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Insurgent Testimonies

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION. CHALLENGING RUPTURES: TESTIMONIAL INSURGENCIES, SPECTRAL WITNESSES

1. The epigraph to this chapter is from Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), 255.

2. There are very few investigations into modernism and testimony, and those that exist have focused mostly on censorship trials or copyright law. The two most significant contributions are Paul K. Saint-Amour’s *The Copywrights: Intellectual Property and the Literary Imagination* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003) and *Modernism and Copyright*, ed. Paul K. Saint-Amour (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Two important exceptions are Ravit Reichman’s analysis of Virginia Woolf, Hannah Arendt, and Rebecca West, which addresses questions of trauma through the legal category of injury: *The Affective Life of Law: Legal Modernism and the Literary Imagination* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009) and Rex Ferguson’s examination of how criminal law shapes the modernism of E. M. Forster, Ford Maddox Ford, and Marcel Proust in *Criminal Law and the Modernist Novel: Experience on Trial* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

3. Among the most canonical studies that constituted the field of trauma and memory studies are Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Geoffrey H. Hartman, *The Longest Shadow: In the Aftermath of the Holocaust*, Helen and Martin Schwartz Lectures in Jewish Studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996); Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); and Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (New York: Zone, 2000).

4. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Modris Eksteins, *Rites of Spring: The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Age* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989); Samuel Lynn Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1990); Sandra M. Gilbert, “Soldier’s Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War,” in *No Man’s Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); Margaret R. Higson, *Nurses at the Front: Writing the Wounds of the Great War* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001); Vincent Sherry, *The Great War and the Language of Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Trudi Tate, *Modernism, History, and the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

5. Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 21–23.

6. Carl Krockel, *War Trauma and English Modernism: T. S. Eliot and D. H. Lawrence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

7. Although Lecia Rosenthal also focuses on World War I in her chapter on Virginia Woolf’s *To the Lighthouse* in *Mourning Modernism: Literature, Catastrophe, and the Politics of Consolation* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), she argues that modernist periodization is disrupted by the aesthetics of the late sublime: “Reading Kant’s elaboration of the war sublime alongside the anticipatory finality of a ‘war to end all war,’ I situate the emergence of modernism within the competing discourses of violence and the end of violence, fragmentation and privative totality, individual death and species survival” (5).

8. Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3–5.

9. Fredric Jameson, *A Singular Modernity: Essays on the Ontology of the Present* (London: Verso, 2002), 24.

10. Fredric Jameson, “Modernism and Imperialism,” in *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*, ed. Fredric Jameson, Edward Said, and Terry Eagleton (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990).

11. Among these see, for example, Simon Gikandi, *Maps of Englishness: Modernism and National Culture in England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Jed Esty, *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003); Nicholas Brown, *Utopian Generations: The Political Horizon of Twentieth-Century Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005); Peter J. Kalliney, *Cities of Affluence and Anger: A Literary Geography of Modern Englishness* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006); Laura Winkiel, *Modernism, Race, and Manifestos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Mary Lou Emery, *Modernism, the Visual, and Caribbean Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Matthew Hart, *Nations of Nothing but Poetry: Modernism, Transnationalism, and Synthetic Vernacular Writing* (Oxford: Oxford Univer-

sity Press, 2010); Christopher GoGwilt, *The Passage of Literature: Genealogies of Modernism in Conrad, Rhys, and Promoedya* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); and Urmila Seshagiri, *Race and the Modernist Imagination* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2010).

12. Jameson, *A Singular Modernity*, 34.

13. *Ibid.*, 12–13.

14. *Ibid.*, 40.

15. *Ibid.*, 15.

16. An exhaustive analysis of how trauma returns throughout Freud's works is offered in Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

17. On the former, see Irene Visser, "Trauma Theory and Postcolonial Literary Studies," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 47, no. 3 (2011): 170–182; on the latter, see Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011).

18. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 262–263.

19. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press), 458.

20. Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 255.

21. For a critical assessment of the debates about the Shoah as singular traumatic event see Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009), 1–29.

22. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, 11.

23. *Rebecca West Today: Contemporary Critical Approaches*, ed. Bernard Schweizer (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 26.

24. For a thorough reading of these topics in West's work, see Marina MacKay, *Modernism and World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

25. <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/02/obamas-memo-on-killing-americans-twists-imminent-threat-like-bush/272862/>.

26. On the contact zone as site of transcultural encounter, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992). The scholar who has made "missed encounter" the central term by which to understand trauma is Cathy Caruth, in *Unclaimed Experience*.

27. This is particularly pronounced in explorations of modernist and post-modernist works and trauma. For example, Anne Whitehead analyzes formally experimental contemporary works and argues that "novelists have frequently found that the impact of trauma can only adequately be represented by mimicking its forms and symptoms, so that temporality and chronology collapse, and narratives are characterized by repetition and indirection" *Trauma Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 3. In *The Edge of Modernism*:

American Poetry and the Traumatic Past (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), Walter Kaladjian distinguishes between “banal” language and the figural language he associates with the American poets whose work he examines: “The ways in which the formal resources of the poet’s craft—its figurative language, its reliance on catachresis (mixed and contradictory metaphors), aposiopesis (or invoked interruptions of absence and silence, often through ellipsis), anacoluthon (non sequiturs and shifting patterns of syntax), its grammatological techniques and the spatial arrangement on the page—together forge a salutary medium for staging traumatic histories in ways that resist the banal spectacle of the image world otherwise governing contemporary consumer society” (11).

28. Raymond Williams, “Metropolitan Perceptions and the Emergence of Modernism,” in *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, ed. Tony Pinkney (London: Verso, 1989), 37–48.

29. This model informs not only Pascale Casanova’s argument in *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007) but also David Damrosch’s in *What Is World Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003).

30. Jessica Berman, *Modernist Commitments: Ethics, Politics, and Transnational Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 7. The terms ethics and “politics” that animate my readings, even when these terms are not explicitly used, derive from a less pluralistic philosophico-theoretical grouping than that of Berman’s *Modernist Commitments*, which employs a language of reciprocity and selfhood in a critical project that attempts to create a “transition to politics and action from ethics” (21). My approach to the ethical and political is influenced by critiques of this language. I am inspired by and share Berman’s desire to avoid totally disassociating the ethical and the political, but in place of searching for a transition between them managed through narrative, I will argue that testimony, as what occurs in narrative, also interrupts narrative.

31. For an excellent, sustained complication of these two positions, see the collection *Modernism and Colonialism: British and Irish Literature, 1899–1939*, ed. Richard Began and Michael Valdez Moses (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007).

32. Brown, *Utopian Generations*.

33. Paul K. Saint-Amour, “Weak Theory and Global Modernism,” keynote delivered at Global Modernisms: A Symposium, Ithaca College, April 2014.

34. Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*.

35. On modernism and transnationalism, in addition to Berman, *Modernist Commitments*; and Hart, *Nations of Nothing But Poetry*; see also Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel, eds., *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Rebecca Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism Beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Jahan Ramazani, *A Transnational Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chi-

cago Press, 2009); Pamela L. Caughie, ed., *Disciplining Modernism* (New York: Palgrave, 2010); Paul Jay, *Global Matters: The Transnational Turn in Literary Studies* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2010); Susan Stanford Friedman, “Why Not Compare?” *PMLA* 126, no. 3 (May 2011): 753–762; Susan Stanford Friedman, “Planetarity: Musing Modernist Studies,” *Modernism/Modernity* 17, no. 3 (September 2010): 471–499; Saikat Majumdar, *Prose of the World: Modernism and the Banality of Empire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013). On world literature, see David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*; Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*; Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (New York: Verso, 2007). On world literature and postcoloniality, see Natalie Melas, *All the Difference in the World: Postcoloniality and the Ends of Comparison* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007); Peter Hitchcock, *The Long Space: Transnationalism and Postcolonial Form* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009); Andrew Rubin, *Archives of Authority: Empire, Culture, and the Cold War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012); and Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (London: Verso, 2013).

36. Others have challenged the transnational or global turn in recent literary studies in various ways. Pheng Cheah argues that the privileging of cosmopolitanism over nationalism in literary and cultural studies is premised on a false opposition between the two modes of sociality and on a reduction of the nation to an epiphenomenon of the state. This reduction, along with the postnationalist reception of the “distending of the hyphen in contemporary globalization as a sign of the disintegration of both nation and state” overlooks the contingencies that determine what ethical and political work either cosmopolitanism or nationalism can perform at a given historical moment, especially in the context of imperial and neoimperial world orders. Pheng Cheah, *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 36. From another perspective, Étienne Balibar has shown that the emergence of transnational economic alliances such as the European Union have actually inspired a closing of national borders within Europe along with the development of new nationalisms that deploy the language of ethnic belonging to stigmatize immigration and multiculturalism. Étienne Balibar, *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*, trans. James Swenson (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004). And Peter Hitchcock criticizes the growth of “world literature” studies as another form of homogenizing global capitalism; it allows one to “consume postcolonialism without that nasty taste of social struggle in which a reader’s own cosmopolitanism may be at stake.” Hitchcock, *The Long Space*, 5.

37. In addition to Michael Rothberg’s *Multidirectional Memory*, see Victoria Burrows, *Whiteness and Trauma: The Mother-Daughter Knot in the Fiction of Jean*

Rhys, Jamaica Kincaid, and Toni Morrison (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Anne Whitehead, *Trauma Fiction*; Sam Durrant, *Postcolonial Narrative and the Work of Mourning: J. M. Coetzee, Wilson Harris, and Toni Morrison* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004); Gabriele Schwab, *Haunting Legacies: Violent Histories and Transgenerational Trauma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); and Stef Craps, *Postcolonial Witnessing: Trauma out of Bounds* (New York: Macmillan, 2013).

38. Schwab, *Haunting Legacies*, 29.

39. The first is “Violence and Metaphysics: An Essay on the Thought of Emmanuel Levinas,” in *Writing and Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 79–195.

40. Jacques Derrida, *Adieu: To Emmanuel Levinas*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999), 33.

41. Joseph Slaughter, *Human Rights, Inc.: The World Novel, Narrative Form, and International Law* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), 10.

42. Felman and Laub, *Testimony*, 5.

43. As Étienne Balibar writes, “Every social community reproduced by the functioning of institutions is imaginary, that is to say, based on the projection of individual existence into the weft of a collective narrative, on the recognition of a common name and on traditions lived as the trace of an immemorial past (even when they have been fabricated and inculcated in the recent past).” “The Nation Form: History and Ideology,” in Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1992), 93–94. Benedict Anderson’s definition is of the nation “as an imagined political community, both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

44. For example, see Sinkwan Cheng, “The Female Body as a Post-Colonial Site of Political Protest: The Hunger Strikers Versus the Labor Strikers in Forster’s *A Passage to India*,” in *Law, Justice, and Power: Between Reason and Will*, ed. Sinkwan Cheng (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004), 115–136; Kieran Dolin, *Fiction and the Law: Legal Discourse in Victorian and Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Richard Clarke Sterne, “The Trial in *A Passage to India*: ‘Justice’ Under Colonial Conditions,” in *Un-Disciplining Literature: Literature, Law, and Culture*, ed. Kostas Myrsiades and Linda Myrsiades (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); and Ferguson, *Criminal Law and the Modernist Novel*, 51–82.

45. Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 6–7.

46. *Ibid.*, 7.

47. Ibid.

48. Agamben does point to England's passage of the Emergency Powers Act in October 1920 but does not discuss the Rowlatt Acts in India as an effect of a wider shift in modernity's deployment of states of exception.

49. E. M. Forster, *A Passage to India* (New York: Harvest, Harcourt, 1984), 22. Hereafter cited in the text.

50. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993); and Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

51. See Brian May, who argues against the charges by formative readings such as that of Said's and Suleri's that the novel's symbolic strategies underwrite imperialism. May's reading of the countersymbolic complicates the relationship between modernism and colonialism. "The three competing modes of putatively imperialist representation at work in *A Passage to India*, the trio that I will distinguish and whose conflictual relationships I will examine—impressionism, elementalism, apocalypticism—are significantly 'modernist' modes of representation. To distinguish these modes as such, and to identify the kinds of work that they do, severally and together, is to begin to redefine the relationship between modernism and colonialism as intricate and conflicted. And certainly, this is a worthy task, given how often the complexities in this relationship have been overlooked." "Romancing the Stump: Modernism and Colonialism in Forster's *A Passage to India*," in *Modernism and Colonialism*, 137.

52. Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

53. Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (New York: Norton, 2005), 12.

54. Forster wrote and deleted the rape scene, a deletion that has produced conflicting commentaries about the text's management of race and gender politics under anticolonial revolt. Jenny Sharpe acknowledges that many feminist critics read this deletion as another instance of repression of female agency, agency expressed in the fact that Adela fights off her attacker. Sharpe argues, however, that reading this novel in relation to discourses of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 indicates that the withdrawal of the rape scene exposes colonial truths about the mutiny as fictions. "By generating its narrative desire through the indeterminate status of a sexual assault, *A Passage to India* drives a wedge of doubt between a colonial discourse of rape and its object . . . when situated within the racial memory of the Mutiny, Adela's extension and withdrawal of the charge interrupt a plotting that establishes a causal relation between the native assault of English women and British suppression of the rebellion." *Allegories of Empire*, 124–125.

55. Pericles Lewis challenges this paradigm: "If the novel is indeed the characteristic art form of secularization, in Lukács's words, 'the representative art form of our age,' and if modernity is indeed a secular age, we might expect

the modernist novel to be doubly secular,” but he disagrees by demonstrating that modernists’ “quest for a modern form of the ‘secular sacred’ underwrote many of their experiments with form and technique; in particular, they sought the means to combine naturalistic descriptions of the visible world, such as those that the great realist novelists of the nineteenth century had offered, with spiritual insight of the kind found in the symbolist poets. If God died in the nineteenth century, he had an active afterlife in the twentieth.” Pericles Lewis, *Religious Experience and the Modernist Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 23, 25.

56. See Paul de Man’s “Autobiography as De-Facement,” in *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 67–81.

57. Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1994), 151.

58. Slaughter, *Human Rights, Inc.*, 10.

59. Dolin, *Fiction and the Law*, 185.

60. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 203.

61. On the distinction between the subaltern and the popular, see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Scattered Speculations on the Subaltern and the Popular,” in *An Aesthetic Education in the Era of Globalization* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012): 429–443.

62. R. Radhakrishnan, “Why Compare?” *New Literary History* 40, no. 3 (Summer 2009): 459.

63. *Ibid.*, 465.

64. *Ibid.*, 471.

65. Georges Bataille, Jean-Luc Nancy, and Maurice Blanchot have argued that the peculiar “experience” by which friendship is claimed through a speech that separates each party from themselves and each other and thus questions whether friendship is continuous with determinacy or experience, especially during a time of political conflict, indicates friendship as a sign of the ethical. Georges Bataille, *Guilty*, trans. Stuart Kendall (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2011); Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Inoperative Community*, ed. Peter Connor, trans. Peter Connor, Lisa Garbus, Michael Holland, and Simona Sawhney (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991); Maurice Blanchot, *The Unavowable Community*, trans. Pierre Joris (Barrytown, N.Y.: Station Hill, 1988). On parabola and friendship, see Jacques Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins (London: Verso, 1997).

66. Laura Winkiel, “The Utopian Aspect of Transnational Comparison,” *English Language Notes* 49, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 2011): 148.

67. *Ibid.*

68. Jane Gallop, “The Historicization of Literary Studies and the Fate of Close Reading,” *Profession* (2007): 185.

I. COMPELLED CONFESSIONS AND FORCED ATTACHMENTS IN JOSEPH CONRAD'S UNDER WESTERN EYES AND "POLAND REVISITED"

1. Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*, ed. Jeremy Hawthorn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 3. Hereafter cited in the text.

2. Joseph Conrad, *A Personal Record* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1925), 94–95.

3. *Ibid.*, 95.

4. Christopher GoGwilt, *The Invention of the West: Joseph Conrad and the Double-Mapping of Europe and Empire* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1995), 27.

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

6. Stephen Ross, *Conrad and Empire* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), 187. Ross argues that Conrad presciently sees through “the field of imperialism,” still organized under the authority of nation-states, to expose the homogenizing system of deterritorialization and commercialization that exceeds its scope, “the larger, incipiently global, movement of Imperial modernity itself” (6).

7. GoGwilt, *The Invention of the West*.

8. Rebecca Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style: Modernism Beyond the Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

9. John Marx, *The Modernist Novel and the Decline of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 25–58.

10. Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006), 7–8. Although cosmopolitanism is a concept with many referents, a critical attitude toward a perceived narrowness of belonging associated with nationalism tends to be a common feature of many conceptualizations. Scholars have explored how British modernist writing is informed by versions of this paradigm, including Conrad's. In addition to Walkowitz, *Cosmopolitan Style*; and Marx, *The Modernist Novel and the Decline of Empire*, see also Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel, eds., *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Jessica Berman, *Modernist Fiction, Cosmopolitanism, and the Politics of Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Andrew John Miller, *Modernism and the Crisis of Sovereignty* (New York: Routledge, 2008). Some works that pressure the rise of the term from postcolonial, feminist, and Marxist perspectives include the collections *Cosmopolitanisms: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, ed. Bruce Robbins and Pheng Cheah (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); and *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context, and Practice*, ed. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); as well as Timothy Brennan, *At Home in the World: Cosmopolitanism Now* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997).

11. Paul Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 67, 68.
12. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
13. Zdzislaw Najder, *Joseph Conrad: A Life*, trans. Halina Najder (Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2007), 412.
14. Among the works that established this way of reading are Andrzej Busza, *Conrad's Polish Literary Background and Some Illustrations of the Influence of Polish Literature on His Work* (Rome: Antemurale, 1966); Edward Said, *Joseph Conrad and the Fiction of Autobiography* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966); Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993); Ian Watt, *Conrad in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Zdzislaw Najder, *Joseph Conrad: A Chronicle* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983); Keith Carabine, *The Life and the Art: A Study of Conrad's Under Western Eyes* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996); Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *One of Us: The Mastery of Joseph Conrad* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
15. Joseph Conrad, "Poland Revisited," in *Joseph Conrad: Notes on Life and Letters*, ed. J. H. Stape (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 114. Hereafter cited in the text.
16. Details in this paragraph are drawn from Najder, *Joseph Conrad*, 15–21.
17. Harpham, *One of Us*, 33.
18. J. M. Coetzee, "Confession and Double Thoughts: Tolstoy, Rousseau, Dostoevsky," in *Doubling the Point: Essays and Interviews*, ed. David Attwell (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 282.
19. *Ibid.*, 257.
20. Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 9.
21. Watt, *Conrad in the Nineteenth Century*.
22. On this relationship see Paul de Man, *Allegories of Reading: Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979), 278–301.
23. Coetzee, "Confession and Double Thoughts," 273.
24. Coetzee's parenthetical aside, "though he now acknowledges it," and his identification of a confession as "false coin" compromise his otherwise careful argument about truth, deception, and shame. Because Coetzee does not define what it means to "acknowledge" the truth and conflates lie with countertruth uttered by an unwitting subject, his otherwise radical reading of confession conserves the history of a philosophical dualism between testimony and perjury, truth and lie. On this subject see Jacques Derrida, "History of the Lie: Prolegomena," in *Without Alibi*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002), 28–70.
25. De Man, *Allegories of Reading*, 286.

26. Coetzee cites de Man in making this point. De Man explains that “each new stage in the unveiling suggests a deeper shame, a greater impossibility to reveal, and a greater satisfaction in outwitting this impossibility” (de Man, *Allegories of Reading*, 286). Coetzee makes reference to de Man’s reading of Rousseau’s shame. De Man argues that “what Rousseau really wanted . . . was the public scene of exposure which he actually gets.”

27. Nicholas Abraham and Maria Torok, working from Freud’s theorization of mourning and melancholia, call this psycholinguistic event the melancholic incorporation of the exquisite corpse, an act that manifests verbally. Instead of mourning the loss by decathecting from the object, the melancholic incorporates it, according to Freud. According to Abraham and Torok, the melancholic identifies with this internal foreigner in the torsions of enunciations, indirect speech and verbal as well as nonverbal practices. Nicholas Abraham and Maria Torok, *The Wolf Man’s Magic Word: A Cryptonymy*, trans. Nicholas Rand (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).

28. Harpham, *One of Us*, 35. The difference in our readings is that Harpham, focusing on Conrad’s depiction of the funeral not in “Poland Revisited” but in *A Personal Record*, sees Conrad both accomplishing mourning of the father and at the same time producing a substitute: “With his functional bipaternity, Conrad was able to mourn one father and settle into an ongoing, largely epistolary quarrel that lasted well into adulthood, with another” (34).

29. Conrad, *A Personal Record*, ix–x.

30. Najder, *Joseph Conrad*, 21.

31. As Peter Holquist writes, “In the aftermath of October, 1905, the government moved from concessions to a policy of ‘pacification,’ dispatching punitive detachments to Siberia, the Baltic, and the Caucasus. The imperial government granted military commanders in charge of such detachments *carte blanche* to operate against civilian populations. Intended to intimidate the population, they were ‘a form of state terror directed against its own citizens.’” Peter Holquist, “Violent Russia, Deadly Marxism? Russia in the Epoch of Violence, 1905–21,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 4, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 632.

32. *Ibid.*, 636.

33. In addition to *A Personal Record*, see, for example, “A Note on the Polish Problem” (1916) and “The Crime of Partition” (1919) in *Notes on Life and Letters*.

34. See Reynold Humphries, “The Representation of Politics and History in *Under Western Eyes*,” *Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad Studies* 20, no. 1 (1988): 13–32; and Josiane Paccaud, “The Name of the Father in Conrad’s *Under Western Eyes*,” *Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad Studies* 18, no. 3 (1986): 204–218. Susan Jones points out that confession comes at a cost not

only to Razumov, the novel's protagonist, who suffers "physical disfigurement and loss of identity," but also to the author, who experienced "physical and psychological breakdown." Susan Jones, *Conrad and Women* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 53.

35. In *Conrad's Political Novels*, Eloise Knapp Hay points out that the writings are inspired by historical acts that challenged the law's authority. Real crimes were the basis for "Gasper Ruiz" and also for *Nostramo*, *Lord Jim*, *The Secret Agent*, and *Under Western Eyes* (148). Conrad's texts call attention to witnessing in their literary form, perhaps most famously through their orchestrations of Marlowe as the framing device that organizes facts and provides judgments in the earlier novels. In his analysis of *Lord Jim*, Kieran Dolin locates Marlowe's narrative in the tradition of forensic rhetoric. He notes that other critics have also employed the term "advocate" to characterize Conrad's most famous framing device. Dolin explains that "although this term refers to the oratory of the law courts, and particularly to the need to persuade a judge or jury, it may be applied to Marlow because he is primarily concerned with obtaining justice for Jim. In this project he examines witnesses and presents their evidence." Kieran Dolin, *Fiction and the Law: Legal Discourse in Victorian and Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 153.

36. Carabine, *The Life and the Art*, 25.

37. Other essays that also approach confession but do not treat its displacement and generalization throughout the novel are Thomas J. Cousineau, "The Ambiguity of Razumov's Confession in *Under Western Eyes*," *Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad Studies* 18, no. 1 (1986): 27–40; and Andrew Long, "The Secret Policeman's Couch: Informing, Confession, and Interpellation in Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*," *Studies in the Novel* 35, no. 4 (2003): 490–510.

38. Peter Brooks, *Troubling Confessions: Speaking Guilt in Law and Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 9–10.

39. As Gilroy argues, a cosmopolitan ethics is one that goes beyond tolerance of differences to active cultivation of responsibilities to others.

40. Holquist, "Violent Russia," 628.

41. Holquist, for example, focuses on the period lasting from 1905 to 1921 ("Violent Russia"), and Abraham Ascher looks backward to 1904. Abraham Ascher, "Introduction," in *The Russian Revolution of 1905: Centenary Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2005), 1–12.

42. Ascher, "Introduction," 3.

43. Joan Neuberger, *Hooliganism, Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg, 1900–1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 76.

44. Beryl Williams, "1905: The View from the Provinces," in *The Russian Revolution of 1905: Centenary Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2005), 34–54.

45. Teodor Shanin, *Roots of Otherness: Russia's Turn of the Century*, vol. 2, *Russia, 1905–07: Revolution as a Moment of Truth* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), 1–2.

46. Conrad, “Author’s Note,” in *Under Western Eyes*, 282.

47. Paul Kirschner has noted the precariousness of the boundaries between the Russian and English through the exchange of cultural signifiers and ideologies in the novel, which suggests a compatibility between Western materialism and Russian. Paul Kirschner, “Revolution, Feminism, and Conrad’s Western ‘I,’” *The Conradian* 10, no. 1 (May 1985): 1920. Christopher GoGwilt contends that the novel’s “aesthetic power” is that it adduces that the West is not a historically stable entity but an invention that is “the effect of recent animosities” and that it undermines the ethnographic and racial categories of the Russian against which this invented West is measured. He acknowledges that the novel “does seem to reproduce a characteristic feature of twentieth-century formulations of ‘the West’ not only as the expression of a long, coherent political history, but as the only coherent version of political history, all others constituting either failed models of political development, caricatures of the ‘Western’ model, or systems of political organization essentially mythic or ahistorical.” Yet, “even as *Under Western Eyes* reproduces this construction of ‘the West’ as the closure of political history . . . its aesthetic power depends on dramatizing the confusion of European political identity that this idea implies. . . . [It] uses the term ‘Western’ to make its reader ‘see’ the set of mistaken political legacies it articulates” (*Invention of the West*, 160).

48. Conrad, “Author’s Note,” 281.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*, 282–283.

52. Rebecca Walkowitz uses this phrase to define Conrad’s strategies in *The Secret Agent*. She argues that literary impressionism resists the rhetoric of individuality that functions as justification for imperialism because it resists the “fact” of identity, demonstrating how “nature” is produced through social processes, how the foreign is at the heart of the nation (*Cosmopolitan Style*, 28).

53. Byron Carmen-Santangelo argues the work’s criticism of one empire serves as a foil for a perspective shaped by another.

54. Pheng Cheah explains that Kant’s theory of the cosmopolitical as a moral necessity “is formulated too early to take into account the role of nationalism in the age of liberalism. It is more a philosophical republicanism and federalism designed to reform the absolutist dynastic state than a theory opposing the modern theory of nationality.” Pheng Cheah, *Inhuman Conditions: On Cosmopolitanism and Human Rights* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 23.

55. “Autocracy and War,” in *Joseph Conrad: Notes on Life and Letters*. Hereafter cited in the text.

56. See Jacques Derrida, *The Politics of Friendship*, trans. George Collins (London: Verso, 1997).

57. See Jacques Derrida, "Foreigner Question/Coming from Abroad," in *Of Hospitality: Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000).

58. GoGwilt argues that because it expresses "a thoroughgoing skepticism about the legitimacy of nineteenth-century European representations of political community . . . 'Autocracy and War' is a revealing hinge text between Conrad's fictions of empire and fictions of revolution, because what is usually taken as his conservative political standpoint poses a key turn-of-the century question: how to imagine an international community beyond the limits of European concepts of nation and race" (*The Invention of the West*, 29). I would argue that the focus on statelessness and rootlessness consolidates older concepts of nation and race and seems to repeat rather than revise previous concepts of nation and race.

59. Étienne Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," in Étienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (London: Verso, 1992), 60.

60. "Anti-Semitism functioned on a European scale: each nationalism saw in the Jew (who was himself contradictorily conceived as both irreducibly inassimilable to others and as cosmopolitan, as members of an original people and as rootless) its own specific enemy and the representative of all other 'hereditary enemies'; this meant, then, that all nationalisms were defined against the same foil, the same 'stateless other,' and this has been a component of the very idea of Europe as the land of modern nation-states, or, in other words, civilization." *Ibid.*, 62.

61. In Conrad's other writings that address Poland, nations are defined through the essential character of a specific people, a character that survives even drastic rearrangements of base and superstructure by imperialism. Insisting on Poland's essential "Western" character enables Conrad to separate Poland from Russia and Europe's "illegitimate" democracies, heirs of revolutions, and to separate his father from the revolutionaries *Under Western Eyes* presents. In "A Note on the Polish Problem" (1916), he argues of the Poles: "In temperament, in feeling, in mind, and even in unreason, they are Western, with an absolute comprehension of all the Western modes of thought, even of those that are remote from their own historical experience" (*Notes on Life and Letters*, 109). Poland is "an outpost of the Western powers" with shared "kinship" if not genealogical ties to the West (110). "The Crime of Partition" (1919) argues that Poland, "deprived of its independence, of its historical continuity, and with its religion and language persecuted and repressed, became a mere geographical expression"; however, "the nation refused to rest therein. It haunted the territories of the Old Republic in the manner of a ghost haunting its ancestral mansion where strangers are making themselves at home . . . never ceasing to inspire a sort of awe, a strange uneasiness in the hearts of the

unlawful possessors” (*Notes on Life and Letters*, 96). Maintaining the opposition between deracinated cosmopolitan states produced through revolutions and rooted nations whose essential character is linked to the West enables Conrad to claim that his father was not a revolutionary but rather one of the “patriots” who, “believing in the spirituality of a national existence could not bear to see that spirit enslaved” (*A Personal Record*, x).

62. My reading of the meaning of translation in the novel differs from that of others who have addressed the framing device. In addition to Hay, *Conrad’s Political Novels*; and Dolin, *Fiction and the Law*; see Bruce Henricksen, *Nomadic Voices: Conrad and the Subject of Narrative* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Gail Fincham, “To Make You See: Narration and Focalization in *Under Western Eyes*,” in *Joseph Conrad: Voice, Sequence, History, Genre*, ed. Jakob Lothe, Jeremy Hawthorne, and James Phelan (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2008); and Carola M. Kaplan, “Conrad’s Narrative Occupation of/by Russia in *Under Western Eyes*,” *Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad Studies* 27, no. 2 (1995): 97–114.

63. Lawrence Venuti, *Nation, Language, and the Ethics of Translation*, ed. Sandra Berman and Michael Wood (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 179, 178.

64. *Ibid.*, 179.

65. Walter Benjamin, “The Task of the Translator,” in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1968), 69–82.

66. Conrad, *A Personal Record*, vii.

67. On the uneasy relation between Conrad’s novel and Russian literature, see Kaplan, “Conrad’s Narrative Occupation of/by Russia in *Under Western Eyes*.”

68. In Derrida’s writings during and after the so-called ethical and political turn (a narrative of development Derrida himself rejects to describe his work), the philosopher examines how the apparently opposed secular and religious traditions, the juridico-legal and Abrahamic discourses of responsibility, actually share a problematic reliance on the autonomous, intending subject as the basis of their articulations of moral decision while suppressing the aporetic structure of responsibility they simultaneously reveal as haunting them. Religious discourses of ethics both Christian (Kierkegaard) and Judaic (Levinas) reproduce this aporia while displacing it, and “this applies all the more to political or legal matters. The concept of responsibility, like that of decision, would thus be found to lack coherence or consequence, even lacking identity with respect to itself, paralyzed by what can be called an aporia or antinomy. That has never stopped it from ‘functioning.’ . . . On the contrary, it operates so much better, to the extent that it serves to obscure the abyss or fill in its absence of foundation.” Jacques Derrida, *The Gift of Death*, trans. David Wills (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 84.

69. Jacques Derrida, *Adieu: To Emmanuel Levinas*, trans. Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999), 23.

70. Pericles Lewis, *Religious Experience and the Modernist Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 23.

71. *Ibid.*, 25.

72. Jonathan W. Daly, *Autocracy Under Siege: Security Police and Opposition in Russia, 1866–1905* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1998), 149.

73. *Ibid.*, 165.

74. *Ibid.*, 150.

75. *Ibid.*, 145.

76. Daly compares the French and Russian security police and notes that “the watchfulness of modern states seems to depend on the resources available to governments and the range and diversity of social phenomena to be watched. It is not surprising, then, that the French state’s capacity to conduct surveillance was relatively greater than that of the Russian state” (*ibid.*, 107). Holquist argues that “colonial *practices* employed by the Russian imperial state and its military must be seen within the spectrum of other European colonial measures. Russian officers knew of, and sought to emulate, the practices of other European powers, devoting particular attention to the French experience in Algeria. This exchange was not entirely in one direction. French officers, such as France’s leading theorist of colonial warfare, Herbert Lyautey, studied the Russian conquest of the Caucasus and Central Asia” (“Violent Russia,” 634).

77. The veiling of woman as figure for truth has been addressed widely in feminist theory and theories of gender and sexuality.

78. This supports what Andrew Michael Roberts sees in Conrad’s works as a shift from a moral code of behavior based in the sovereign subject to an ethics of uncodifiable, unprogrammable responsibility to the other by a subject that is not an *ipse*, or self. Andrew Michael Roberts, “Conrad and the Territory of Ethics,” *Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad Studies* 37, nos. 1/2 (2005): 133–146.

79. See Avrom Fleishman, *Conrad’s Politics: Community and Anarchy in the Fiction of Joseph Conrad* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967); Man-Sik Lee, “Razumov’s Moral Growth in Joseph Conrad’s *Under Western Eyes*,” *Nineteenth-Century Literature in English* 9, no. 1 (2005): 261–280; Jil Larson, “Promises, Lies, and Ethical Agency in *Under Western Eyes*,” *Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad Studies* 29, no. 1 (1997): 41–58; and Sung Ryol Kim, “The Wanderings of Cain: *Under Western Eyes* as Ethical Drama,” *Nineteenth-Century Literature in English* 6, no. 2 (2002): 103–130. For a contrasting vision of ethics in Conrad’s works, one closer to Roberts’s and my own, see Yael Levin, “The Moral Ambiguity of Conrad’s Poetics: Transgressive Secret Sharing in *Lord Jim* and *Under Western Eyes*,” *Conradiana: A Journal of Joseph Conrad Studies* 39, no. 3 (2007): 211–228.

2. TRAUMAS OF NATION AND NARRATIVE: LEGAL AND LITERARY WITNESSING IN REBECCA WEST'S WARTIME WRITINGS

1. *Rebecca West Today: Contemporary Critical Approaches*, ed. Bernard Schweizer (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), 26.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Samuel Lynn Hynes, *A War Imagined: The First World War and English Culture* (London: Bodley Head, 1990). Important feminist critical studies have also approached wartime writing with a focus on masculinity but critically, for example, Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1985); Sandra M. Gilbert, "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women, and the Great War," in *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); and Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

4. Margaret Higonnet, "Authenticity and Art in Trauma Narratives of World War I," *Modernism/Modernity* 9, no. 1 (2002): 92, 91–107.

5. The period that covers 1875 to 1914, according to E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (New York: Pantheon, 1987).

6. See, for example, Richard Badenhansen, "Mourning Through Memoir: Trauma, Testimony, and Community in Vera Brittain's Testament of Youth," *Twentieth-Century Literature* 49, no. 4 (2003): 421–448; Santanu Das, *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Ronald Smith, "Nick Adams and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," *War, Literature, and the Arts: An International Journal of the Humanities* 9, no. 1 (1997): 39–48; and Andrea Petersen, "Shell-Shocked in Somerville: Vera Brittain's Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder," in *Gender and Warfare in the Twentieth Century: Textual Representations*, ed. Angela K. Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004).

7. As Jed Esty pointed out in 2004, there has been a surprising dearth of general studies on the relationship between Anglophone modernism and imperialism. Jed Esty, *A Shrinking Island: Modernism and National Culture in England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004). This has changed with the growth of transnational approaches in the era identified as that of the new modernist studies.

8. The classic study is Fussell's. Fussell's argument that the war constitutes a rupture with everything that comes before it and has a decisive effect not only on literary history but history and culture generally reprises the modernist mantra "make it new" (*The Great War and Modern Memory*, 21–23). See also Allyson Booth, *Postcards from the Trenches: Negotiating the Space Between Modernism and the First World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996);

Trudi Tate, *Modernism, History, and the First World War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); and Vincent Sherry, *The Great War and the Language of Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

9. Sigmund Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia" [1917], in *General Psychological Theory*, ed. Philip Rieff (New York: Collier, 1963), 164.

10. *Ibid.*, 166.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Rebecca West, *The Return of the Soldier* (New York: Penguin, 1998), 38–39. Hereafter cited in the text.

13. See Victoria Glendinning, *Rebecca West: A Life* (New York: Knopf, 1987), for a description of the part it played in West's life.

14. All details of Monkey Island's history provided by Luke Over, "A Little History," in David Nash Ford's *Royal Berkshire History: Monkey Island Lodge, Bray, Berkshire*, 2002. http://www.berkshirehistory.com/castles/monkey_island.html.

15. Among others who take this position are Samuel Hynes, "Introduction," in West's *The Return of the Soldier*; Margaret Diane Stetz, "Drinking 'The Wine of Truth': Philosophical Change in West's *The Return of the Soldier*," *Arizona Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (1987): 63–78; Jane Gledhill, "Impersonality and Amnesia: A Response to World War I in the Writings of H.D. and Rebecca West," in *Women and World War I: The Written Response*, ed. Dorothy Goldman (New York: St. Martin's, 1993); and Laura Cowan, "The Fine Frenzy of Artistic Vision: Rebecca West's *The Return of the Soldier* as a Feminist Analysis of World War I," *Centennial Review* 42, no. 2 (1998): 285–308.

16. Hynes, "Introduction," x.

17. West, then still using her given name, Cicely Fairfield, declared in her opening of the review in the *Freewoman*, "There are two kind of imperialists: imperialists and bloody imperialists." Cicely Fairfield, "The Position of Women in Indian Life" [1911], in *The Young Rebecca: Writings of Rebecca West, 1911–17*, ed. Jane Marcus (New York: Virago, 1982), 12. This bold move became a signature of the precocious West and drew her to the attention of older, famous writers.

18. Rebecca West, *Henry James* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat, 1968), 27.

19. Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History, Writing Trauma* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 58.

20. While some readers note the fantasmatic qualities of the past represented on the island, they have not connected these to the framing device and considered how that device throws into relief the politics of witnessing and the conflicting interpretations of trauma the work elaborates. See Debra Rae Cohen, *Remapping the Home Front: Locating Citizenship in British Women's Great War Fiction* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002); Marina MacKay, "The Lunacy of Men, the Idiocy of Women: Woolf, West, and War,"

NSWA *Journal* 15, no. 3 (2003): 124–144; and Patricia E. Chu, *Race, Nationalism, and the State in British and American Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

21. Critics have focused on the novel's psychoanalytic dimensions but have overlooked the significance of the frame or its implications for reading alternative histories the novel invokes. Misha Kavka points out that the novel elaborates trauma as war neurosis but departs from this by offering a psychoanalytic theory that identifies the death of Chris's son as the traumatic event. However, the "actual trauma" is neither of these: "the war . . . marks the breakdown of the defenses of masculinity against the actual trauma, the knowledge of its own constructedness." Misha Kavka, "Men in (Shell-)Shock: Masculinity, Trauma, and Psychoanalysis in Rebecca West's *The Return of the Soldier*," *Studies in Twentieth-Century Literature* 22, no. 1 (1998): 151–171, 162. Wyatt Bonikowski, who does argue for the importance of Jenny as witness, claims that the cause is also war trauma, which diffuses into Jenny's narrative, but he maintains that the cause is internal to the characters, too: "war is not only something out there, happening in another place; rather war, like death, is present *within* the subject." Wyatt Bonikowski, "*The Return of the Soldier* Brings Death Home," *Modern Fiction Studies* 51, no. 3 (2005): 513–535, 514. Steve Pinkerton reads Margaret rather than Jenny as (psycho)analyst in the text and argues that among the causes of amnesia are Chris's son's death, but he also notes that other causes might precede this. He points to characterological, individual causes such as Chris's relationship to his father rather than wider historical causes the testimony invokes. Steve Pinkerton, "Trauma and Cure in Rebecca West's *The Return of the Soldier*," *Journal of Modern Literature* 32, no. 1 (2008): 1–12. For Susan Varney, both the trauma and recovery of the event are unrepresentable and linked to the impossibility of a foundation to social and sexual ties: "the concept of an intransigent social space within which social and sexual ties are possible (such as that represented in the ideal of Monkey Island) are repeatedly *not recovered*." Susan Varney, "Oedipus and the Modernist Aesthetic: Reconceiving the Social in Rebecca West's *The Return of the Soldier*," in *Naming the Father: Legacies, Genealogies, and Explorations of Fatherhood in Modern and Contemporary Literature*, ed. Eva Paulino Bueno, Terry Caesar, and William Hummel (Lanham, Md.: Lexington, 2000), 268. Varney refers to the "ideal" of Monkey Island, but her emphasis is on the novel's articulation of the impossibility of returning to a phantasmatic space rather than on the testimonial elaboration of the effacement of historical discord and struggle during the Victorian period.

22. Ruth Leys, arguing against the "literalist" interpretation of trauma offered by the influential readings of Cathy Caruth, compellingly makes this argument in her study of how trauma operates as a concept-metaphor through the entirety of Freud's corpus. Ruth Leys, *Trauma: A Genealogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). Caruth reads Freud's text as articulat-

ing traumatic returns as literal, interruptive, and outside of all figuration. But Caruth's argument hinges on a reading of *Moses and Monotheism* and *Beyond the Pleasure Principle's* discussions of accident neuroses (*Unfall Neurotiker*), which Freud distinguishes from *traumatisch Neurotiker*. Moreover, Leys has questioned Caruth's interpretation on the grounds that it is based on a limited number of Freud's writings. Situating the concept of trauma in a wider context, Leys maintains that figurations, displacements, and condensations are modes of traumatic returns. Although Caruth's pioneering contributions to the intersection of ethics, literary theory, and trauma cannot be denied, Leys's interpretation of traumatic returns seems more compelling because of its analytical breadth.

23. Jacques Derrida, *Demeure: Fiction and Testimony*, trans. Elizabeth Rottenberg (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), 29.

24. Though biographies and letters do not verify that West had read *Swann's Way* before composing the novel, with educated guesswork one can infer that she most likely had. An avid reader who circulated among writers who had read Proust's novel when it was first published, she was also a Francophile and had likely read the favorable review in the *Times Literary Supplement* in 1913. That review commended Proust for his literary and philosophical exploration of memory, a subject of central interest to West in her first novel. Glendinning notes that for West, "Of the acknowledged 'great men' among the moderns, only Proust was beyond criticism. 'The greatness of Proust! One cannot exaggerate it,' she wrote in the 1920s, and never changed her mind" (*Rebecca West*, 254).

25. Paul de Man, "The Rhetoric of Temporality," in *Blindness and Insight: Essays in the Rhetoric of Contemporary Criticism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 187–228.

26. Marcel Proust, *Swann's Way*, trans. C. K. Scott Moncrieff and Terrence Kilmartin (New York: Vintage), 151.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. See Alison Smith, *The Victorian Nude: Sexuality, Morality, and Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), chaps. 5–6.

31. Luce Irigaray's reading of the "caress" in Levinas's study on ethics *Totality and Infinity* analyzes this doubled, asymmetrical articulation of woman. She must be relegated to animality, maternity, and materiality, "depths," in order to prepare man for the "heights" of ethical transcendence. But paradoxically, her materiality must also be annihilated, her history and "scars" removed to keep intact an ideal virginity. Luce Irigaray, *An Ethics of Sexual Difference* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), 201–202. This scene confirms Debra Rae Cohen's claim that "Chris's nostalgic celebration of Margaret occludes the

reality of the life she has lived . . . she loses her socio-economic actuality to become a ‘place out of time and history’” (*Remapping the Homefront*, 79). While Cohen also reads Chris’s nostalgic shaping of Margaret on Monkey Island, she argues that this nostalgia is linked to a different tradition, that of the Georgian poets, and maintains that through a pastoral-classical pastiche “he evades his own complicity in the class and gender system he now rejects as oppressive” (78).

32. On the history of these movements see Lesley A. Hall, *Sex, Gender, and Social Change in Britain Since 1880* (New York: St. Martin’s, 2000).

33. Smith, *The Victorian Nude*, 220.

34. “The idea that men could have sexual intercourse with whom they liked but women could have sexual intercourse only within marriage had the effect of encouraging men to be promiscuous; they were bound, the male mind being what it is, to engage in any activity involving pleasure with double satisfaction if it were forbidden to the women most nearly equal to them in status.” Rebecca West, *1900* (New York: Crescent, 1982), 53.

35. West, *Henry James*, 27.

36. Contrapuntal reading “must take account of both processes, that of imperialism and that of resistance to it, which can be done by extending our reading of the texts to include what was once forcibly excluded.” Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 66–67.

37. Fredric Jameson, “Modernism and Imperialism,” in *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature*, ed. Fredric Jameson, Edward Said, and Terry Eagleton (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 51.

38. William Wordsworth, “Lines Composed a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey,” [1798], in *William Wordsworth: Selected Poems*, ed. John O. Hayden (New York: Penguin, 1994), 66. Hereafter cited in the text.

39. Whether “imperialism” defines Britain’s relationship to Mexico remains debatable. In the period to which the novel directs readers, which I have called, following Hobsbawm, the age of empire, more significant than governmental involvement was private investment, facilitated by occasional interventions by the British state, and major collaborations with the Mexican government. “Between 1870 and 1914 . . . the key actors in the relationship between Latin America and Britain were businessmen, not the government.” Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Longman, 1993), 68. Many historians argue, however, that Britain’s relationship to Latin America can be defined as informal imperialism. Britain had a long history of commercial interests in Mexico; it was the latter’s primary foreign investor in the nineteenth century and held most-favored-nation status in trade. A complicity between British and other foreign firms and a Mexican “collaborating elite” (Miller, *Britain and Latin America*, 22) in the final decades of the nineteenth century led to land seizures that bankrupted peasants. The

British state facilitated private British interests through diplomatic and other acts. British involvement in Mexico thus resembles a form of imperialism that chronologically postdates the novel, neocolonialism.

40. Peter Calvert, *The Mexican Revolution, 1910–1914: The Diplomacy of Anglo-American Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 21.

41. *Ibid.*

42. I thank Benjamin Conisbee Baer for calling my attention to the overabundance of references to whiteness in the novel.

43. “Everything suggests, indeed, that the mainspring of narrative is precisely the confusion of consecution and consequence; what comes after being read in narrative as what is caused by.” Roland Barthes, “Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narrative,” in *Image, Music, Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 94.

44. See Marina MacKay, *Modernism and World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); and Phyllis Lassner, “Rebecca West’s Shadowy Other,” *Rebecca West Today: Contemporary Critical Approaches*, ed. Bernard Schweizer (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006).

45. MacKay, *Modernism and World War II*, 55, 63.

46. Chu, *Race, Nationalism, and the State in British and American Modernism*, 103, 113.

47. West described the Nuremberg trials in terms that resemble the definition of trauma as an unexperienced experience: “Conducted by officials sick with the weariness left by a great war, . . . inadequately reported, constantly misinterpreted, it was an unshapely event, . . . stamping no clear image on the mind of the people it had been designed to impress. It was one of the events which do not become an experience.” In *A Train of Powder: Six Reports on the Problem of Guilt and Punishment in Our Time* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2000), 246. See also Ravit Reichman, *The Affective Life of Law* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009), 103–133.

48. Rebecca West, *The New Meaning of Treason* (New York: Viking, 1964), vii.

49. *Ibid.*

50. Patrick Deer, *Culture in Camouflage: War, Empire, and Modern British Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). Deer discusses the rise of popular imperialist rhetoric that sought to secure England and Britain’s trust in the battle against fascism from fronts that were not contained within a single nation and that relied on the colonies. Despite propaganda’s attempts to convince people they had an oversight of the war, a “the sense of vulnerability continued to haunt even the most patriotic of invocations of the heroic national landscape” (107). Pointing to Churchill’s Dunkirk speech of June 4, 1940, as an example, Deer writes that “the organic integrity of the national landscape is penetrated and divided by the lines of battle, ‘the fronts

are everywhere.’ A disturbing vulnerability is revealed, and [Churchill] is forced to confront the frightening prospect of a literally de-centered empire” (107).

51. Rebecca West, *The Meaning of Treason* (New York: Viking, 1947), 186. Hereafter cited in the text.

52. In a letter to Lord Beaverbrook dated December 4, 1947, West writes, “This material about treason will go down the drain if I do not record it; and it is valuable not only to the historian but to everyone who wants humanity to survive. There isn’t only the fact that treason in modern condition [*sic*] works out as cruelty to prisoners of war—that is the real fruit of my book, from an *immediate* point of view. There is the fact that treason is an attempt to live without love of country, which humanity can’t do—any more than love of family.” *The Selected Letters of Rebecca West*, ed. Bonnie Kime Scott (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000). West’s words echo Churchill’s description of the British empire as family, a description Alan Sinfield comments includes as secondary citizens those outside of England: “For the total mobilization of modern warfare, general acquiescence was not enough. So when Churchill spoke from the steps of Bradford town hall in December 1942, he celebrated the unity that he knew he had to produce: ‘All are united like one great family; all are standing together, helping each other, taking all their share and doing their work, some at the front, some under the sea or on the sea in all weathers, some in the air, some in the coal mines, great numbers in the shops, some in the homes—all doing their bit’ (Churchill, p 245). Notice how the speech’s extended geographical itemizing effaces a possible hierarchical one.” Alan Sinfield, *Literature, Politics, and Culture in Postwar Britain* (London: Athlone, 1997), 10. In contrast to Churchill, however, West does not extend kinship, even of a hierarchical nature, to British colonial subjects in this work.

53. Chu discusses the role of radio, national community, and collective fantasy. *Race, Nationalism, and the State in British and American Modernism*, 105–106.

54. Shoshana Felman, *The Juridical Unconscious: Trials and Traumas in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 5.

55. As Marina MacKay writes of Esty’s *A Shrinking Island*, “that the war and the loss of the empire were closely connected—politically and economically, as well as imaginatively—is nowhere registered . . . the endurance of the war in Britain is surely related to the island’s shrinkage; it may even be the acceptable idiom for speaking of it” (*Modernism and World War II*, 17).

56. Esty, *A Shrinking Island*, 28.

57. Robert Cover, “Violence and the Word,” in *Narrative, Violence, and the Law*, ed. Martha Minow, Michael Ryan, and Austin Sarat (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 203.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Christopher Menke, “Law and Violence,” *Law and Literature* 22, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 2.

60. She titles her report on a lynching trial “Opera in Greenville,” and she remarks that two of the Nuremberg trials “took off and left the earth, becoming phantasmagoric, chapters out of *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, not trials at all” (*A Train of Powder*, 239). She describes the main Nuremberg trial also as “a performance” (*A Train of Powder*, 247). In “Mr. Setty and Mr. Hume,” she claims this murder trial in Britain operates as a kind of “morality play” (*A Train of Powder*, 202).

61. Mark Sanders, *Ambiguities of Witnessing: Law and Literature in the Time of a Truth Commission* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007), 23.

62. Jacques Derrida, “Force of Law: The ‘Mystical Foundation of Authority,’” in *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice*, ed. Drucilla Cornell, Michael Rosenfeld, and David Gray Carlson (New York: Routledge), 6.

63. *Ibid.*, 38.

64. *Ibid.*, 35.

65. *Ibid.*, 34–35; Jacques Derrida, *Force de loi* (Paris: Galilée, 1994), 87.

66. Derrida, “Force of Law,” 23.

67. *Ibid.*, 38.

68. Derrida cites Benjamin: “The admiring fascination exerted on the people by the ‘figure of the great criminal’ (281)” is elicited because “he is someone who, in defying the law, lays bare the violence of the legal system, the juridical order itself” (*ibid.*).

69. *Ibid.*, 34.

70. Carl Rollyson notes that “To Henry’s mother, Mary, Rebecca described Joyce as a ‘little whippy jig-dancing sort of Irishman, quite ugly, but full of fight. He swaggered in and out of the dock, really very courageous indeed and made a very dignified appearance in court, on his appeal.’ . . . This was the admiration of an adversary, but as a woman struggling against her own Irishness, and a sense of isolation. . . . No more than Joyce did she ever see herself as acceptable, an Establishment figure.” Carl Rollyson, *Rebecca West* (New York: Scribner, 1996), 244.

71. The famous sentiment that “to write lyric poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric” (312) is elaborated upon in the essay “Commitment.” Adorno addresses the issue of stylization of genocide, criticizing committed literature and art that “are willingly absorbed, as contributions to clearing up the past.” In *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, ed. Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhart (New York: Continuum, 1982), 313. Adorno makes a distinction between “the so-called artistic representations” (312) of pain and suffering and art’s non-representational or thematic practices of “imaging,” instead, through form. He writes of the first, “by turning suffering into images, despite all their hard implacability, they wound our shame before the victims. For these are used

to create something, works of art, that are thrown to the consumption of the world that destroyed them” (312). The second, in contrast, makes no attempt to render it consumable, acknowledging that art is a betrayal of the event that demands art: “it is now virtually in art alone that suffering can still find its own voice, consolation, without immediately being betrayed by it. The most important artists of the age have realized this. The uncompromising radicalism of their works, the very features defamed as formalism, give them a terrifying power, absent from helpless poems to the victims of our time” (312).

72. For these theorists, this impossible and “incorrect” narrative act can facilitate clinical healing and at the same time reconfigure how we measure and understand historical truth. In clinical psychoanalysis, this is a basic premise. Dori Laub, for example, makes this point and offers as an example a Holocaust survivor who testifies to what is “false information” by disciplinary historical measures. Laub reads this woman’s testimony as a way of reconfiguring the real in order to provide historical truth that exceeds empirical facts alone. The woman testifies that she’d seen four chimneys blow up at Auschwitz, but historians determined that only one chimney had blown up. Laub contends that “An essential part of the historical truth she was . . . bearing witness to” was the “bursting open of the very frame of Auschwitz.” Dori Laub, “Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening,” in Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 62.

73. Joseph Slaughter, *Human Rights, Inc.: The World Novel, Narrative Form, and International Law* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), 114–115.

74. *Ibid.*, 115.

75. *Ibid.*

76. Roman Jakobson, “Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphasic Disturbances,” in *Fundamentals of Language*, by Roman Jakobson and Morris Halle (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971).

77. “Fichte conceives of the state as an instrument of the nation and not vice versa. The territorial state and its institutions are an external mechanism of national culture that should be subsumed by the nation, infused with its vital spirit, and made to serve its work. Unless the state is rooted in the living nation, any plan to establish a perfect state will necessarily fail. It will be an abstraction imposed on an aggregate of people from the outside and realized as a mechanical construction of parts that do not cohere. The most glaring example of this is the French Revolution’s culmination in the Terror: ‘the state in accordance with reason [*vernunftgemasse Staat*] cannot be built up by artificial [*künstliche*] measures from whatever material may be at hand [*vorhandenen Stoffe*]; on the contrary, the nation must first be trained [*gebildet*] and educated [*beraufgezogen*] up to it. Only the nation which has first solved in actual practice the problem of educating [*Erzeibung*] perfect men will then solve the problem

of the perfect state.’ The Seventh Address explicitly reinscribes this topographical subordination of state to nation in terms of the oppositions between organism and machine, life and death.” Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 131. Cheah demonstrates how this legacy survives and is reconfigured in various contemporary postcolonial nationalisms and literary stagings of *Bildung* as well.

78. As Slaughter writes, “Humboldtian *Bildung* describes a civic course of acculturation by which the individual’s impulses for self-expression and fulfillment are rationalized, modernized, conventionalized, and normalized within the social parameters, cultural patterns, and public institutions of the modern nation-state. In this idealized model of socio-aesthetic modernization and enfranchisement, culture conducts a civilizing (or civicizing) mission that has two complementary centripetal effects: centralizing the nation-state and centering its citizen-subjects” (*Human Rights, Inc.*, 113).

79. Cheah, *Spectral Nationality*, 128.

80. Homi K. Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man,” in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 125.

81. As the trial reporter J. W. Hall recounts, “He was listened to by many in the beginning of the war, but then his listenership seriously dwindled. From being a sinister bogey-man, he had to many people, if not to most, become a figure of fun, about whom comedians sang songs on the wireless.” *The Trial of William Joyce*, ed. J. W. Hall (London: William Hodge and Co., 1994), 9.

82. Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man,” 127, 130–131.

83. *Ibid.*, 131.

84. See Carey J. Snyder, *British Fiction and Cross-Cultural Encounters: Ethnographic Modernism from Wells to Woolf* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Esty, *A Shrinking Island*.

85. Rebecca West, *The Strange Necessity: Essays and Reviews* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), 207.

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*, 207–208.

88. The details in this paragraph are taken from L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), esp. 19–21.

89. West, “Opera in Greenville,” 81.

90. She condemns Ben Bolt in particular: “When he was speaking of the FBI agents he said, ‘Why, you would have thought someone had found a new atomic bomb, but all it was was a dead nigger boy.’ This is not a specifically Southern attitude. All over the world there are people who may use the atomic bomb because they have forgotten that it is our duty to regard all lives, however alien and even repellent, as equally sacred” (*ibid.*, 97).

91. *Ibid.*, 105. Summarizing a letter from West to Emanie Sachs written during the trial, Rollyson comments that “She felt about the Irish as Southerners do about Negroes, Rebecca confided to Emanie: ‘they just seem to me a different and repellent breed, whom one could like if they converted themselves into faithful servants.’” (*Rebecca West*, 244).

92. *Ibid.*, 53.

93. *Ibid.*

94. Kieran Dolin, *Fiction and the Law: Legal Discourse in Victorian and Modern Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 30. West’s remark in another trial report proposes something similar: “This murder trial . . . had the air of a morality play in its presentation of contrasting types of good and evil” (“Mr. Setty and Mr. Hume,” in *A Train of Powder*, 202).

95. Peter Brooks, “The Law as Narrative and Rhetoric,” in *Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), 19.

96. Gloria G. Fromm argues that the form of trials provided productive constraints on West’s writing. She argues that the trial reports are more structured than writings such as *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, which “suffers from the extremist characteristics that mar her ‘straight’ fiction: looseness, a disproportionate emotional intensity, and portraits that seem almost like caricatures. These failings are less present (though by no means absent)” in the trial reports. “The courtroom proceedings provided a ready-made structure, and though her method was to weave psycho-social narratives about the men in the dock, there were limits or boundaries established by certain known facts” (51). I argue, conversely, that West fashions those pieces that were not facts into her own narrative to provide the trial more structure than actually existed. Gloria G. Fromm, “Rebecca West: The Fictions of Fact and the Facts of Fiction,” *New Criterion* 9, no. 5 (January 1991): 44–53.

97. Alan Dershowitz, “Foreword,” in *The Trial of William Joyce*, 58–59.

98. Menke, “Law and Violence,” 2.

3. VINDICATING THE LAW: H. G. DE LISSER, V. S. REID, AND THE MORANT BAY REBELLION

1. While there are discussions of the rebellion in the Victorian literary and intellectual context, there is to my knowledge only one scholarly work that gathers together twentieth-century literary representations of the Morant Bay rebellion: Rhonda Cobham, “Fictions of Gender, Fictions of Race: Retelling Morant Bay in Jamaican Literature,” *Small Axe* 8 (September 2000): 1–30. Petrina Dacres also discusses the importance of the rebellion, but in the context of visual culture, specifically sculpture: “‘But Bogle Was a Bold Man’: Vision, History, and Power for a New Jamaica,” *Small Axe* 28 (March 2009): 112–134.

2. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 19.

3. Alison Donnell, *Twentieth-Century Caribbean Literature: Critical Moments in Anglophone Literary History* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 83.

4. Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

5. Donnell, *Twentieth-Century Caribbean Literature*, 82.

6. *Ibid.*, 87.

7. For the most extensive treatment and corrective of the previous understanding of the rebellion as a spontaneous riot, see Gad Heuman, *The Killing Time: The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994).

8. Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832–1938* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 299–300.

9. Rande W. Kostal provides an in-depth discussion of the process of inquiry under the JRC and writes that “under pressure of time, having to contend with uncomprehending, incomprehensible, obstinate, or, in one notable case, even menacing witnesses, the JRC questioned 730 people in the course of 60 hearings. Their testimony filled 1,100 large folio pages. The documents and appendices of the final report filled another 600 pages. It took another 41 pages for the JRC to summarize its findings. And although some of these findings later attracted critics, its methods and tenacity in fact-gathering did not. Even the lawyer-scrutineers retained by the Jamaica Committee, the men in the best position to know, did not dispute the fundamental integrity of the investigative process. . . . In the final result, moreover, the hearings generated evidence enough to support the criminal indictments of over a dozen military and civilian officers, including Edward Eyre.” Rande W. Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power: Victorian Empire and the Rule of Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 81–82.

10. *Statement of the Jamaica Committee, Bristol Selected Pamphlets* (1866), 3; contributed by University of Bristol Library, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/60247170>.

11. *Ibid.*, 3–4.

12. For details, see Bernard Semmel, *The Governor Eyre Controversy* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1962).

13. V. S. Reid, “The Writer and His Work: V.S. Reid,” *Journal of West Indian Literature* 1, no. 2 (December 1987): 5.

14. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004).

15. In approaching these works this way, my exploration is influenced by Shalini Puri’s study of Caribbean literature and hybridity theory, which asks,

“First, how does the national impede and/or assist transnational organizing? And second, how do transnational forces help constitute the national?” Shalini Puri, *The Caribbean Postcolonial: Racial Equality, Post-Nationalism, and Cultural Hybridity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 10. Another important thinker of the difficulties and exigencies of negotiating movement in Caribbean as well as Pacific Islands discourses is Elizabeth M. DeLoughrey, who writes that “One of the central but unacknowledged ways in which European colonialism has constructed the trope of the isolated island is by mystifying the importance of the sea and the migrations across its expanse,” and who explores “the complex and shifting entanglement between sea and land, diaspora and indigeneity, and routes and roots.” Elizabeth M. DeLoughrey, *Routes and Roots: Navigating Caribbean and Pacific Island Literatures* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 2.

16. Mervyn Morris, “H. G. de Lisser; the First Competent Caribbean Novelist in English,” *Carib* (January 1979): 18–26.

17. Leah Reade Rosenberg, *Nationalism and the Formation of Caribbean Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 67.

18. *Ibid.*, 64.

19. *Ibid.*, 66.

20. Donnell, *Twentieth-Century Caribbean Literature*, 9.

21. Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson, “*They Do as They Please*”: *The Jamaican Struggle for Cultural Freedom After Morant Bay* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of West Indies Press, 2011), 135.

22. *Ibid.*, 5.

23. H. G. de Lisser, *Revenge: A Tale of Old Jamaica* (Kingston: Gleaner and Co., 1919), 76. Hereafter cited in the text.

24. Nasser Hussain, *The Jurisprudence of Emergency: Colonialism and the Rule of Law* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 17, 21.

25. *Ibid.*, 25.

26. *Ibid.*, 109.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, 113.

29. Nathan K. Hensley offers an extensive critical analysis of the liberal disavowal of the violence of law during the Governor Eyre controversy and discovers a literary rebuttal to this disavowal in the poetics of Charles Swinburne. Nathan K. Hensley, “Form and Excess, Morant Bay and Swinburne,” in *Forms of Empire: The Poetics of Victorian Sovereignty* (unpublished manuscript, 2012).

30. *Statement of the Jamaica Committee*, 11.

31. *Ibid.*, 11–12.

32. Parliamentary Papers, *Royal Commission on Jamaica*, 1:1–3, cited in Catherine Hall, “The Economy of Intellectual Prestige: Thomas Carlyle, John Stuart Mill, and the Case of Governor Eyre,” *Cultural Critique* 12 (1989): 189.

33. Hall, “The Economy of Intellectual Prestige,” 192.
34. Ibid.
35. The most famous of the polemics it inspired was John Jacob Thomas, *Fraudacity* (Philadelphia: Gebbie and Company, 1890).
36. J. A. Froude, *The English in the West Indies; or, The Bow of Ulysses* (New York: Scribner, 1888), 252.
37. Ibid., 235.
38. Ibid., 250–252.
39. Diana Paton, “Obeah Acts: Producing and Policing Boundaries of Religion in the Caribbean,” *Small Axe* 28 (March 2009): 6.
40. Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson, *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865–1920* (University of the West Indies Press, 2004).
41. Patton, “Obeah Acts,” 4.
42. For a discussion of these debates, see Nathaniel Samuel Murrell, *Afro-Caribbean Religions: An Introduction to Their Historical, Cultural, and Sacred Traditions* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010).
43. Ibid., 179.
44. Ibid., 253.
45. Dale Bisnauth, *History of Religions in the Caribbean* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1996), 178.
46. Murrell writes that “while Obeah is often described as a practice for individuals as well as groups, Myal is only described as a religious ceremony, an association based upon corporate duty, which featured charismatic leaders with identifiable groups of adherents” (*Afro-Caribbean Religions*, 251). See also Dianne M. Stewart, *Three Eyes for the Journey: African Dimensions of the Religious Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
47. Bisnauth, *History of Religions in the Caribbean*, 178.
48. Mimi Sheller argues that between 1858 and 1865 “well-developed networks of civil society allowed for the elucidation and articulation of a semi-peasant, semi-proletarian democratic ideology” and demonstrates how the Underhill Convention grew past the confines of Baptist missionaries into Native Baptist quarters with branches throughout the island, which gave rise to the colonial government’s fear of a race consciousness and the mechanisms for distribution and communication to create black publics. Mimi Sheller, *Democracy After Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000, 174). For a reading of how voodoo operated during the Haitian revolution and was used by colonials to deny rational action to black rebellion, see Alan Richardson, “Romantic Voodoo: Obeah and British Culture, 1797–1807,” *Studies in Romanticism* 32, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 3–28.
49. Murrell, *Afro-Caribbean Religions*, 257.

50. *Ibid.*, 252.

51. *Ibid.*, 253

52. *Ibid.*, 256–257.

53. De Lisser revisits the theme of Obeah and reveals the power of Obeah and its effects on femininity in his 1929 novel, *The White Witch of Rosehall*. For an examination of this work in the context of Caribbean literature from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries, see Erin Mackie, “Jamaican Ladies and Tropical Charms,” *Ariel* 37, nos. 2/3 (April–July 2006): 189–219.

54. Froude, *The English in the West Indies*, 250.

55. F. M. Birbalsingh, “The Novels of H. G. de Lisser,” *International Fiction Review* 9 (1982): 46.

56. As Cobham writes, de Lisser “needed the spectre of rape directed specifically at an English-born woman precisely because . . . his novel strives to conflate the interests of the plantocracy with those of the Crown and to portray all whites as solidly behind the version of events he presents . . . Eyre and his men become the protectors of Victorian women’s honour” (*Fictions of Gender, Fictions of Race*, 9).

57. Birbalsingh, “The Novels of H. G. de Lisser,” 46.

58. Vilashini Cooppan, “World Literature and Global Theory: Comparative Literature for the New Millennium,” *symplokē* 9, nos. 1/2 (2001): 33.

59. Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Colony and Metropole in the English Imagination, 1930–1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

60. Simon Gikandi, “Comment,” *Journal of British Studies* 42, no. 4 (October 2003): 510.

61. *The Routledge Reader in Caribbean Literature*, ed. Alison Donnell and Sarah Lawson Welsh (London: Routledge, 1996), 114.

62. V. S. Reid, *New Day* (New York: Knopf, 1949), 360. Hereafter cited in the text.

63. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*, 381. Holt describes some of the problems that attended the 1938 riots: “International developments as well as developments within Jamaica had created an unprecedented unemployment problem. Nations that had absorbed Jamaica’s excess labor force now closed their doors to her migrants. Industries at home that had provided export crops for whole-time and part-time peasants, such as bananas, were now prostrated by plant diseases. Production in the reorganized sugar industry, the focus of much of the recent discontent, was constrained by international trade agreements. Furthermore, the systems governing labor relations had not been modernized and rationalized at the same pace as the technical systems of production. Since there was no systematic representation of the workers’ grievances to management, strikes could be used by extreme elements . . . and by those who were not concerned in the dispute to create disorder” (387).

64. Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 70.

65. *Ibid.*, 83.

66. *Ibid.*, 91.

67. *Ibid.*, 95.

68. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom*.

69. Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 192.

70. In this sense, the liberal position resembles the French response to the Haitian Revolution, as Michel-Rolph Trouillot theorized in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon, 1995). On the problem of recognizing the rebellion as an act by Jamaican rather than English—not even British—subjects, see Ian Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 43–54.

71. This notion of postcolonial, to be distinguished from post-colonial, is articulated by Elleke Boehmer, *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature: Migrant Metaphors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

72. Franco Moretti, *The Modern Epic: The World System from Goethe to García Márquez*, trans. Quintin Hoare (London: Verso, 1996), 51.

73. *Ibid.*, 39.

74. *Ibid.*, 59.

75. M. Keith Booker and Dubravka Juraga, *The Caribbean Novel in English: An Introduction* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2001), 132. Other critics point to both its language and depiction of landscape as proving its “authenticity” as a truly national work. See for example Louis James, “Of Redcoats and Leopards: Two Novels by V.S. Reid,” in *The Islands in Between: Essays in West Indian Literature*, ed. Louis James (London: Oxford University Press, 1968).

76. See Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (New York: Verso, 2007).

77. Moretti, *The Modern Epic*, 238.

78. *Ibid.*

79. M. Vargas Lhosa, *García Márquez: historia de un deicidio* (Barcelona: Baral Editores, 1971), 549; cited in Moretti, *The Modern Epic*, 242.

80. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 26.

81. On the staging of the spiral as key figure of global modernity, see Nico Israel, *Spirals: The Whirled Image in Twentieth-Century Literature and Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

82. On the history of the culture wars’ debates of writing and speaking British English, see Moore and Johnson, “*They Do as They Please*,” 81–107.

83. Reid, “A Writer and His Work,” 5.

84. *Ibid.*

85. *Ibid.*

86. George Lamming, *The Pleasures of Exile* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 45.

87. Ibid.

88. “The experience of going away to the mother country to further one’s education, the movement away, for however short or long a period, was an essential part of the experience of the old wave. The movement away was not only physical but psychic. Vic Reid, who has rarely left Jamaica, was none the less involved in that inner emigration, that Daedalus-Icarus leap out of the old patterns of the colonial emigration into a new consciousness, which all writers caught up in the catalyst of the 1938 populist-national upheaval experienced. Hence the title of his novel *New Day*. The movement away was bolstered up by the clear cut goal of a return to an independent Jamaica, with its own flag and anthem.” Sylvia Wynter, “One Love—Rhetoric or Reality?—Aspects of Afro-Jamaicanism,” *Caribbean Studies* 12, no. 3 (October 1972): 71.

89. F. Cudworth Flint, “Some First Novels: *New Day* by V. S. Reid; *We Fly Away* by Robert Francis; *Lonesome Valley* by Henry Hornsby; *Fire in the Morning* by Elizabeth Spencer; *The Hollow of the Wave* by Edward Newhouse; *The Melodramatists* by Howard Nemerov,” *Sewanee Review* 58, no. 1 (January–March 1950): 146. Other readers found in the language a “naturalness” to which Reid’s own comments on devising contest. “Here was a technical problem of the first importance. Davie, John, Tamah, and the others would seem stiff and unreal were they to speak standard English; yet if they spoke Jamaican how few would understand! . . . He has created a form of speech which is natural to the characters, which is easily understood, and which has extra-ordinary beauty.” P.M.S., “*New Day*, A Novel of Jamaica by V. S. Reid,” *Caribbean Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (April–June 1949): 32.

90. Hussain, *The Jurisprudence of Emergency*, 109.

91. Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power*, 71.

92. For an alternative reading to my own that sees the “epic sweep of the novel” registering the growing divisions between nation and world, urban and rural, see Michael Gilkes, *The West Indian Novel* (Boston: Twayne, 1981). Gilkes argues that “*New Day* is prophetic of the obdurate division between an urban political and social power and a rural economy, between elite and folk. With Garth, the bond between the Campbells and the land is finally broken. He returns from abroad as a legal engine (as Johnny sees him) on which a ‘safety valve’ has been welded, and his aim is political manipulation of the people for their own good. He is aware that he does not know his own people, and his dedication to their betterment is highly tinged with personal rhetoric” (122–123).

93. Reid, “A Writer and His Work,” 5.

94. For a reading of how this functioned in the cultural politics of commemoration, see Dacres, “But Bogle Was a Bold Man.”

95. Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 13.

96. On the theorization of this difference, see Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

97. V. S. Reid, *Sixty-Five* (Port-of-Spain: Longman Caribbean, 1968), 99. Hereafter cited in the text.

98. Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity*, 166.

99. Hussain, *The Jurisprudence of Emergency*, 108.

4. TESTIMONY AND THE CRISIS OF THE JURIDICAL ORDER IN NGŪGI WA THIONG'O'S *A GRAIN OF WHEAT*

1. See for example Seok-Ho Lee, “Ngūgi’s Postcolonial Aesthetic Experiments: *A Grain of Wheat* and *Petals of Blood*,” *British and American Fiction* 16, no. 2 (2009): 125–148; Olawale Awosika, “The Modernist Legacy in African Fiction: The Examples of Soyinka and Ngūgi,” *Ekpoma Journal of Languages and Literary Studies* 2 (2004): 15–22; David Ker, *The African Novel and the Modernist Tradition* (Ibadan: Mosuru, 2003); Harry Sewall, “Writing from the Periphery: The Case of Ngūgi and Conrad,” *English in Africa* 30, no. 1 (May 2003): 55–69; Keith Carabine, “‘No Action is Simple’: Betrayal and Confession in Conrad’s *Under Western Eyes* and Ngūgi’s *A Grain of Wheat*,” in *Conrad at the Millennium: Modernism, Postmodernism, Postcolonialism*, ed. Gail Fincham et al. (Boulder, Colo.: Social Science Monographs, 2001), 233–271; Byron Caminero-Santangelo, “Neocolonialism and the Betrayal Plot in ‘A Grain of Wheat’: Ngūgi wa Thiong’o’s Revision of *Under Western Eyes*,” *Research in African Literatures* 29, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 139–152; and Alissa Hamilton, “The Construction and Deconstruction of National Identities Through Language in the Narratives of Ngūgi wa Thiong’o’s *A Grain of Wheat* and Joseph Conrad’s *Under Western Eyes*,” *African Languages and Cultures* 8, no. 2 (1995): 137–151.

2. Ngūgi wa Thiong’o, *A Grain of Wheat* (London: Heinemann, 1967), 23. All references are to the original edition, unless noted, and any discrepancies that do appear between passages cited are discussed.

3. Marshall Clough, “Mau Mau and the Contest for Memory,” in *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority, and Narration*, ed. E. S. Atieno Odhiambo and John Lonsdale (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 2003), 255.

4. Simon Gikandi argues that *A Grain of Wheat* displays an ambivalence between irony and allegory, which he defines as despairing and hopeful perspectives toward a postcolonial future in Kenya: “the romance of the land and the prophetic narrative have now given in to a self-conscious ironic discourse.” Simon Gikandi, *Ngūgi wa Thiong’o* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 100. Gikandi elaborates that “if his nationalist leanings make allegory a tempting linguistic figure for representing the past, taking an exact measure of decolonization seems to force him toward modes of narration that privilege

irony as the appropriate form representing complex, contested, and incomplete histories” (108).

5. Caminero-Santangelo, “Neocolonialism and the Betrayal Plot in *A Grain of Wheat*,” 146. Peter Nazareth also proposes that Mugo’s confession must be read in contrast to Razumov’s confessions in *Under Western Eyes*: “Razumov’s confession does not have a positive impact on anybody while Mugo’s confession shows others the way. For if he was so courageous as to lay open his terrible secret before all, can others not bare their souls to one another?” Peter Nazareth, “Is *A Grain of Wheat* a Socialist Novel?” in *Critical Perspectives on Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o*, ed. G. D. Killam (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents, 1984), 251.

6. “He was Polish, born in a country and a family that had known only the pleasures of domination and exile. He had learnt English late in life and yet he had chosen to write in it, a borrowed language, despite his fluency in his native tongue and in French. And what is more he had made it to the great tradition of English literature. Was he not already an image of what we, the new African writers, like the Irish writers before us, Yeats and others, could become?” Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedom* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1993), 6.

7. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2005), 76.

8. Ngũgĩ of course writes at length about the problems of writing in English, especially in his “farewell” text to English, *Decolonizing the Mind*. Evidence for the novel’s formal staging as an attempt at overcoming its own limiting condition is that following the composition of this novel, Ngũgĩ undergoes a “crisis”: “The English language opened the door to a wide range of fiction and it was this that eventually led me to the English department at Makerere in 1959 and hence to the kind of writing which climaxed in *Petals of Blood* which was published in 1977. But I was becoming increasingly uneasy about the English language. After I had written *A Grain of Wheat* I underwent a crisis. I knew whom I was writing about but whom was I writing for? The peasants whose struggles fed the novel would never read it. In an interview in 1967 with *Union News*, a student newspaper in Leeds University, I said: ‘I have reached a point of crisis. I don’t know whether it is worth any longer writing in English’” (*Decolonizing the Mind*, 72). Other of his writings that address the same subjects, the Mau Mau rebellion, counterinsurgency, and betrayal are written before this turning point and do not use the formal techniques that *A Grain of Wheat* uses. Both “The Return” and *Weep Not, Child* explore issues of detention through a much more linear narrative structure, foregrounding problems of witnessing and trauma in plot rather than through narrative strategies we find in Ngũgĩ’s later novels.

9. Ngũgĩ, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 16.

10. Ibid., 76.

11. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, “Writing Against Neo-colonialism,” in *African Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, ed. Tejumola Olaniyan and Ato Quayson (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2007), 160.

12. Ibid., 161.

13. Ibid.

14. See David Maughan-Brown, *Land, Freedom, and Fiction: History and Ideology in Kenya* (London: Zed, 1985). This line of argument has been recently revived by Brendon Nicholls, *Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, Gender, and the Ethics of Postcolonial Reading* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2010), and is reconfigured in Timothy Bewes’s analysis of the novel, which argues that the failure to accomplish the revolutionary mission is met with shame, which takes over the text: “the expectations of its characters; the categories with which they orient themselves ethically (‘betrayal,’ ‘fidelity,’ ‘madness,’ ‘collaboration,’ ‘sacrifice’; the unified narrative perspective, the linear chronological framing.” Timothy Bewes, *The Event of Postcolonial Shame* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010), 123.

15. Neil Lazarus, “Modernism and African Literature,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, ed. Mark Wollaeger and Matt Etough (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 228–248.

16. Simon Gikandi, “The Short Century: On Modernism and Nationalism,” *New Formations* 51 (2004): 25.

17. See in particular Sewall, “Writing from the Periphery,” and Kenneth Harrow, “Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s *A Grain of Wheat*: Season of Irony,” *Research in African Literatures* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 243–263.

18. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009), 11.

19. Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 4.

20. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, *A Grain of Wheat*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Heinemann, 1986), 103.

21. Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, 11. My emphasis.

22. As James Ogude notes, “in spite of the strong sense of loss, there is also a strong sense of retrieval paralleled by the desire for land restoration. And here land not only means the physical space, but more significantly it signifies the nation. As a physical space, Ngũgĩ embraces the rural topology as the signifier of genuine nationalism.” James Ogude, *Ngũgĩ’s Novels and African History: Narrating the Nation* (London: Pluto, 1999), 48.

23. For a feminist reading of the novel that points out the many ways in which the work conveys a “uterine textual organization” through its depictions of nationhood, see Nicholls, *Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, Gender, and the Ethics of Postcolonial Reading*.

24. Shoshana Felman writes, “The law always attempts to . . . throw a bridge over the abyss . . . by enclosing it within the rationality of its legal categorizations . . . in an attempt to cover up its bottomlessness . . . to assimilate the gap within known categories of the social or political or legal order”; in contrast, “the literary text casts open the abyss so as to let us look, once more, into its depth and see its bottomlessness.” Shoshana Felman, *The Juridical Unconscious: Trials and Traumas in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 95.

25. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), 3.

26. *Ibid.*, 7.

27. *Ibid.*, 122.

28. *Ibid.*, 6.

29. *Ibid.*, 19.

30. *Ibid.*, 123.

31. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, new ed. (New York: Verso, 2006), 86.

32. See for example David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (New York: Norton, 2005); David French, *The British Way in Counter-Insurgency, 1945–1967* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Andrew Mumford, *The Counter-Insurgency Myth: The British Experience of Irregular Warfare* (London: Routledge, 2012).

33. Caroline Elkins, “Detention, Rehabilitation, and the Destruction of Kikuyu Society,” in *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority, and Narration* 194.

34. Achille Mbembe points out the link between the Nazi camps and colonialism: “Taking a historical perspective, a number of analysts have argued that the material premises of Nazi extermination are to be found in colonial imperialism on the one hand, and on the other, in the serialization of technical mechanisms for putting people to death—mechanisms developed between the Industrial Revolution and the First World War.” Achille Mbembe, “Necropolitics,” trans. Libby Meintjes, *Public Culture* 15, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 18. Mbembe cites Enzo Traverso, who connects the development of gas chambers and ovens to “a long process of dehumanizing and industrializing death, one of the original features of which was to integrate instrumental rationality with the productive and administrative rationality of the modern Western world (the factory, the bureaucracy, the prison, the army). Having become mechanized, serialized execution was transformed into a purely technical, impersonal, silent, and rapid procedure. This development was aided in part by racist stereotypes and the flourishing of a class-based racism that, in translating the social conflicts of the industrial world in racial terms, ended up comparing the working

classes and ‘stateless people’ of the industrial world to the ‘savages’ of the colonial world” (18). In addition, Mbembe reminds us that Hannah Arendt points to connections between national socialism and imperialism: “colonial conquest revealed a potential for violence previously unknown. What one witnesses in WWII is the extension to the ‘civilized’ peoples of Europe of the methods previously reserved for the ‘savages’” (23).

35. Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain’s Gulag in Kenya* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005), 49. My emphasis.

36. Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 122.

37. Elkins writes that the figuration of Kikuyu as animals to be eliminated “was everywhere. During a brief stop in Nairobi in the spring of 1954, journalist Anthony Sampson likewise observed what he later called the ‘dehumanization of the enemy’ by local settlers and colonial officials. ‘I heard it everywhere I went,’ he said. ‘How many Kukes had to be gotten rid of, how many Kukes did you wink today. [It was] almost like they were talking about big game hunting’” (*Imperial Reckoning*, 49). Joanna Lewis demonstrates how the British press’s coverage of the Emergency in the 1950s presented, through photographic “evidence,” the characterization of the Mau Mau as inhuman savages while also rearticulating the Emergency from a state of exception to a situation in which colonial officers operated under the codes of civil law (“The British Popular Press and the Demoralization of Empire,” in *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority, and Narration*).

38. Agamben, *Homo Sacer*, 170.

39. Bethwell A. Ogot explains that “Baring’s plans for defeating the Mau Mau were contingent upon . . . Oliver Lyttelton, and his assurance that all Mau Mau irreconcilables would be detained indefinitely. The governor estimated that at least 12,000 detainees would never be redeemed, and instead exiled to remote camps. When Whitehall began drafting post-Emergency legislation, however, it realized that Article 5 of the Geneva Convention on human rights, with its provision of no detention without trial, would undermine Lyttelton’s promise. Whereas Kenya could derogate from the conventions because a formal public Emergency existed during Mau Mau, it could not do so once the Emergency was lifted. As early as 1955 the Colonial Office realized it could not endorse large-scale detention after the Emergency. Ultimately, the Kenya government was assured of London’s support in drafting indefinite exile legislation for a limited number of Mau Mau politicals, provided all other detainees were passed through the Pipeline. In effect, London was willing to derogate from the conventions, but only for those few detainees—specifically the alleged Mau Mau intelligentsia—who misled the Kikuyu masses and whose release would surely compromise the viability of continued colonial rule in Kenya” (“Mau Mau and Nationhood: The Untold Story,” in *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority, and Narration*, 213).

40. Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004), 51.

41. *Ibid.*, 52.

42. *Ibid.*, 55.

43. Elkins has examined the structure of policing and law enforcement during the Emergency and shown how it was decentralized. This unaccountability of functionaries who operate like sovereigns by virtue of Emergency regulations was historically anticipated by and constituted through the British empire's policies in Africa before the Emergency. "The most defining characteristic of British colonial governance in Africa . . . was the looseness of its decentralized control. While there was a strong consensus for the British imperial mission, there were never any hard and fast rules about how this mission be carried out on the ground" (*Imperial Reckoning*, 7).

44. Initially critics, most famously the historian William Ochieng, criticized Ngũgĩ for failing to document accurately the era of the Emergency. Carol M. Sicherman's influential essay from 1989 was the first to question historians' criticism by reading the novel's interweaving of fiction and historical detail as a motivated effort to integrate personal histories into a national history: Carol M. Sicherman, "Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and the Writing of Kenyan History," *Research in African Literatures* 20, no. 3 (Autumn 1989): 347–370. Since then, others have provided varied, nuanced readings of the aesthetico-political uses of history in the text. See Kathy Kessler, who develops the implications of the novel's formal presentation of contesting histories: Kathy Kessler, "Rewriting History in Fiction: Elements of Postmodernism in Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's Later Novels," *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 25, no. 2 (April 1994): 75–90; Robert Spencer, who claims that the novel's device of polyphony enables an excavation of subaltern agency inaccessible from the perspective of conventional historiography: Robert Spencer, "'This Zone of Occult Instability': The Utopian Promise of the African Novel in the Era of Decolonization," *New Formations* 47 (June 2002): 69–86; Tej N. Dhar, who investigates the "history-fiction interface" neglected by earlier critics: Tej N. Dhar, "Ngũgĩ's Retrospective Gaze: The Shape of History in *A Grain of Wheat*," *Kunapipi* 29, no. 1 (January 2007): 173–183; and Seok-Ho Lee, who challenges the scholarly overvaluation of the documentary at the expense of the aesthetic dimensions of the text ("Ngũgĩ's Postcolonial Aesthetic Experiments: *A Grain of Wheat* and *Petals of Blood*"). Ngũgĩ himself recently suggested that the protocols of documentary journalism were inadequate to the histories he wanted to tell, and he implies that these histories required the imaginative qualities of fiction writing: "As an undergraduate at Makerere, completely outside the classroom, I started contributing articles to the Kenyan press. . . . But despite the quantity and variety of issues tackled, I never felt that my literary journalism had made me come to grips with the whirlwind any more than I

had through the class essay. How could an article really capture the complexity of what I had experienced in colonial Kenya?” Ngūgi wa Thiong’o, *Globalec-tics: Theory and the Politics of Knowing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 17. He addresses here events represented in *A Grain of Wheat*, “horror stories of white officers collecting ears, noses, eyes, genitalia, or even heads of the vanquished as trophies” (17) and mentions also Hola camp, fictionalized in the novel.

45. “Screening is the one word in Kikuyuland today that is synonymous with British colonial rule during Mau Mau. In recounting their days in the detention camps and barbed wire villages, Kikuyu men and women never translate screening into their own language. Instead, they pause in their Kikuyu or Kiswahili and enunciate the English word *screening* in a slow, deliberate, colonial British accent. This is because there is no word in Kikuyu or Kiswahili that captures the same meaning” (Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning*, 62).

46. Ngūgi wa Thiong’o, *Detained: A Writer’s Prison Diary* (London: Heinemann, 1981), 43.

47. *Ibid.*, 61.

48. *Ibid.*, 14.

49. *Ibid.*, 13–14.

50. *Ibid.*, 40.

51. Jean-François Lyotard, *The Differend: Phrases in Dispute*, trans. Georges Van Den Abbeele (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 9.

52. *Ibid.*

53. Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning*, 27.

54. *Ibid.*, 27–28. This is true for both Elkins, who admits that even with all her extensive research she has only “scratched the surface” of oathing, and for the civilians and insurgents who pledged the oaths.

55. *Ibid.*, 28.

56. *Ibid.*, 26.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Nicholls, *Ngūgi wa Thiong’o, Gender, and the Ethics of Postcolonial Reading*, 94.

59. Harry Sewlall highlights the prevalence of silence, “a phenomenon so frequently portrayed in the novel as to lead one back to speculation on the universe in which the silence is set,” and this, he maintains, is “the universe of the concentration camp” (“Writing from the Periphery: The Case of Ngūgi and Conrad,” 257). In addition to Nazareth and Caminero-Santangelo, who read Mugo’s confession as the mark of a hopeful future because it corrects silences and miscommunications, Kenneth Harrow also maintains that the silence and irony driving the work are repressive and, like Sewlall, contends that these reflect the concentration camp (“Ngūgi wa Thiong’o’s *A Grain of Wheat*: Season of Irony”).

60. Ngũgĩ, *Detained*, 61.

61. *Ibid.*, 14.

62. Lyotard, *The Differend*, 13.

63. Ngũgĩ, *Decolonizing the Mind*, 76.

64. For example, see Spencer, “‘This Zone of Occult Instability’”; Delia Krause, “*A Grain of Wheat*: Ngũgĩ’s Tribute to the Armed Rebellion,” *Wasafiri* 9 (December 1988): 6–10; Hamilton, “The Construction and Deconstruction of National Identities”; and Gikandi, who argues the structure implies that “postcolonial attempts to produce a stable and collective narrative about the past are bound to flounder in the face of competing interpretations, desires, and recollections” (*Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o*, 116), and maintains the most pressing issue is not whether one can access some “true history” but instead “what character and value this history acquires in its remembering, figuration, and retelling” (*Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o*, 118). Gikandi does not focus on precisely how this figuration and retelling take place, but I contend it is crucial to reading the ethics of responding to history to examine precisely how this happens.

65. Paul de Man, “Semiology and Rhetoric,” in *Allegories of Reading: Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979), 3–19.

66. Sigmund Freud, “The Uncanny,” in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, trans. James Strachey (London: Hogarth, 1953), 17:241.

67. Authors who address this systematically include Sarah Kofman, Luce Irigaray, and Jacques Derrida. See Sarah Kofman, *The Enigma of Woman: Woman in Freud’s Writings*, trans. Catherine Porter (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985); Luce Irigaray, *An Ethics of Sexual Difference: This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter and Carolyn Burke (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985), and *Speculum of the Other Woman*, trans. Gillian C. Gill (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985); Jacques Derrida, *Spurs: Nietzsche’s Styles/Eperons: Les Styles de Nietzsche*, trans. Barbara Harlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). For postcolonial responses to this critical tradition, see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, “Displacement and the Discourse of Woman,” in *Displacement: Derrida and After*, ed. Mark Krupnik (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983); “French Feminism in an International Frame,” in *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1987), 134–153; “Feminism and Deconstruction, Again” and “French Feminism Revisited: Ethics and Politics,” in *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

68. Spivak does this to show the usefulness of the uncanny for planet thinking rather than globe thinking. See Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Death of a Discipline* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), chap. 3.

69. Nicholls, *Ngũgi wa Thiong'o, Gender, and the Ethics of Postcolonial Reading*, 86.

70. Freud, "The Uncanny," 224.

71. This argument is threaded in different ways throughout various readings of gendering in the novel. See in particular Charles Nama, "Daughters of Moombi: Ngũgi's Heroines and Traditional Gikuyu Aesthetics," in *Ngambika: Studies of Women in African Literature*, ed. Carole Boyce Davies and Anne Adams Graves (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1986), 139–149; and S. W. Perera, "From Mumbi to Wanja: The Emergence of the Woman in Ngũgi's Fiction," *Commonwealth Essays and Studies* 14, no. 2 (1992): 69–78. The strongest riposte to such arguments is Nicholls's thorough reading of gender, nationalism, and subalternity in *Ngũgi wa Thiong'o, Gender, and the Ethics of Postcolonial Reading*.

72. Frantz Fanon, "The Trials and Tribulations of National Consciousness," in *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove, 1963), a chapter Ngũgi has declared required reading in his interviews.

73. Ngũgi, *Globalectics*, 80–81.

74. Ngũgi is sympathetic to Fanon's critique of systemic violence inflicted by colonialism and understands anticolonialism as a structural violence of history that has the function of *Bildung* and therefore (national) independence. But Ngũgi rejects the notion that the historical, structural violence detailed by Fanon (and earlier by Hegel) can be read as Fanon's prescription for, rather than description of, specific acts of violence undertaken by individuals, which produce more physical and mental traumas (*Globalectics*, 24–25).

75. Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 5–6.

76. Montagu Slater writes that Kenyatta's trial "was a political trial of decisive importance to the immediate future of Africa: but this was something the prosecution was anxious to deny." Montagu Slater, *The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta* (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1990), 7. The prosecution wanted to claim *The Queen against Kenyatta and others* was a criminal, not a political case. "To describe it as a state trial would invest it with a halo it does not really possess," Crown Counsel maintained (7). In contrast, the defense maintained that rather than aiming toward truth, the trial was motivated by politics alone. "In his last speech in court Kenyatta argues that 'this case, from our point of view, has been so arranged as to make scapegoats of us in order to strangle the Kenya African Union, the only African political organization which fights for the African people.' In his eyes the trial was a Machiavellian political maneuver. Others went further and hinted that the whole policy behind the Proclamation of Emergency was of a similar character" (14).

77. Ngũgi, *A Grain of Wheat*, rev. ed. 212.

78. Ngũgi was criticized for his representations of violence, which led him to rewrite this scene in the revised version. While most seem to think he excised the rape, a closer look at the ambiguous orchestration of violence sug-

gests he was reluctant to jettison entirely this particular instance of depicted Mau Mau violence. The events are presented once through Koina's abbreviated narrative, which mentions only that "he felled the god with a panga," and once, earlier, through Dr. Lynd's perspective. This retelling suggests Lynd might have been raped but does not claim it directly: "They tied her hands and legs together and gagged her. She waited for them to kill her, for after the initial shock she had resigned herself to death. But what followed was no less cruel and barbaric than if they had killed her. Her dog had barked at the two men. But on seeing the houseboy it wagged its tail and held back its attack. But the houseboy hacked it to pieces" (45).

79. Gikandi, *Ngũgi wa Thiong'o*, 117.

80. Lyotard, *The Differend*, 13.

