

58 KNAPP, op. cit., p.

59 CONRAD, op. cit., p. 291.

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HEART OF DARKNESS

Conrad's world - famous Heart of Darkness was completed in 1899 and was published in 1902 in Youth and Two Other Stories. Critics remark that it ends the writer's earlier phase and indicates the beginning of a new one in which the symbolic is emphasized. The novel results from the author's personal experiences in the Congo and reflects Conrad's transformation of such experiences into fiction.

Heart of Darkness is the story of Marlow, Conrad's narrator, agent of an international trading company. He goes up the Congo River with the duty of finding Mr. Kurtz, an European ivory trader agent who is supposedly mad. After finding Mr. Kurtz, Marlow has to bring him vack to civilization. During Marlow's jorney up the Congo River he learns about the violence of European colonialism and that, in spite of this, Kurtz has become a deity to the natives. Marlow rescues Kurtz, but the latter dies on the trip back to civilization. His last words are: "The horror! The horror!"

Heart of Darkness is a very complex short - novel. Conrad himself referred to it once as follows: "Heart of Darkness might well be too subtle for even the trained and perceptive reader."[1] As a result of that, a large number of critics have interpreted it in various ways. Much criticism emphasizes the symbolic and psychological side of Marlow's journey. According to our statement of purpose we are mostly concerned with the political

and anthropological approach to the novel. Otherwise, we relate our analyses to the symbolism and psychology of the story at times since such a procedure enriches our study.

Heart of Darkness is contemporaneous to the nineteenth century's cultivation of racism in its commercial ventures. Around 1860 - 1870 Europe experienced the development of pre - monopolist capitalism and after this period, the colonial conquest was much intensified.[2] England expanded its colonial empire between 1860 - 1890, mainly during the last two decades of the last century. Several European States annexed the greatest part of their colonies, between 1880 - 1900 namely, England, France, Germany, Belgium and Portugal. This is widely known through the history of Diplomacy and the political history of the modern world[3]. XIX century imperialism represented European prideful superiority in unexplored regions. The complete identification of the explores with their nation reflect the current expansionist ideology. Cecil Rhodes (1853 - 1902), English politician, a millionaire responsible for the Anglo - Boer war, a partisan of imperialism and colonialism once said:

> "Essas estrelas ... estes vastos mundos que nunca poderemos atingir ... Se eu pudesse anexaria os planetas."[4]

At this point of our discussion it is relevant to refer to King Leopold II, another phoney idealist, "a man of inordinate ambition, and centered his designs on Africa and particularly on the Congo."[5]

In 1876 he called a conference in Brussels to question the African situation and alluded to it saying that it was

important" to open to civilisation the only part of our globe where Christianity has not penetrated and to pierce the darkness which envelops the entire population."[6]

Leopold's apparent philanthropism masquerades the evil nature of this real purposes.

In 1884 the Berlin Conference called by Bismark agreed that the Congo should be the personal property of Leopold II. He had the control of the Congo Free State until 1908 when he died.

King Leopold never went to the Congo and ran the Congo Free State through an Administrator General. He took many advantages using such a strategy because when any problem arose in the Congo he could blame his personal representatives.

Natives were de - tribalized, moved out of their native areas and forced to conform to an European model of money - economy where they were forced to pay taxes:

> "Quite early on a system of work as a tax medium was initiated. Each chief was authorized to collect taxes; he did so by demanding that individuals should work for a specific period of time for a minimum payment. This, of course, was another name for slavery. The so-called taxpayers were treated like prisoners ... the system lent itself to all kinds of tyranny, brutality and subsequent reprisals by the natives."[7]

This while Belgium claimed that Africans were free. They were in fact "wage - slaves". Yet Leopold in his lust for wealth ensured that a large part of any profits in the Congo went to himself.

If we try to parallel this to Conrad's words in Heart of Darkness:

> "The original Kurtz had been educated partly in England (...) All Europe contributed to the making of Kurtz."[8]

We can conclude that besides the irony of the author's remark, it would be legitimate to say that people like King Leopold, Rhodes and Traves are probable prototypes for Kurtz.

Critics such as Saveson, Sherry and Knapp note the importance of Conrad's acquaintance with anthropological writings and the literature of exploration. Knapp notes the writer's knowledge of the writings of Wallace. Yet she points out that Conrad's taste for literature of exploration seemed to have helped in his decision to turn into a seaman. Sherry concludes that Conrad's writing of Heart of Darkness was very much influenced by Stanley's conceptions in terms of his exploits and his ideals in Africa. His criticism establishes that "Conrad does not accept the colonizing process as one of "improvement" and bringing in "light", his story (Heart of Darkness) being an inquiry into the nature of "light" and "darkness" in this context."[9]

Saveson provides us important details related to Conrad's familiarity with evolutionary Anthropology. He points out that whereas there is an intricate network of cross references in evolutionary literature some of Conrad's novels such as Almayer's Folly, An Outcast of the Islands, Lord Jim and Heart of Darkness reveal the writer's knowledge of Spencer, Lecky,

Mivart and Wallace. Saveson's interpretation of Heart of Darkness tracing parallels with Hartmann's racial and social theories is very important to our work, and we will show that according to him, Conrad had been under the influence of the XIX Century controversy over the moral and intellectual capacities of savages.

In Almayer's Folly and in An Outcast of the Islands Conrad provides us a very prejudiced presentation of natives. Malay characters such as Mrs. Almayer and also the hero of Karain are portrayed as essentially superstitious persons. The first believes that if she loses a cross given to her in a convent, she will be tormented by Djinns; the latter presumes that his fear of the dead is going to be dissipated after he is given a talisman, a coin with the picture of the Queen Victoria. Consider Lecky's stages in the development of the higher forms of religion: (1) primitive belief in spirits and the continued existence of the dead, (2) fetichism, in which magical properties are assigned to objects, (3) anthropomorphism, (4) abstract spiritual concepts[10]. Another example is Dain Marolla's uncivilized opposition to Nina's pain at separating from her father. We can relate this to the Spencerian differentiation between savage and civilized. We have noted in the anthropological background chapter that Spencer, the prophet of evolution and progress, believed that primitive man was less intelligent and more emotional than civilized man. In Almayer's Folly Conrad apparently reaffirms such statements. In contrast, in Lord Jim Conrad changes such radical views of natives. This is expressed in Marlow's sympathy for the native personality. He attributes "European" qualities to Dain Warris:

> "He was of a silent disposition; a firm glance, an ironic smile, a courteous deliberation of manner seemed to hint at great reserves of intelligence and power. Such beings open to the Western eye, so often concerned with mere surfaces, the hidden possibilities of races and lands on which hang the mystery of unrecorded ages."[11]

Natives receive a different treatment in the earlier works compared to Lord Jim and Heart of Darkness as we had seen above. In Almayer's Folly the superstitions of natives represent their cultural inferiority in comparison to white society. Europeans should not trust them. In Lord Jim Conrad begins to admit civilized values in primitives. In Heart of Darkness the writer enlarges his acquiescense and Marlow, the European agent of the ivory trade company, not only expresses solidarity with the natives. As a matter of fact, he identifies himself with them admitting in himself the same primitive character: "The mind of man is capable of anything - because everything is in it, all the past as well as all the future."[12] Therefore we can agree with Saveson's interpretation which establishes important connections between Conrad's knowledge of Hartmann's philosophy of the Unconscious and his radical law of evolution. We shall see that linking Conrad's Heart of Darkness to Hartmann's theories anthropological concepts arise in general. Saveson notes that Hartmann's philosophy was widely discussed in the Late Victorian period.

In Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconcious the Africans are conceived as an inferior racial group condemned to extinction. Conrad's conclusion on this subject is about the same. An example of this can be found in Marlow's description of

The Grove of Death:

> "...They were nothing earthly now - nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation, lying confusedly in the greenish gloom. Brought from all the recess of the coast in all the legality of time contracts, lost in uncongenial surroundings, fed on unfamiliar food, they sickened , became inefficient, and were then allowed to crawl and rest. These moribund shapes were free as air - and nearly as thin."[13]

This is one of the most pathetic passages in the story. At this point of his narrative Conrad is much more concerned about the genocidal crime than about an inevitable biological crime.

Heart of Darkness criticizes the rotten ethic of colonial entreprises endorsed by company officials. This criticism is generally made through ironical remarks. The brickmaker of the Central Sation refers to the Company's delegates such as Kurtz and Marlow as the "new gang - the gang of virtue."[14] Yet to the brickmaker, Kurtz represents an "emissary of pity, and science and progress". Marlow in his turn is very impressed by Kurtz's writings which he notes as an "exotic Immensity ruled by an august Benevolence"[15] and appeal to "every altruistic sentiment."[16]

On the other hand he is also ironic in this passage.

The miserable natives are the "reclaimed, the product of the new forces at work."[17] Saveson remarks that Conrad on his presentation of missionary idealism is similar to the ethic of the "bemused humanitarians in Hartmann who devoted themselves to the improvement of backward races."[18] He also

believes that Kurtz's abdication of his earlier humanitarian ideals signifies a Hartmann - like conversion. Kurtz's postcript "Exterminate all the brutes!" should be paralleled to one of Hartmann's statements which says: "The true philanthropist, if he has comprehended the natural law of anthropological evolution, can not avoid desiring an acceleration of the last convulsions, and laboring for that end."[19]

Kurtz's character also seems to have been modelled on one of Hartmann's principles in the Philosophy of the Unconscious. Hartmann supported the capacity for evil in geniuses and in the supremely civilized: "The Unconscious has always something demonic about it" (II, 40)[20]. The novel has connections to Hartmann's apparent irony in relation to a higher effectiveness of "humanitarian" methods in the extinction of races. Conrad provides us evidence for this in his ironical observation about the uselessness of the labor performed by the colonization victims:

> "The cliff was not in way or anything; but this objectless blasting was all the work going on (...) It wasn't a quarry or sandpit any how it was just a hole. It might have been connected with the philanthropic desire of giving the criminals something to do."[21]

Again Conrad suggests Hartmann but we cannot say that the writer really approves of this "social Darwinism".

The treatment nature is given in the novel provides another link with Hartmann's theory. Nature in Heart of Darkness is ascribed a lack of peace and joy. There are many examples of this such as: "There was no peace and joy in the brilliance of

sunshine" ... the stillness "did not resemble a peace". It "looked at you with a vengeful aspect". The high stillness" confronts Europeans with its ominous patience, waiting for the passing away of a fantastic invasion."[22] This can be compared to the idea of Hartmann's conception of the world. It states that the world is an act of blind will "illuminated by no ray of rational intelligence", and the Unconscious reacts to its existence as a "torment" and a "state to be negated."[23] Nature chooses Kurtz as its favorite, but in spite of that, it gets revenge on him and other Europeans for their interference. In the case of Kurtz we know that he has already regressed to a state of violent savagery. This also seems to transliterate Hartmann's theory of the world process. According to it, Marlow senses the universal darkness which persists after the earth is transformed into a domination of light and order. This is affirmed at the prelude of Marlow's tale in his own words: "And this also (...) has been one of the dark places of the earth."[24]

Saveson concludes that the symbolism of the journey, the superiority of Marlow's point of view in Heart of Darkness, and Kurtz's regression communicate the Unconscious in its anteriority to time. Yet Marlow's evolution in anthropological notions from the earlier works until Heart of Darkness should be interpreted as an extension of Conrad's development as a moralist.

Whereas the evidence of Conrad's different treatment of natives is evident if a comparison is made between earlier works and Heart of Darkness, it is legitimate to claim that the novel persists[5] in typically colonialist attitudes as well. For example, Marlow accepts his helmsman as a loyal and resourceful

worker. If we pay close attention to the words of the first, we can detect a paternalistic posture in relation to the latter:

> "It was a kind of partnership. He steered for me - I had to look after him, I worried about his deficiencies, and thus a subtle bond had been created, of which I only became aware when it was suddenly broken. And the intimate profundity of that look he gave me when he received his hurt remains to this day in my memory - like a claim of distant kinship affirmed in a supreme moment."[25]

Marlow shares the ethnocentrism supported by evolutionists. The helmsman is seen as his instrument and Marlow expects him "To put to us some question in an understandable language."[26] We may infer that Marlow's expectation means that English or French are considered the only possibilities of civilized communication. The fireman conceives his task as a placating of an evil spirit in the boiler. This idea shows again the European's acquaintance with Spencer's rigid division between civilized and primitive. On the other hand, it also brings us back to Lecky's stages in the development of higher forms of religion.

Kitonga says that Heart of Darkness represents the distorted picture that European colonialists had of Africa. She considers the novel as a "good source of insight into the mind of the colonialist."[27] But, on the other hand, it is important to read her interpretation in artistic terms. First of all she realizes the writer's ironic moral in the story:

> "Ironically, what is dark in darkest Africa is not the land or the people, but the world introduced by the bringers of light and civilization."[28]

We find evidence of her first affirmation when we refer to the African's behavior as the steamer progresses up the river. The Africans on the river bank are given the aspect of prehistoric man: "a wild and passive uproar (...) they howled and leaped, and spun, and made horrid faces."[29]

Even the natives on board the steamer are caricatured in contrast to the civilized white group. During the attack of the steamer, the helmsman was "lifting his knees high, stamping his fect, champing his mouth, like a reined - in horse."[30]

Even so Marlow expresses his admiration for the savages who have submitted to the European code. They are cannibals working at the steamer. Despite their hunger they support an attitude of restraint:

> "Why in the name of all the gnawing devils of hunger they didn't go for us - they were thirty to five - and have a good tuck in for one, amazes me now when I think of it (...) And I saw that something restraining, one of those human secrets that baffle probability, had come into play there."[31]

The African's submission to the civilized's code can be contrasted to Kurtz's insane behavior. His regression to an unspeakable form of savagery means a rejection of the code. Another contrast can be traced here. In the anthropological background section we refer to Marvin Harris.[32] He says that 19th

century evolutionists believed that if any of them had grown up among savages, such persons would nonetheless have behaved like Victorian gentleman. Relating this to Heart of Darkness we can infer the opposite. The strange behavior and attitudes of Kurtz suggest that if civilized man lives in the wild jungle for long periods of time they rather abandon the civilized code and assume anti-civilized attitudes. It is important for us to see that Conrad's ideas about the European societies and native societies obviously come from a variety of sources, not all of them anthropological in a strict sense, but only in a loose sense.

It is legitimate for us to claim that in Heart of Darkness the African is presented as a natural savage, a contrast to Kurtz, Marlow and the "civilized" reader. But, the African's portrait as drawn by their civilizers is rather unflattering and unrealistic. The African is used as a catalytic agent for Marlow's awareness of evil. As a result, the natives are conceived as a caricature, a symbol of savage within all man. This is extended into the novel's ironic effect which provides a contrast of savage and civilized. Secondly, a parallel is traced with England and its barbaric past and the Congo colonization. Despite Marlow's realization that the call to civilize is often a pretence to devastation, Conrad often provides a rather simplistic view of progress.

> "I was thinking of very old times, when the Romans first came here, nineteen hundred years ago - the other day ... Light came out of this river since (...) But darkness was here yesterday."[33]

On the other hand, Conrad's interpretation of imperialism and colonialism in Heart of Darkness is very rich in information. His ironic attitude functions as a vehement denouncement of imperialism and racism and shows a sharp disbelief in the European civilizing work: "the conquest of the earth which mostly means the taking it away from those who have different noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much."[34] The novel also questions the strength of the beautiful world of civilization through the analyses of the disintegrating effects of solitude and primitive societies on the health and mind of the so-called civilized man.Conrad's thesis is that an European who has gone crazy in Africa (Kurtz) can become far more savage than the so-called savage . So, European culture seems to be very fragile and quickly perishes when Europeans leave their environment . Under such conditions, Europeans regress to the primitive. Thus the ancestors of the modern day English imperialist were once savages to the Roman. The irony of this implies that all men are still "primitive" at bottom. Therefore Africans represent the savage who subsists in "civilized man". Before the writing of Heart of Darkness Conrad had already used the ironic themes of progress and the disintegrating effects of solitude and primitive societies on the mental balance of civilized man. Such themes had been presented in An Outpost of Progress, although without the detailed analyses of Heart of Darkness.

It is also important to note that Almayer and Willems deteriorate in Almayer's Folly and An Outcast of the Islands, his first books.

In spite of Conrad's criticism of imperialism and colonialism he cannot be regarded as a radical. There is ambivalence in his criticism of imperialism. The writer's ambivalent posture is expressed at times by Marlow who can be understood as Conrad's mouthpiece. An example of this is Marlow's attempt to exempt England of its guilt. Although he denounces the ethnocentrist and genocidal practices of the Congo colonization, he tells his English audience: "What redeems is the idea only."[35] Eloise Hay Knapp notes that at the time that Conrad started his actual writing of Heart of Darkness he was de deeply concerned with his loyalty as a man and writer to England and felt an attitude of sharp disbelief in the way the civilizing work was been accomplished by the European rule in Southeast Asia and in Africa. His contradictory attitudes apparently interfere with his discussion of colonialism. Consequently, the early idealist Marlow matures throughout his Congo experience and rebels against his hypocritical society: "I found myself back in the sepuchral city resenting the sight of people (...) to dream their insignificant and silly dreams."[36] On the other hand, Marlow is guilty of submiting himself to Kurtz, a token of Europe's arrogance in unexplored regions.

Possibly he admires not Kurt's depredations but his courage in judging himself.

When Marlow lies to Kurt's "Intended" despite his enlightenment he is trying to save the beautiful world of British civilization. In Knapp's interpretation such an attitude signifies that Marlow has a conservative political posture. In our interpretation we infer that Marlow sees the truth about

the evils of imperialist practice and prefers to tell a lie about them in order to justify his loyalty to the imperialist society where he lives in.

Here Marlow's ambivalence to colonialism seems to be related to the conventional Victorian feeling that women must be kept on a "pedestal" of innocence which is in conflict with his sense that this is a lie and a trick.

On the other hand, we can detect the writer's ambivalence in relation to the treatment he gives to women in Heart of Darkness. The Intended and the aunt are considered incapable of facing the truth about things, but according to Marlow the old knitter is wise in relation to the unknown.

It seems relevant to describe the organization of the Company in our study of Heart of Darkness.

To begin with, the Company's Headquarters in Belgium represents the advertisement of the idealistic aims of colonialist entreprise:

> "I had no difficulty in finding the Company's offices. It was the biggest thing in town, and everybody I met was full of it. They were going to run an over-sea empire, and make no end of coin by trade."[37]

At the entrance of the Company's offices there are two women knitting black wool. They are guardian of the evil's door who forewarn Marlow about his dangerous descent into the heart of darkness. Marlow feels more intimidated by the older knitter who seems to possess the biggest wisdom about the unknown:

> "She seemed to know all about them and about me, too. An eerie feeling came over me. She seemed uncanny and fateful. Often far away there I thought of these two, guarding the door of Darkness, knitting black wool as for a warm pall, one introducing, introducing continuosly to the unknown, the other scrutinizing the cheery and foolish faces with unconcerned old eyes. AVE! Old Knitter of black wool. MORITURI TE SALUTANT. Not many of those she looked at ever saw her again - not half by a long way."[38]

Later, when Marlow is already in Africa he experiences the real aims of the colonial entreprise in a gradual way. He learns about the pointless work inflicted on the black. He starts to understand what lies behind the Company's Headquarters as soon as he reaches the outer station. Marlow also realizes his complicity in relation to the African's submission to the white savagery.

> "Black rags were wound round their loins, and the short lands 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 (...) these men could by no stretch of imagination be called enemies (...) they passed me without a glance, (...) this was simple, white men being so much alike at a distance (...) After all, I also was a part of the great cause of these high and just proceeding."[39]

Marlow describes the white men at the outer station

who inflict outrageous work and puinshment upon the Africans as "strong, lusty, red-eyed devils, that swayed and drove men."[40]

There Marlow also meets the Company's accountant, an example of the colonizer comfort in spite of the colonized's sufferings. The chief accountant is a miracle of self-preservation and callousness:

> "These moribund shapes were free as air - and nearly as thin (...) I met a white man, in such an unexpected elegance of get-up that in the first moment I took him for a short of vision (...) I shook hands with this miracle, and I learned he was the Company's chief accountant."[41]

The accountant's books are well organized and he has a neat appearence. Here we can detect an ironical effect between the external look of the Company and its plundering of the Africans. Nevertheless, the accountant represents a model for survival in life by "Keeping up appearance".[42] He does his duty in spite of powerful odds. This is an important element in Conrad's code of right behavior. Therefore, Marlow expresses his admirations for the accountant although he tries to justify his allusion to the accountant because of the latter's reference to Mr. Kurtz:

> "I wouldn't have mentioned the fellow to you at all, only it was from his lips that I first heard the name of the man who is so indissolubly connected with the memories of that time (...) His appearance was certainly that of a hairdresser's dummy; but in the great demoralization of the land he kept up his appearance. That's backbone."[43]

Next, in the Central Station Marlow meets the Company's manager whom he dislikes:

> "He was obeyed, yet he inspired uneasiness. That was it! Uneasiness. Not a definite mistrust - just uneasiness - nothing more (...) He had no genious for organizing, for initiative, or for order even. That was evident in such things as the deplorable state of the station. He had no learning and no intelligence."[44]

There Marlow sees more about injustice and the abusive methods inflicted against the colonized. Someone sets fire to a shed and a black man is punished right away without any definite proof against him. This amounts to saying that the colonialist consider the colonized as bad characters whenever they want to:

> "A nigger was being beaten near by. They said he had caused the fire in some way; be that as it may, he was screeching most horribly."[45]

Yet in the Central Station Marlow meets the brick-maker described as "this papier - mephistopheles."[46] He also meets the Eldorado Exploring Expedition, a group "with no more moral purpose at the back of it than there is in burglars breaking into safe."[47] It is important to note that "the uncle of our manager was leader of that lot."[48]

Both the accountant and the manager praise Kurtz as the best agent they had but Marlow realizes the hypocrisy in their compliments and says:

> "The only real feeling was a desire to get appointed to a trading-post where ivory was to be had, so that they could earn percentages. They intrigued and slandered and hated each other only on that account."[49]

Finally in the Inner Station Marlow meets Mr. Kurtz, who has been isolated for a whole year and nine months: "Mr. 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."[50]

Isolation affects Kurtz's balance. He is now deteriorated because of his lust for ivory and power. Kurtz is offered human sacrifices and represents the real meaning of the colonialist entreprise in dark lands which Kurtz himself adds to his earlier idealist manuscript:"Exterminate all the brutes!"[51]

In the study of Conrad's Heart of Darkness one cannot neglect what the young Russian, the white worshiper of Kurtz, represents in the novel. It does not seem to be possible for us to assign a definite interpretation to the meaning of this character. Let us refers to some of the critics' interpretations.

C. F. Burgress identifies the Russian as a fool who completes the court of "King Kurtz":

> "- King, god, journalist, ivory hunter, hollow man, what-have-you. Kurtz had an empire, a court, a consort, why not a Fool to complete the assemblage?"[52]

He sees the Russian function as that of a white worshiper.Marlow says:

> "If it had come to crawling before Mr. Kurtz, he crawled as much as the veriest savage of them all."[53]

The conclusion the critic draws from this is Marlow's realization of Kurtz's powerful and dangerous influence both to ignorant savage and educated white man.

Mario D'Avanzo[54] in his turn points out that the Russian's very existence was "improbable, inexplicable, and altogether bewildering." According to him such description fits the indefensibility and absurdity of all the colonial countries in Africa. The colors of the Russian's harlequinesque cloth could be seen as a symbol of the European colonization in Africa. We agree with D'Avanzo's interpretation that the Russian fool represents Conrad's resentment of the Russian empire. The Russian is then portrayed as an imbecile imperalist.

Thirdly, it is also important to refer to John W. Canario. This critic supports an interesting contrast. The Russian symbolizes to Marlow the white aborigine, a supporter of a primitive sense of honor. Such a sense of honor protects him from the greed that corrupts civilized Europeans. Given that, we belive that a parallel could be made with the ideology of the noble savage. Rousseau states that man is born with, an essentially good nature though he is later corrupted by the evils of the civilized code such as greed, the conventional lies the ostentation of intelligence and culture. This is to say the

corrupted savage tries to provoke the admiration of others rather than finding his own satisfaction.[55] Rosseau would have man turn to nature in order to get back to his primal purity of mind.

Canario sees the meaning of the Russian's character as a still-uncorrupted white aborigine. On the other hand, Kurtz as a representative of man in his most civilized state makes Marlow understand the human potential for good and evil. And in contrast to Rosseau, Kurtz does not find in nature his primal innocence. Instead he regresses to uncivilized attitudes. Canario sees Kurtz as "a victim of an insatiable hunger for power out of a vanity freed from any external restraints upon it."[56]

It seems also important to consider the critic's contrast of the young Russian and Kurtz. They are seen as the expression of two kinds of darkness in the world. The first symbolizes the darkness of ignorance which is the same as that of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Congo. The latter represents the greater darkness of undisciplined greed and vanity of civilization.

Assuming that Conrad is a very pessimistic writer we may therefore conclude that he is not a partisan of the noble savage ideology, what his works imply is that we should not accept entirely Canario's idea of the Russian as representing the nobility of the white aborigine. On the other hand, we may accept his interpretation of the two kinds of evil. This amounts to saying that the pessimistic Conrad conceives the capacity for evil as a natural component of human nature.

We also have good grounds here to contrast Canario's

"white aborigine" with the evolutionist Anthropology. Canario seems to suggest that an inborn sense of honour lies within white civilization. In this sense, his interpretation seems to support the ethnocentrism of the evolutionary thought.

Finally, let us consider Heart of Darkness according to Lilian Feder.[57] The critic does not interpret it simply as a novel related to the conscious and the unconscious. As a matter of fact. Conrad treats very extensively the condition of the natives in the Congo and gives it a certain priority.

Feder relates Marlow's journey to the myth of a descent into hell. Aeneas learns truth though a descent into darkness and so does Marlow in his experiences at the heart of darkness.

The novel presents three levels of meaning:

1. The story of a man's adventures.
2. His discovery of certains political and social injustices.
3. A study of his initiation into the mysteries of his own mind.

The Congo functions as the lower world's symbol. It "suggests an imaginative union between the ancient world and the modern one."[58] The symbology allows the reader to judge the morality of modern society.

The epic descent is always a journey to find someone who knows the truth. In Heart of Darkness Marlow looks for a kind of truth which Kurtz possesses. This truth shows that

Kurtz's work has created a hell in the jungle although the main truth means Marlow's discovery in Kurtz's attitudes of the potential hell in the heart of every man. The critic regards that the writer's moral in the novel suggests that not only the artist but every man must descend into the hell, if he wishes to understand himself.

In conclusion, let us take into consideration Conrad's ambivalence to Africa.

Firstly we showed that Conrad's own experiences in the Congo and his acquaintance with philosophical and anthropological writings of the nineteenth century were decisive to his approach to colonialism and imperialism in Heart of Darkness.

Secondly we have seen that Conrad is critical of the European colonial enterprise in general but at times assumes a colonial posture and apparently tries to justify colonialism.

Thirdly, we agree with critics who claim that Conrad's ambivalence to Africa and his odd mixture of conservatism and criticism of imperialism were the results of the writer's political conservatism.

Finally, we may infer that Conrad was a writer conscious of the problems of his time. In spite of the great optimism of his era towards imperialism, Conrad was basically an anti-imperialist.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

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N O S T R O M O

Nostromo, probably the best of Conrad's novels, came in September 1904. Walter Allen considers it "the greatest novel in English of this century"[1]. Allen says that "Nostromo is a political novel in the profoundest meaning of the word and - this is the index of Conrad's achievement - it may stand as a picture of the modern world in microcosm"[2]. F. R. Leavis considers it "one of the great novels of the language"[3]. Baines in his turn notes that "Nostromo is Conrad's most ambitious feat of imagination and is worthy of comparison with the most ambitious of all great novels, War and Peace"[4].

Before we start our analysis of Nostromo we refer to Guerard's neat summary of the story:

> "The Occidental Province of the Republic of Costaguana is dominated by the Gould Concession, financed in part by the American capitalist Holroyd. Charles Gould idealizes his San Tomé silver mine as a civilizing force which will bring progress to the contented but backward city of Sulaco. But silver, the incorruptible metal is a corrupting influence both politically and morally. Its fascination separates Gould from his wife Emilia, who must at last agree with Dr. Monygham that there is no peace in "material interests". The San Tomé mine attracts politicians from the interior and provokes a revolution. Martin Decoud, skeptical bulevardier and journalist, falls in love with Antonia Avellanos, and fathers the idea of a separate Occidental Republic. At a crucial hour in the revolution Nostromo (leader of the "people" who will undertake any mission for

> the sake of prestige) is enlisted to save bars of San Tomé silver. He takes them to a desert island in the Placid gulf, accompained by the political refugee Decoud. Their lighter survives a collision with a troopship, but is supposed to have sunk. Nostromo buries the silver and leaves Decoud on the safe island. But Decoud finding his skepticism powerless against complete solitude, commits suicide. Nostromo realizes the silver could be his. Corrupted by solitude, he resents a social order which "uses" him but gives him no proper reward. He returns occasionally to the island for silver, and "gets rich slowly". But, by coincidence, a lighthouse is erected on the island - to be kept by Giorgio Viola and his daughters Linda and Giselle (Nostromo's sacred and profane loves). Nostromo, stealing to his silver by night, is mistakem by Viola for a despised suitor of Giselle; and is shot."[5]

Sherry, Baines and Knapp refer to the variety of source books Conrad read in order to build his vision of South America. Baines concludes that Conrad does not plagiarize at all the source books but rather proves his powerful creativity.

On Many Seas: The Life an Exploits of a Yankee Saylor, Seven Eventful years in Paraguay and Venezuela according to Baines and Sherry evidence Conrad's historical readings. We believe that such books had also anthropological connotation be cause of their approach to a diversity of cultural groups. Sherry believes that Costaguana should be interpreted as a microcosm of South America. Yet even so, one becomes aware in reading the novel that an individual history of the State is provided. One more of Sherry's conclusions notes that the main theme of Nostromo, which is the predominance of "material interests" and "material

progress", reflects the literature on the American continent on Conrad's time.

Howe approaches Costaguana's political history according do Trotsky's theory of the "permanent revolution."[6] Such a theory supports the idea that the semi-colonial nation suffers a lot in an industrialized world. It has to compete with the advanced countries without being able to; it is dependent on foreign capital and struggles to resist the domination which is the price of such capital. Such a theory can be applied to the history of revolutions in Costaguana's political history.

It seems important in this section of our work to contrast Nostromo to Heart of Darkness. In Heart of Darkness Knapp remarks that Marlow refuses to face the logic of historical ideas; in Nostromo the historic process is the subject of history.[7] Sherry notes that in Heart of Darkness Conrad's own experiences were decisive to fiction while Nostromo reflects the author's intensive reading on South America.[8]

Baines points out that Nostromo's reputation is built up in frequent allusions (the same technique is used with Kurtz in Heart of Darkness[9]). Yet we find in Knapp three more important ideas which contrast the two novels.

Firstly, both novels present men who have "an insatiable imagination of conquest."[10] Secondly, Kurtz's miscellaneous national background can be paralleled to Holroyd's. And finally, in Heart of Darkness the Russian foresses new conquests for his "race" while in Nostromo Holroyd seems to suggest the same.[11]

In order to discuss Conrad's posture in relation

to imperialism it seems legitimate to accept Howe's interpretation that Nostromo should he read as a fictional study of imperialism and the false order it imposes. This is inferred throughout the history of revolutions in Costaguana. The analyses of the gradual shifts in power among the imperialists, especially the replacment of British capital by American money, takes us to the assumption that decades and centuries will pass before the conquerors of the earth are driven away.

In spite of this, we do not want to infer that Conrad was a zealous revolutionary; this would be an exaggeration.

It is in Gould's blind confidence in the logic of imperialism that Conrad's criticism of the selfish capitalist interests lies. Gould's one - sided interpretation of the benefits of capitalism to the social and moral progress of Costaguana suggests that he could be interpreted as a naive understudy of the real capitalist. On the other hand, the actual financier of the mine, Holroyd, is the model of a real capitalist.

Knapp warns the readers of the novel of Conrad's antipathy to American politics, institutions and characters. The character of Holroyd in Nostromo illustrates this. The American financer is portrayed with a certain mystery which suggests an ambiguous evil in his character and attitudes. He typifies the posture of North American imperialism towards the South American countries.

Sherry notes that the optimism about material interests reflects a contemporary attitude in Conrad's time. In our section on Anthropology we noted the optimism about imperialist ideals in Conrad's Victorian time. In Nostromo the tragedies of

Decoud, Hirsh and Mrs. Gould represent the author's criticism of material interest. Those tragedies show Conrad's disagreement with the doctrine of progress through imperialism and material interests. As far as we can see, silver personifies the material interests which are transforming Sulaco. As a matter of fact, if we study the life of Charles and Emilia and contrast it to Gould's obesession with the mine, we have good grounds for agreeing with Baines. According to him the mine is the symbol of a "subtle conjugal infidelity."[12] The San Tomé Silver mine business is more important to Charles Gould than his marriage. Conrad says that "Charles Gould had with him the inseparable companionship of the mine."[13]

Knapp and other critics consider the silver as the real hero of the story and believe that it represents the reason of modern economics and politics.

It is important to point out that the silver suggests both attributes of idealism (purity) and materialism. This is also true of the ivory image in Heart of Darkness.

Another of Knapp's conclusions alleges that the novel shows the usefulness of material interest to the progress of the oppressed and for the happiness of the oppressor. Throughout the novel we learn about the political history of Costaguana through the revolutions and the greed for the silver mine. Even before the book finishes, one concludes that the silver (material interests) is rather evil to the lives of the oppressors and oppressed.

Another of our aims in the present work is to analyse Conrad's political posture in Nostromo. In the previous

section where we studied Conrad's politics we concluded that the writer's political attitudes are not the same in different works. Howe concludes that Conrad was basically a conservative, yet this critic also sees the writer as a severe stoic and a radical skeptic . Later in his criticism he affirms that Conrad acts as an anti-imperialist in an age of imperialism. This amounts to saying that at times Conrad breaks the conservatist posture and shows a liberal attitude toward imperialism.

Howe's position is thus a little paradoxical: on the one hand he finds Conrad's treatment of politics in literature unsatisfying, because of the author's conservatism. On the other hand, he seems to acknowledge a point we wish to stress: that Nostromo is a book that shows the author highly conscious of the problems of his time.

In order to analyse Conrad's criticism of politics in Nostromo it seems important to refer to the writer's treatment of the Church's involvement with politics. Consider the following:

> "Father Corbelán's efforts in the cause of that most pious robber had not been altogether fruitless. The political chief of Sulaco had yielded at that last moment to the urgent entreaties of the priest, had signed a provisional nomination appointing Hernandes a general (...) But Father Coberlán, escaping to Hernandez, had the document in his pocket, a piece of official writing turning a bandit into a general in a memorable last official act of the Ribierist party, whose watchwords were honesty, peace and progress. Probably neither the priest nor the bandit saw the irony of it."[14]

We see Conrad's distaste in the quotation above for Church's involvement with political corruption: the writer condemns the greed of the Church's representatives for material interests. Decoud is a mouthpiece for Conrad's criticism:

> "But I know him, too, our Padre Corbelán. The idea of political honour, justice, and honesty for him consists in the restitution of confiscated Church property."[15]

Conrad is emphatic in his condemnation of human greed especially when it is made in the name of religion. Let us consider the narrator's reference to Padre Corbelán:

> "his injudicious zeal for the temporal welfare of the Church was damaging the Ribierist cause (...) the ignorant were begiming to murmur that the Ribierist reforms meant simply the taking away of the land from the people (...) the greater part was to go to the padres."[16]

Knapp remarks that Conrad seems to condemn Padre Corbelán's involvement with politics because good priests should first of all take good care of the spiritual comfort of their flock. Father Román should then be interpreted as a better priest since he is more worried about the spiritual life of his flock. Knapp talks about the non - involvement of Father Román with politics.

We disagree with Knapp's interpretation. Firstly, because it seems to us that both priests engage in politics and secondly because in order to provide spiritual comfort, the Church also has to work for social justice.

Both priests in the story get involved in the ethnocentric politics of the European colonization in Costaguana. The writer's disagreement with these matters can be detected in certain passagens in the book such as:

> "I know him, too, our Padre Corbelán (...)Nothing else could have drawn that fierce converter of savage Indians out of the wilds to work for the Ribierist cause!"[17]

Although Father Corbelán is a good representative of the missionary type he should be aware of the ethnocentric character of his conversions. For instance:

> "It was known that Father Corbelán had come out of the wild to advocate the sacred rights of the Church with the same fanatical fearlessness which he had gone preaching to blood thirsty savages, devoid of human compassion or worship of Any kind."[18]

Conrad treats the church ironically because of its submission to the dominant class. There are Church representatives such as Father Román who want their oppressed flock to submit to authoritarianism, conservatism, paternalism and ignorance.

Acting this way, priests guarantee the Church's benefits from material interests. For example:

> "There Father Román said Mass every day before a sombre altarpiece representing the Resurrection (...) "This picture, my children, *"muy linda e maravillosa"*, Father Román would say to some of his flock," which you behold there through the munifience of the wife of our Señor Administrador,

> has been painted in Europe, a country of saints and miracles, and much greater than our Costaguana. "(...) But when once an inquisitive spirit desired to know in what direction this Europe was situated, whether up or down the coast, Father Román, to conceal his perplexity, became very reserved and severe." No doubt it is extremely far away. But ignorant sinners like you of the San Tomé mine should think earnestly of everlasting punishment instead of inquiring into the magnitude of the earth, with its countries and populations altogether beyond your understanding."[19]

It is in the character of Father Béron, "army chaplain, and once a secretary of a military comission"[20] that we find the main focus of Conrad's criticism of the Church's involvement with political corruption. Father Béron is the sadistic torturer of Dr. Monygham. This priest works in favor of Guzman Bento's dictatorial government and enjoys violence:

> "And Father Béron would go outside after the clanking prisoner, led away betwen two soldiers. Such interludes happened on many days, many times, with many prisoners. When the prisoner returned he was ready to make a full confession, Father Béron would declare, leaning forward with that dull, surfeited look which can be seen in the eyes of gluttonous persons after a heavy meal."[21]

Father Béron also represents the most conservative side of Church which still persists in using inquisitorial methods. For example:

> "He would dream of Father Béron sitting at the end of a long black table, behind which, in a row,

> appeared the heads, shoulders, and epaulettes of the military members, nibbling the feather of a quill pen, and listening with weary and impatient scorn to the protestation of some prisoner calling heaven to witness of his innocence."[22]

And yet:

> "The priest's inquisitorial instincts suffer but little from the want of classical apparatus of the Inquisition."[23]

Knapp believes Conrad is critical of the anarchy of capitalist societies in which politics is directed by business interests. She also believes that Conrad's thought suggests that politics should aim at the benefit of the secular community. The conclusion which we can draw from this is that since the Church represents an important instituion to society, it also needs to worry about social justice. As a result, Conrad would agree with the Church's involvement in politics, what he seems to attack is the Church's involvement in the corruptive side of politics.

We have already supported in another section of our work Conrad's disagreement with the noble savage ideology. On the other hand, we are aware of the author's ambivalence towards anthropology and politics. In Nostromo the author denounces political torture and says:

> "At no time of the world's history have men been at a loss how to inflict mental and bodly anguish upon their fellow creatures. This aptitude came to them in the growing complexity of their passions and the early refinement of their ingenuity. But it may safely be said that primeval man did not

> go to the trouble of inventing tortures. He was indolent and pure of heart."[24]

In spite of the fact of the author's generally pessimistic philosophy, in Nostromo Conrad seems to recur to the noble savage ideology in his discussion of human potentiality for evil.

Baines supports the idea that Costaguana represents Conrad's own Russian dominated Poland. Knapp disagrees with such an analogy and argues that if Conrad had the intention of using Costaguana to stand for Poland, he would have not been so severe in his judgement. In our interpretation we agree neither with Baines nor Knapp. We understand that Costaguana represents a visualization of South America in itself. We agree that Conrad disliked imperialism as a result of his distaste for the Russian occupied Poland of his youth. In Nostromo we have Conrad's criticism of imperialism and colonization towards countries of the third world. It is important to note that the author's criticism is still valid. The present political history of South America is still similar to the scene discussed in the novel. It seems that Conrad could foresee the future. As a matter of fact, we still can say that "decades and centuries will pass before the invaders of the land are driven away."[25]

In order to go on with our study of Conrad's politics we should also consider his criticism of idealism and material interests.

The evil of material interests is associated with the evil of idealism. Gould and Holroyd are linked by the idealistic bond:

> "Charles Gould," said the engineer - in - chief," has said no more about this motive than usual. You know, he doesn't talk. But we all here know his motive, and he has only one - the safety of the San Tomé mine with the preservation of the Gould's Concession in the spirit of his compact with Holroyd. Holroyd is another uncommon man. They understand each other's imaginative side. One is thirty , the other nearly sixty they have been made for each other."[26]

Both center their lives on the idealized benfits of material interests.

Holroyd is a "Fundamentalist" in religion. His concern about submting Costaguana to a "purer form of Christianity" shows that he is a fanatic in fact.

Ironically it is clear that material interests cannot provide the moral progress they expect to. Gould in his obsessive zeal for the mine provokes a subtle conjugal infidelity:

> "The little woman has discovered that he lives for the mine rather than for her."[27]

Holroyd in his turn is a phoney idealist on Kurtz's level. Both men are said to have humanitarian intentions although their imperialist greed for power and wealth show the criminality of their noble and idealist intentions. Kurtz concludes that it is better to "exterminate the brutes." Holroyd finances the Gould Concession and intends to submit the colonized to a "purer form of christianity." Conrad seems to use the engineer - in - chief to express his disbelief about Holroyd's "pure aims":

> "The introduction of a pure form of Christianity into this continent is a dream for a youthful enthusiast (...) Holroyd at fifty-eight is like a man on the threshold of life (...) He's not a missionary but the San Tomé mine holds that for him."[28]

In other words, Holroyd's real interest is the capitalist profits. The ambivalence of the American millionaire's idealistic aims can be contrasted to the social economic reality of Sulaco:

> "From the deep trench of shadow betwen the houses, lit up vaguely by glimmer of street lamps, ascended the evening silence of Sulaco; the silence of a town with a few carriages, of unshod horses, and a softly sandalled population."[29]

It is also important to notice that similar, to Heart of Darkness, in Nostromo Conrad denounces the criminality of the civilizing work. Let us compare parallel passages of the two novels:

> "Mrs. Gould knew the history of the San Tomé mine. Worked in the early days mostly by means of lashes on the backs of slaves, its yield had been paid for in its own weight of human bones. Whole tribes of Indians had perished in the exploitation; and then the mine was abandoned, since with primitive method it had ceased to make a profitable return, no matter how many corpses were thrown into its maw. Then it became forgotten. It was rediscovered after the war of independence."[30]

The quotation above can be contrasted to Marlow's

description of the natives in the Grove of Death:

> "...They were nothing eartly now - nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation, lying confusedly in the greenish gloom. Brought from all the receasses of the coast in all the legality of time contracts, lost in uncongenial surroundings, fed on unfamiliar food, they sickned, became inefficient, and then allowed to crawl away and rest - these moribund shapes were free as air - and nearly as thin."[31]

Nostromo also represents one of the most important idealists of the book. He is the leader of people and undertakes any mission for the sake of prestige.

As a matter of fact, Nostromo is an "overseer" type who is popular with the people, but loyal to their masters. He is one of the "dogs" he refers to. He becomes gradually aware that has been "used". This is a "corruption" but it also represents a truer knowledge of his situation. For example:

> "Por Dios! Said the Capataz, passionately. You fine people are all alike. All dangerous. All betrayers of the poor who are your dogs!"[32]

On his deathbed Nostromo makes a bitter criticism of the paternalistic attitude typical of the colonizer's idealism:

> "Nostromo!" Mrs. Gould whispered, bending very low. "I, too, have hated the idea of that silver from the bottom of my heart."
> "Marvellous! - that one of you should hate the wealth that you know so well how to take from the

> hands of the poor. But there is something accursed in wealth."[33]

Although one could hardly interpret Conrad as a pro-marxist we agree with Knapp's remark that at the end of the book it is suggested that the next struggle will be between Holroyd and the marxist, the hater of capitalists. On the other hand, it is fair to observe in the author's portrait of the marxist photographer the usual criticism of radical postures:

> "The pale photographer, small, frail, bloodthirsty, the hater of capitalists (...) remaining huddled up on the stool, shock-headed, wildly hairy, like a hunchbacked monkey,"[34]

Finally it is necessary to note that Gould and Holroyd are not the only sham idealists in Nostromo. There are phony idealists among the native politicians. They are people such as the Monteirist revolutionaries who criticize the foreign exploitation in their country but who have been corrupted by the same greed for silver. Therefore, in order to enjoy political power they are sympathetic towards imperialism. For instance:

> "He wanted to become the most brilliant statesman of South America (...) before all, Pedrito Montero, taught by his European experience, meant to acquire a serious fortune for himself (...) Sulaco was the land of future prosperity, the chosen land of material progress, the only province in the Republic of interest to European capitalist."[35]

Decoud and Dr. Monyghan are radical sceptics.

The first is always critical of British idealism and makes frequent allusions to Gould's attachment to the silver mine:

> "Mrs. Gould, are you aware to what point he has idealized the existence, the worth, the meaning of the San Tomé mine? (...) "But then don't you see, he's an English man?"
> "Well what of that?" asked Mrs. Gould.
> "Simply that he can not act or exist without idealizing every simple feeling, desire, or achievement."[36]

Dr. Monygham also seems to be used as Conrad's mouthpiece in the condemnation of material interests. Monygham is emphatic about the necessity for an emphasis on spiritual values in politics. Nevertheless he does not seem to believe in the possibility of the union of politics and spiritual values. For example:

> "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 the Gould Concession stands for shall weigh as heavily upon the people as the barbarism, cruelty and misrule of a few years back."[37]

One of the crucial points of our thesis is to note the way that material interests masquerade as spiritual ideals. Dr. Monygham's condemnation of material interests seem to be the center of Conrad's criticism of colonialism and its hypocrisy and schizophrenia.

In spite of Conrad's sympathy for skepticism he criticizes radically skeptical characters severely. Decoud's suicide seems to be the best example:

> "The young apostle of Separation had died striving for his idea by an ever-lamented accident. But the truth was that he died from solitude, the enemy known but to few on this earth, and whom only the simplest of us are fit to withstand. The brilliant Costaguanero of the boulevards had died from solitude and want of faith in himself and others."[38]

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that too much radical doubt can only lead to the absolute destruction of the individual.

Dr. Monygham is a skeptical character too, although not as strong as Decoud. As a consequence Conrad expresses a certain solidarity towards Monygham. For example:

> "The doctor, with his back to Mrs. Gould, contemplated a flower-bed away in the sunshine. People believed him scornful and soured. The truth of his nature consisted in his capacity for passion and in the sensitiveness of his temperament. What he lacked was the polished callousness of men of the world, the callousness from which springs an easy tolerance for oneself and others; the tolerance wide as poles asunder from true sympathy and human compassion. This want of callousness accounted for his sardonic turn of mind and his biting speeches."[39]

Old Viola the Garibaldino provides us relevant

conclusions in politics. His idealist admiration for Garibaldi, a revolutionary who struggles for justice and not for personal gain, contrasts with the present revolution in Costaguana. The political leaders in Costaguana are interested only in power and in the silver of the mine: "- These were not a people striving for justice, but thieves."[40]

Finally it is legitimate to claim that in the absence of a Marlow several of the charaters in Nostromo such as Decoud, Dr. Monygham and the Garibaldino are used as mouthpieces by the author.

In Nostromo Conrad begins to emphasize the evil nature of wealth following the author's note, then he refers to the legend of the cursed treasure of Azuera and mainly to the tragedies of characters such as Gould, Emilia, Decoud and Nostromo. The theme is reinforced throughout the story. After Nostromo's corruption there are various allusions to the evil nature of material interests. This theme becomes repetitive in spite of the beautiful language of the writer and suggestiveness of dramatic images. Let us consider the following:

- "Doctor, did you ever hear of the miserable gringos on Azuera, that cannot die? Ha! ha! Sailors like myself. There is no getting away from a treasure that once fastens upon your mind."[41]
- "And the spirits of good and evil that hover about a forbidden treasure understood well that the silver of the San Tomé was provided now with a faithful an lifelong slave."[42]
- "Nostromo had lost his peace; the genuineness of all his qualities was destroyed (...) he hated the feel of the ingots (...) he would look fixedly at

his fingers, as if surprised they had left no stain on his skin."[43]

- "And the feeling of fearful and ardent subjection, the feeling of his slavery - (...) he compared himself to the legandary GRINGOS, neither dead nor alive, bound down to their conquest of unlawful wealth on Azuera."[44]
- "The slave of the San Tomé Silver felt the weight as of chains upon his limbs, a pressure as of a cold hand upon his lips. He struggled against the spell."[45]

We have already noted Conrad's ambivalence towards colonialism and have mentioned mainly its damaging effects. What could be said of its virtues in terms of efficiency, stability, etc.?

Capitain Mitchell's optimistic comments are particularly relevant as an answer to this question. Mitchell refers to Sulaco as "Treasure house of the World"[46] and says that it "was saved intact for civilization for a great future."[47] He believes that everything in Sulaco is of the best.[48] On the other hand, we can compare such an optimistic attitude to Conrad's description of Captain Mitchell's character:

> "Unfortunately, Captain Mitchell had not much penetration of any kind; characteristic, illuminating trifles of expression, action, or movement, escaped him completely. He was too pompously and innocently aware of his own existence to observe that of others."[49]

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that

efficiency and stability in relation to colonialism are basically provided by a stupid character as Mitchell or by high idealists such as Gould and Holroyd. It is also important to point out that Doctor Monygham's remark "there is no peace and rest in material interests"[50] does not only mean that "material interests" are destructive. First of all, it infers that capitalism (or the West) habitually hides its materialism from itself by "rationalizing" its exploitative activities as "progress", "christianity", "civilization", etc.

Secondly, Nostromo rotates around silver which ironically implies "spiritual" quests but really conceals a brutal materialism. This is also a point that Nostromo shares with Heart of Darkness (ivory).

Thirdly, Nostromo shows that Conrad was a writer conscious of the problems of his time. In spite of that he does not use the unquestioning optimism surrounding the idea of material progress, a reflection of a contemporary attitude. As a matter of fact, Conrad adopted an anti-imperialist attitude in an age of imperialism. Therefore, he cannot be interpreted as a strictly conservative writer according to the interpretation of a good number of critics.

Next, in Nostromo we have Conrad's condemnation of any kind of radical idealism especially in politics. Decoud's death seems to be the best example of the writer's condemnation of radicalism.

Finally, we cannot neglect the anthropological influence in Nostromo. Conrad's familiarity with Anthropology

seems to be influential of the elaboration of Costaguana. In this novel we detect the creation and study of a specific social group. Also there is the discussion of the individual and his commitment to society.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

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25 HOWE, op. cit., p. 107.

26 CONRAD, op. cit., p. 265.

27 Ibid., p. 209.

28 Ibid., p. 265.

29 Ibid., p. 159.

30 Ibid., p. 55.

31 CONRAD, Joseph, Heart of Darkness (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 24.

32 _____, Nostromo (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 234.

33 Ibid., pp. 457-58.

34 Ibid., pp. 459-60.

35 Ibid., p. 321.

36 Ibid., p. 184.

37 Ibid., p. 419

38 Ibid., p. 408.

39 Ibid., p. 426.

40 Sherry, op. cit., p. 152.

41 Conrad, Joseph , Nostromo (Great Britain: Penguin Books , 1979), p. 379.

42 Ibid., p. 412.

43 Ibid., p. 429.

44 Ibid., p. 431.

45 Ibid., p. 442.

46 Ibid., p. 397.

47 Ibid., p. 397.

48 SHERRY, op. cit., p. 357.

49 CONRAD, Joseph, Nostromo (Great Britain: Penguin Books, 1979), p. 282.

50 Ibid., p. 419.

C O N C L U S I O N

This dissertation has dealt with the themes of colonialism and politics as they are depicted in two of the major works of Conrad, namely, Heart of Darkness and Nostromo. Colonialism and politics are very broad subjects but I have tried to restrict my discussion to five main points.

To begin with we contrast the radically reactionary Conrad in The Nigger of the Narcissus with the quasi-liberal Conrad in The Secret Sharer and Under Western Eyes in order to note the ambivalent attitudes of the writer toward the work code and towards revolutionists.

Secondly, through an analysis based both on Victorian Anthropology and on literary criticism, I have tried to show that the author was aware, at least in general, of contemporary anthropological writings and of Hartmann's theories. Such knowledge helps to shape his fiction as we have shown throughout our analysis of Heart of Darkness and Nostromo and also in The Nigger of the Narcissus.

When we relate Conrad to Anthropology we note that he is at times rather a racist (ethnocentric) but also a thinker who can freely compare cultures so as to escape from the ethnocentric Anthropology of the period, which served as a rationalization for imperialism.

My third interest in this dissertation has been to try to describe the political implications of the gospel of

work found in his books. The moralistic and conservative Conrad points out in a radical manner, the necessity of a Victorian work discipline, while the moralistic but anti-imperialist Conrad condemns the greed of colonization concealed behind 19th century idealism. Because he held this attitude in an age of imperialism Conrad can be regarded as a liberal.

The center of Conrad's criticism of colonialism and imperialism points out the way that material interests masquerade as spiritual ideals. The writer denounces the hypocritical and schizophorenic sides of colonialism and inperialism. This is a point Nostromo shares with Heart of Darkness and it is a recurring concern of our discussion of plot.

Not only "material interests" are destructive, but capitalism (or the West) habitually conceals its materialism from itself by "rationalizing" its exploitative activities as "progress", "christianity", "civilization", etc. In his criticism of colonialism the writer uses ironic symbol's (ivory, silver) which imply spiritual quests but really conceal a brutal materialism. For example we watch Kurtz's "noble" mission to surpress "savage customs" collapse into his (yet more savage) impulse to "exterminate the brutes." We witness Gould's dedication to progress lapse into a destructive obsession. We see Holroyd dignifying his exploitation of Costaguana in the name of religious fanaticism.

My fourth point is to show that Conrad's approach to colonialism and imperialism, (though based no doubt on nineteenth century theories), has relevance to the anthropological opinion of the present days. Our increasing knowledge of the evils

of colonialism and imperialism during the end of the XIX century and throughout the decades of the present century has served to justify Conrad's denunciation of the colonialist and imperialist enterprise.

From all that has been said in this dissertation I hope it has become clear that Conrad's deep historical and human insight enabled him to transcend his own time, and to investigate problems which are still being discussed.

Those works in which Conrad treats the theme of colonialism remain the freshest and the most contemporary of his work today.

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