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論 文 題 目 Colonialism, Gender, and Representation of the Masses:

Joseph Conrad, C.L.R. James, Richard Wright, George

Lamming, and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o

In this thesis, I argued that the crowds and the masses were focalized in colonial/postcolonial literatures as a psychological and theoretical field in which a gendered view in colonial and anti-colonial texts is made explicit. I dealt with three points that have been hitherto unexamined in connection as disparate matters. Firstly, the crowds and the masses in colonial, anti-colonial and post-colonial situations were situated as the primal focus in literary criticism. The derogatory perception of urban crowds was analyzed as a set of political phenomena contemporaneous to the process by which the masses in colonies become invisible for those living in the metropolis. Secondly, gender and sexuality were introduced as a guiding principle in reading and problematizing the process of disempowering and empowering the crowds and masses in colonial situations and decolonizing moments. As the literary texts about resistance to colonialism seen from the colonizer, such as those of Joseph Conrad, put forward the rise and fall of a hero as a central dramaturgy, a reversed itinerary of dissent in anti-colonial texts, such as C.L.R. James's *The Black Jacobins*, complimentarily situates maleness at the centre of revolutionary narrative. Thirdly, literary texts by male writers like George Lamming and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o were read as texts that attempted to

deconstruct patriarchal norms and a substantialized idea of motherhood, both of which were on the verge of consolidation during decolonizing moments.

However, a horizontal dimension was given to a seemingly linear historiography that predicates this thesis. In a reading of Richard Wright's travelogue on the Bandung Conference, the terminological origins of the 'Third World' was investigated in connection with the symbolical meaning that the Bandung Conference has had in postcolonial studies. A case of Afro-Asian solidarity between Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and Kim Chi Ha was highlighted as a literary and political praxis impacted by the Bandung Conference. In both cases, the term 'the masses' was the primal focus for the three writers, albeit antithetically. As the then nascent idea of the 'Third World' was questioned in view of Richard Wright's involvement with the politics of the Cold War, 'the masses' was the term used to decode and confine the possibility of the newness in decolonization rather than to recognize its heterogeneity. On the other hand, a literary interconnection between Ngũgĩ and Kim Chi Ha was enabled by a shared condition of neo-colonialism, as well as by their ability to put their faith in 'the masses'. The context-specific reading by which the literary texts of the three authors were analyzed compliments and enriches both the theoretically informed reading and the putative linear historiography that undergirds the critique of the crowds and the masses in colonial/postcolonial literatures.

In what follows, the summaries of each chapter are offered in some detail.

Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 focused on the process by which the discourse on crowds was complicit with the colonial discourse, often making the latter invisible. In Chapter 1, I argued that the marginalisation of colonial issues in the literary texts on crowds was concomitant with the other face of modernity, that is, the predominance of colonial

praxis abroad. The mid-nineteenth-century literary texts of Poe's 'The Man of the Crowd' and Baudelaire's essay and prose poetry – 'Crowds' and 'The Painter of Modern Life' – are examined as earlier cases of literary texts on crowds in which an androcentric viewpoint dominates. This viewpoint is, in the case of Poe, obfuscated by the trope of 'the double', and in the case of Baudelaire, by the definition of 'modernity'. The latter section of this chapter firstly tracked a temporal completion of the discourse on crowds from Gustave Le Bon's Foules to a contemporaneous reaction in British writers, including Joseph Conrad, among others. I argued that they foreclose the traces of colonialism in their imagination towards crowds, and that these traces are made visible in the earlier texts of Conrad, who gears the trope of the double differently than Poe and Baudelaire. Chapter 2 dealt with the major fiction of Joseph Conrad, especially Lord Jim and Nostromo, and demonstrated the process by which the use and abuse of the first-person pronoun 'we', foregrounded as a collective notion that dominantly regulates the narrative discourse, marginalises but fails to contain the crowds in the colonial scenes. I argue here that the notion of resistance, which has been located at the core of psychoanalysis, is what distinguished Freud's discussion of crowds from that of Le Bon's and that the narrative viewpoint regarding crowds in *Nostromo* cannot maintain a fixed and objective viewpoint from which the crowds are analysed, decoded and psychologised.

From Chapter 3 to Chapter 5, I tracked the era from 1938 to 1960, and shed light on the authors who knew each other and commented on the works of their contemporaries: C.L.R. James, Richard Wright and George Lamming. In this decolonising era, the crowds as perceived through the eyes of those who directly or indirectly lived and witnessed colonialism are, for colonial intellectuals, reformulated as

'the masses' or 'the people'. Chapter 3 focused on the Haitian Revolution from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth century in San Domingo, and problematized the gendered historiography in the Caribbean region in a reading of C. L. R. James's seminal text, *The Black Jacobins*, the first edition of which was published in 1938. Though the topic and focus seems to starkly differ from the previous chapters, they redirect the issues that the discussion on *Nostromo* left unexplored; namely, why heroes — males — have been presupposed as the ideal image of leadership, not only in the reactionary discourse on crowds (such as Le Bon's or Freud's), but also in the explicitly anti-colonial texts (such as James's) that were reread even at the height of decolonisation in the 1960s. I also examined the nuanced use of the term 'fraternity' in *The Black Jacobins* and compared it with how it is used in the stage version written in 1967. This focus in turn revealed how the ideal onto which the decolonising forces gather is masculinised, and furthermore, how the creation of such an ideal precariously mirrors the mode of perception that the colonisers presuppose when they face the colonised.

Whereas Chapter 3 dealt with the interaction between Europe (especially France) and the Caribbean shores, in Chapter 4 the stage shifts to Southeastern Asia, where the Bandung Conference was held in 1955, and to Richard Wright's report on the Conference, *The Color Curtain*, published the following year. Although the conference has often been equated with decolonisation, I first problematized 'Third World' as a term to decode the non-European world, and secondly, argued that Wright's exploration of the colonial leaders, the informants and the people of the newly independent nations is distorted due to his tendency to psychologise the collective mind. I also claimed that whereas his distorted view partly owed to his involvement in Cold War politics, his text

ominously foreshadows the monolithic view on religion and race, especially in terms of the demonization of 'Islam', which would become an international point of contention after the end of the Cold War. Chapter 5 geared the question towards the urgent issue of how to psychically undo the collective stigma that the deep-seated history of colonialism inscribed in the psychological terrain of the colonised. It is here that I situated George Lamming, a Barbadian writer, as an author who explored how the affects, such as shame and guilt, undergird the notion of responsibility. I compared his work with a range of various colonial and metropolitan intellectuals such as Sartre, Mannoni and Fanon. His first novel, In the Castle of My Skin (1953), theorised an alternative collectivity of 'My People' by being attentive to the effect of shame. Lamming also realised that this newly collective notion was shackled by a gendered image of suzerainty, or the 'Mother Country', whereby he identified a psychic interdependency between the colonised and the ex-colonisers. I indicated in the latter part of this chapter that, in Lamming's collection of essays, The Pleasures of Exile (1960), he suggested a difficult way of extricating the psychic interdependency from a substantial image of motherhood in his interpretation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

In Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, the works of a Kenyan author, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, and the history and memory of the 'Mau Mau' are read as the texts that complicate the gendered image of collectivity that Lamming grappled with, in terms of the relation between metropolis and colony as that which is problematic in the regional and collective resistance. In Chapter 6, *A Grain of Wheat* (1967) is read alongside Freud's later text *Moses and Monotheism* (1938). I demonstrated that, as the messianic discourse is grounded in what promises to be the future of decolonisation, the figure of the maternal is imagined and idealised as that which is securely fixed and substantial in

comparison to the paternal. In the case of Ngũgĩ, this was partly due to his reading of Jomo Kenyatta's monograph on the anthropological study of the Gikuyu society, *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), and the reformulated use of Christian mythologies. Despite the complicit idea of motherhood shared among Ngũgĩ, Kenyatta and Freud, I argued that, if read against the grain, Ngũgĩ's novel is critical of reproductive heteronormativity as the national ideology it seems to endorse. The last chapter revisited a post-Bandung solidarity between Ngũgĩ and a Korean poet, Kim Chi Ha. I highlighted the shared condition under neo-colonialism – one after British colonialism, the other after Japanese colonialism – and focused on Kim Chi Ha's influence on Ngũgĩ. Ngũgĩ and Kim Chi Ha both found a popular means to resist the accelerating pressures of neo-colonialism. Although differently imagined within the contexts of the Gikuyu mythology and the Korean experience of Japanese colonization, both authors utilised satire to cement the gap between intellectuals and common people.