CONRAD'S MALAYSIAN FICTION: A NEW STUDY IN SOURCES
WITH AN ANALYSIS OF FACTUAL MATERIAL INVOLVED

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Bibliography
Joseph Conrad died in 1924. The decades immediately following the death of a prominent author naturally form an active period of research into the content and method of his work. Centuries of experience have taught literary critics that, no matter how self-revealing a writer may be, he cannot be judged with absolute fairness while he lives. His very presence prevents an entirely just view of him. After he is gone, bias and restraint are gradually removed, criticism becomes open and aggressive. This process is an inevitable step toward the eventual placement of him where he belongs in literary history.

The sooner this procedure begins for Conrad, the better: for, the closer we are to his life, the greater is the mass of available material about him and his time. In a few years more, his whole era will be definitely of the past. Before the light shed by his life and time grows dimmer, it is important to examine his work. Thus, in these years of the trial of his worth, studies of all phases of Joseph Conrad's work are in order.

Whatever the consensus of opinion about a well-known writer at the time of his death, it rarely remains the same long afterward. This reaction is but part of the evaluation
of the author, and it even hastens the attainment of fair judgment. After a struggle against indifference and disapproval, Conrad rose to a place among the first writers of his day. A reaction depriving him of some glory may now be expected and has occurred. When Richard Curle wrote in 1925 of "the high genius of his [Conrad's] creation", he was expressing what was then accepted as true. By 1935 there could appear in a history of English literature the statement that "he [Conrad] is doubtlessly [sic] not one of the great creative geniuses". Richard Curle, whose admiration for Conrad has not waned, has since written: "A novelist such as Miss Rose Macaulay may declare that 'Conrad's ship is already sinking below the horizon', but, as a friend of mine puts it, 'It will circumnavigate the globe and reappear before Miss Macaulay's astonished eyes'. Whatever present opinion, any writer who has attained the prominence accorded Conrad only a decade ago demands careful evaluation in every possible way. Assuming responsibility for part of that evaluation is not a task for which one need apologize.

Conrad wrote five novels and twelve short stories.

placed somewhere in that part of the East which includes southeastern Asia and the island world between it and Australia. Most of this fiction is set in the portion of this area ordinarily called "Malaysia". "Malaysia" is an elastic term, usually restricted to the East Indies and the Malay Peninsula, the supposed home of the true Malays, but sometimes stretched to cover sufficient territory to include the settings of Conrad’s Eastern fiction mentioned above—from Madagascar in the west to the Solomon Islands in the east. Although all Conrad’s Eastern fiction has been taken into consideration, this thesis concentrates its attention on his work with the Malaysia of Malays.

Conrad’s Malaysia demands two separate studies. Excepting in "The Lagoon" and in "Kerain", his Malaysian fiction is primarily concerned with Westerners living in the East. The Malay background is used to isolate each western individual whom Conrad wishes to make especially conspicuous and to create situations which determine the course of the main action. No one has yet considered the problem of how Conrad has accomplished this. Whoever is able to solve it will contribute valuably to our knowledge of the means by which Conrad produced the intricately woven patterns of his novels. A study of the background for itself is needed, however, and it is this study that is here undertaken.

If the truth of things had not been of such vital interest to Conrad, the analysis of his *Malaysia* would not be so important. All of the intensity of his nature was focused on presenting the truth about humanity and its earthly background as he saw it. Not only because it was more natural to his genius, but also as if to prevent himself from going astray, he avoided invention and, in the main, held himself to his own experience imaginatively treated. We have become accustomed to discovering that scenes, people, and situations in Conrad's fiction are anything but fictitious. Is this true of his entire Malay background?

Conrad's *Malaysia*, aside from the geography, has been left practically untouched by students. How valuable is it for itself? Is it, in other words, an authentic account of the East of its day? Does it add constructively to the Western knowledge of the nineteenth century East? *Malaysia* has greatly changed since the period of which Conrad wrote. Unless his Malay background is evaluated soon, the difficulty of answering these questions will increase. This thesis is written with that fact in mind.

This study of Conrad's Malay fiction has been divided into two main sections; one on literary sources, and one concerning his treatment of Malaysian geography, history, external life, and psychology. Two important literary sources for Conrad's *Malaysia* have been discovered: the journals of Sir James Brooke, first Rajah of Sarawak, in
which is a veracious account of north Bornean affairs in the 1830's and 1840's; and The Malay Archipelago, that storehouse of authentic information of mid-century Malay life which was written by the well-known Victorian scientist, Alfred Wallace. For convenience, the materials from these two sources are presented first, and, after them, the subjects which comprise the study of the general background.
I

The Contributions of James Brooke and Alfred Wallace to Conrad's Malaysian Fiction

It is generally believed that Joseph Conrad grounded his fiction upon his own experience. He himself has been mainly responsible for this impression, for he has assured us repeatedly that experience, not invention, formed his materials. In the preface to The Arrow of Gold he admitted that his "inventive faculty was never very strong" and that, in writing the book, he was "plucking the fruit of memory". He added, "This being the product of my private garden my reluctance can be easily understood". One's literary life must turn frequently for sustenance to memories and seek discourse with the shades. These are words from A Personal Record, a book in which he further emphasized his method in the following paragraph:

Only in men's imagination does every truth find an effective and undeniable existence. Imagination, not invention, is the supreme master of art as of life. An imaginative and exact rendering of authentic memories may serve worthily that spirit of piety towards all things human which sanctions the conceptions of a writer of tales, and the emotion of the man reviewing his own experience.

2. Ibid., p. 7.
3. Ibid., p. 7.
Not only did he explain in his essays, *Notes on Life and Letters*, prefaces, and *A Personal Record* his method of treating experience imaginatively, but frequently he also presented the memories themselves to his readers. Thus, *A Personal Record* contains the incident of his meeting with Almayer, who was later to become the central figure of *Almeyer's Folly*, at Bulungan on the Kajen River, which names he changed to "Sambir" on the "Kantai". The "Author's Note" to *An Outcast of the Islands* records what Conrad knew of the man who became his Willema, and the originals of Heyst, Lena, Jones, Ricardo, and Pedro are all indicated in the "Author's Note" to *Victory*.

Since Conrad's death his own statements have been corroborated and enlarged through research, particularly through that of Georges Jean-Aubry, the results of which are to be found in his biography, *Joseph Conrad, Life and Letters*. For example, through Jean-Aubry the origins of Babmatchi and Lakamba, of Tom Lingard, and of Abdullah, among many, are made clear.

Conrad's experience in the East was, however, insufficiently extensive to furnish him with his entire Malay material. Two other possible sources of information remained.

1. pp. 74-88.
He could, for one, adjust to his purposes incidents which came to him through personal conversation with others familiar with Eastern life. His remarkable memory apparently retained conversations almost exactly as they had been spoken. Jean-Aubry constantly emphasized the accuracy of these recollections. This faculty helps to explain the swiftness with which, as an adult, he learned English, and is responsible for the astonishingly varied types of conversation and even dialects which he was able to reproduce faithfully in his books.

Conrad's most important Malay experience was gained while he acted as mate on the S.S. Vidar under the command of the man known to us only as Captain C--. Jean-Aubry informs us that in 1916 Captain C-- chanced on a book called Almayer's Folly and recognized the "nickname he himself had given to the house of his Almayer at Sulungen. He bought it and saw at once that it was the work of his first officer, recognizing in it, too, many of the talks they had had together".  

In Last Essays is to be found an incident which, used twice in his fiction, forms another example of Conrad's adjustment of reported Malay life to his purpose. It concerns "The Sultan of Perak, or perhaps his brother ruler next door in Selangor, [who], having listened attentively to a

lecture from a "British Admiral on the heinousness of a certain notable case of piracy, turned round quickly to his attending chiefs and to the silent throng of his Malay subjects, exclaiming, 'Hear now, my people! Don't let us have any more of this little game'."¹ This incident was readjusted for a line in Lord Jim: "Nobody seemed to breathe even; no one made a sound till the old "ajah sighed faintly, and looking up, with a toss of his head, said quickly, 'You hear, my people! No more of these little games'."² Again, Conrad used it in The Rescue: "'And I also would pay,' says he, 'if you let me have a few guns and a little powder for my men. You and I shall share the loot of that ship outside, and Tuan Lingard will not know. It is only a little game.'"³ To call an act of piracy "a little game" seemed to Conrad so amusingly characteristic of the Malay mind that he not only placed it in Last Essays, but twice fitted it into the patterns of his novels.

Books formed his remaining possible source of information. Jean-Aubry⁴ tells us that Conrad's lonely childhood, spent in exile after his father's arrest in 1863, was enlivened only by his love of books. As the son of a writer

³. p. 173.
and a member of a cultivated and aristocratic family, he had a natural taste for literature which his early solitary life favored and developed. We know well, from his essays and letters, that Conrad was an extensive reader during his later life as an author. Although the only book on the East Indies which we know through direct evidence that he read is Alfred Wallace’s *Malay Archipelago*, it is reasonable to conclude that his interest in the area led him to examine whatever came to hand about it.

Two of the best known authorities of his day on Malay life were Sir James Brooke, part of whose journals were included in books by various writers on Borneo, and Alfred Wallace, who wrote *The Malay Archipelago*. There is evidence that Conrad borrowed material from them both to reinforce the Malaysian knowledge which he had gained by more direct means.

The question is, how much information about Malaysia did Conrad’s personal experience in the East furnish him, and how much remained to be acquired elsewhere? His experience, compressed to a few paragraphs from Jean-Cléry’s long account, is as follows:

In 1874, Joseph Conrad, then seventeen years of age, entered the French Marine service and spent most of his time

until 1878 on the Mediterranean. He formed a close association with Dominic Cervoni (Tom Lingard was a partial portrait of him), and they engaged in the Carlist movement together. He saw Dominic Cervoni first in 1877 during a West Indies voyage on which he met the originals of the future Jones, Ricardo, and Pedro of Victory.

He began his life on English ships in 1878 with the coaster, The Skimmer of the Seas, and that same year, as a common seaman, made his first long eastward voyage on The Duke of Sutherland to Sydney. More Mediterranean service intervened, and he advanced to the position of third mate. Another London to Sydney trip, on the Loch-Etive, with the return around Cape Horn was accomplished before, in 1881, he made his memorable entrance into Malaysia as second mate on the Palestine. This trip, with all its aggravations, is fully and exactly described in "Jouth", in which story the Palestine becomes the Judea. The route taken looped the Cape of Good Hope and crossed the Indian Ocean to the Indies. When in the middle of the Indian Ocean, the Palestine caught afire, and eventually had to be abandoned. Her destination had been Bangkok, but the entire crew in small boats landed on an island off Java—probably near Java Head. Fifteen days later Conrad was in Singapore, from whence he returned to England as a passenger through the Malacca Straits, described in "The End of the Tether", stopping at Penang, a city occasionally mentioned in his narratives.
In 1883, after he had passed the examinations which entitled him to act as first mate, he went aboard the *Berndale* as far into the East as Madras. There he joined the *Narcissus* and returned by way of Bombay. During 1885-1886, he went to Singapore and returned on the *Tilkhurst*. He then while in London obtained his British certificate of naturalization and that same year passed his captaincy examinations.

As first mate on the *Highland Forest*, he sailed for Samarang, Java, in 1887. Owing to an injury received on the way, he left the boat at her destination and went on to Singapore where he spent three weeks in the hospital. The skipper of the *Highland Forest* lives in literature as the Captain John McWhirr of Conrad's "Typhoon". The Java experiences helped him with the backgrounds of *Lord Jim* and *Victory*.

In August he met Captain C-- of the S.S. *Vider* for whom he became second mate. From him Conrad probably learned the bulk of what he knew of Malaysian native life and of the Europeans who settled on or drifted among the Indies. The *Vider* belonged to the Arab, Sayed Mosin bin S.Ali Jaffree, and was a trader under the Dutch flag. Contact with Sayed Mosin's elder son, Abdulls, produced the Abdulla of *Almayer's Folly* and *An Outcast of the Islands*.

Each trip required three weeks. Conrad made five or six in all. The *Vider* left Singapore, the great Eastern city touched so often by bits of Conrad's narrative, and
steamed south through the area of the Seven Isles, one of which was the home of Freya. The boat then crossed the Carimata Sea, closely associated with The Rescue, skirted the "Shore of Refuge", and stopped at Banjarmessim in south Borneo. She took on coal at Pulo Laut, mentioned in Lord Jim, and the island near which on one of these voyages, the Vidar rescued a runaway slave from an almost swamped canoe, an incident which probably helped form the account of Babalachi's wanderings in the Outcast. Ports in west Celebes, such as Macassar and Donggola, and in east Borneo, such as Coti Broeuw and Bulungan, the Sambir of the stories, were visited before the return by the same route. In Bulungan Conrad discovered Almeyer and Willems. Babalachi and Lakamba were Celebes merchants at Coti Broeuw.

The Tiger Islands, south of Celebes, became the scene for Samburan in Victory. On board the Vidar Conrad met Jim and Tom Léngard. Jim's appearance was borrowed for Lord Jim, and Tom, his uncle, a Captain Léngard (with added characteristics from Dominic Cervoni and others) developed into the great "ajah Laut.

The Shadow Line relates how a mood forced Conrad suddenly to toss up the Vidar berth and forsake the route that had given him his richest material for his Malaysian stories. Like "Youth" The Shadow Line is autobiographical, and it tells exactly how Conrad won his first captaincy and of his trip to Bangkok to meet his boat, the Utago. That was in
1888. Bangkok and the Siamese Gulf gave him themes for "Falk" and "The Secret Sharer". After encountering the misfortunes of a sea-calm and of a contagious disease which spread among the sailors while the Otago was in the Gulf of Siam, just as narrated in The Shadow Line, Conrad with his crew stopped at Singapore for three weeks' recovery before continuing to Sydney. He had cargo for Mauritius and persuaded the ship owners to allow him to take it by the difficult, unused way of the Torres Strait through the Arafura Sea, a trip on which part of "A Smile of Fortune" was based. The delight Conrad took in this departure from the usual route is told in "Geography and Some Explorers" in Last Essays.

Jean-Aubry, in emphasizing the importance of the Vidar experience of August 22, 1887 to January 5, 1888, wrote that, "Besides the captain and Conrad, the crew consisted of two European and one Chinese engineer, a second mate, Mahamat, eleven Malayans, eighty-two Chinamen; the latter were used for loading and unloading at various ports... It was during these voyages that he made the acquaintance of Almayer, also of Willemse, Abdulle, Jabelatchi, Lakamba, and Tom and Jim Lingard, characters who figure either in Almayer's Folly, or in An Outcast of the Islands, or in Tales of Unrest, or in Lord Jim; and it was during these voyages that he absorbed that Malayan local colour which is so marked a feature in such work as "Karain" and "The
Lagoon”. He made friends with his captain, and from him learnt many facts about the Maley Archipelago and the lives of its inhabitants. Captain C--had navigated the dangerous rivers of the islands for ten years and had come into contact with European, half-caste, Arab, and Malayan traders. Few men could have been better qualified than he to enlighten the curiosity of his mate. Conrad’s curiosity was keen, his memory retentive, and his habit of brooding over what he had seen and heard was unsuspected by his companions. Years afterward Captain C--told me he had been astonished to find, on reading the books, how completely Conrad had penetrated the spirit of these places and how thoroughly he had understood the characters of the men he had met. He had been there a very short time, yet he had reproduced places and men with amazing accuracy and vividness.”

We do not know that we have full information about Conrad’s travels. He may not have reported all the departures which he personally made from the main routes of his ships. We are reasonably certain, however, that his chief experience was gained along the coasts of Borneo, Celebes, the Maley Peninsula, and Siam, and that he touched points in Java. Most of his fiction deals with these parts. We do not know that he was acquainted with the west coast of Zumatra, the setting of Patusan of Lord Jim, nor with Bali, home of Dain Maroole of Almayer’s Folly, nor with Timor,

where part of Victory took place. He may or may not have seen the Malaya of the "Planter of Malaya" on his venture from Australia through the Torres Straits. It is most probable that part of his geographical settings lie beyond the region of his own experience.

As far as we know, he visited only the coastal areas of the islands and the trading posts up navigable rivers. He rarely mentioned the island interiors in his fiction. His acquaintance with native people was probably confined to those on board ship and those along shore. We have no record of his having formed intimate connections with them which would bring him into close contact with their private lives. In fact, he disclaimed any extensive knowledge of Malaya. He wrote to Sir High Clifford, who has become one of the authorities on Malay life, "I appreciate the more the kind things you say in your letter because I suspect my assumption of Malay colouring for my fiction must be exasperating to those who know."¹

It is improbable, moreover, that Conrad learned the Malay language beyond what was necessary for his connection with Malay seamen and traders. In A Personal Record Conrad wrote of the Rajah of Dongola talking to Captain C—about Almayer. "At least I heard his [Almayer's] name pronounced several times in a lot of talk in Malay Language."²

² p. 75.
Apparently the bulk of the conversation was unintelligible to him. With his knowledge limited to the trade Malay, he would be definitely handicapped. His remarkably keen observation would assure him a clear conception of the externals of the life about him, but without the language, he could not hope to penetrate far into the Malay mind. Thus it is only reasonable to suppose that he arrived at a number of his conclusions about Malays and Malaysia through his reading about them. It now devolves upon us to discover what books were especially helpful to Conrad.

Probably the most romantic and attractive Western figure connected with the history of Borneo is Sir James Brooke. East and West alike owe much to the accomplishments of the only white Haji in the East Indies.

James Brooke's life spanned the years from 1803 to 1868. He was the son of a well-to-do Britisher of the East India service, and much of his early life was spent in India. He followed in his father's steps, and as a youth of twenty-two he was active in the Burmese War. He was seriously wounded and was sent to England to recover. He overstayed his furlough, quite accidentally because of shipwreck, but was dismissed nevertheless. He became heir to a good-sized fortune and decided to devote himself to civilizing Malay life. Then came a period in Sir James Brooke's life that must have appealed particularly to Conrad. He bought a yacht and took his crew of twenty men on a three years'
training cruise in the Mediterranean Sea. In October, 1838, he sailed for Borneo, where he immediately assisted Muda Hassim, the uncle of the Sultan of Borneo, in a war against rebel Sarawak tribes. He worked toward and received the title of Rajah of Sarawak. He was an ardent reformer. He conquered piracy in north Borneo, introduced free trade, made head-hunting illegal, and established just courts. England was slow to see the value of his work and to assist him. As late as 1857, his position as Governor of Labuan was taken from him because of charges, never proved, made against him in Parliament. He lost his home and nearly his life in his fight against opium-smuggling Chinese.

In 1840, Brooke wrote in his Journal, "The first voyagers from the West found the natives rich and powerful, with strong established governments and a thriving trade with all parts of the world. The rapacious European has reduced them to their present condition. Their governments have been broken up; the old states decomposed by treachery, by bribery, and intrigue; their possessions wrested from them under flimsy pretences; their trade restricted, their vices encouraged, their virtues repressed, and their energies paralysed or rendered desperate till there is every reason to fear the gradual extinction of the Malay races."

As an idealist he strove toward the restoration of Malay energies and virtues. By December 31, 1841, he was able to write:

From the time of the accession to the government to this date, I have remained quietly at Sarawak, gradually informing myself of the capabilities and requirements of the country. What I have already been enabled to do in the work of improving the condition of the Nyaks, is consolatory. I have obtained the release of the wives and children of the Siniswana, more than a hundred in number, so long detained by the rajah, and I have arrested a party in the interior whilst engaged in plundering sago from an inoffensive tribe; and even should my influence in the country at large effect nothing beyond saving the lives and property of the weak and persecuted, I shall yet have been well employed, and may pillow my head with this reflection, when the mere gifts of fortune would not afford the same feeling of pure gratification. I have also succeeded in opening a regular court of justice, at which I preside, assisted by the rajah's brothers and by the Patini and Tumongong, and my arrangements appear to give satisfaction to the natives. Difficulty following difficulty; the dread of pecuniary failure; the doubt of receiving support or assistance: this and much more presents itself to my mind. But I have tied myself to the stake: I have heaped faggots around me. I stand upon a cask of gunpowder, and if others bring the torch I shall not shrink. I feel within me the firm, unchangeable conviction of doing right, which nothing can shake. I see the benefit I am conferring. The oppressed, the wretched, the enslaved, have found in me their only protector. They now hope and trust; and they shall not be disappointed whilst I have life to uphold them. God has so far used me as a humble instrument of his hidden Providence, and whatever be the result, whatever my fate, I know the example will not be thrown away. I know it tends to a good end in His own good time.

Delay and indecision on the part of the British to whom

he appealed for help nearly drove him distracted. His project, unlike that of Tom Lingard and of Lord Jim, Conrad's idealistic adventurers (in contrast to his Browns and Joneses), was so vast that his own fortune and ingenuity became insufficient. In desperation he wrote in his Journal, May 21, 1845:

For two years our supporters have been living on hope. They see us come and go without any good resulting ... we neither support their government nor do we attack the pirates, who threaten the very existence of Borneo, defying the power of the British. Is it then surprising that our party hesitates, trembles, and doubts our ability or our will to assist them? Is it surprising that Pangeran Usop disbelieves our power to support, and is enabled to shake the public mind? Will it be surprising if he attacks, and, with Usop's aid, takes Brunei? Yet how deep will be the shame and disgrace! Budrudeen says he knows not the day when his own life and the raihah's may not be sacrificed. I tremble with inward rage; it preys upon my mind, it affects my body, it paralyses my energy, to be the tool and participator of such mistaken policy. Delay is our ruin."¹

Then victory came, and the entry for August 31, 1845, reads,

Thus is Brunei all our own; thus is the worthiest party firmly established in the saddle [Budrudeen defeated Usop] ... My mind is now at rest about the fate of my friends, but I still consider a man-of-war brig, making her appearance here every month or two, of great importance, for it will be necessary, for the next six months, to consolidate the power of Hassim and Budrudeen, and if, with the new order of things, the people constantly see white faces, and find that they are quiet and inoffensive, that ignorant terror which now prevails will gradually vanish away.²

² Ibid., p. 32.
Such peace of mind did not last long. In the Journal of March 1, 1846, are these words:

Thus in the midst of my peaceful avocations am I obliged, once again, to turn my thoughts to the horrors of war. What a train of reflection does the necessity lead to! Am I, then, really fond of war? This is a question which I ask myself. And I answer—'Certainly!!--for what man is not? And, indeed, what else makes among my countrymen so many sailors and soldiers? But if I ask myself whether I am too fond of war (meaning thereby, I would sacrifice justice to gratify my pugnacious propensity) . . . then my conscience and my entire conduct through life make me boldly reply with a magnificent 'no!'"1

A month later came the catastrophe, wiping out almost the entire family of his closest Malay friends. The blow was so devastating that the recording of it was Brooke's last entry and ends spasmodically:

But the British government will surely act, and if not,—then let me remember, I am still at war with this traitor and murderer—one more determined struggle,—one last convulsive effort,—and, if it fail, Borneo, and all for which I have so long, so earnestly laboured, must be abandoned and ————"2

The "one more determined struggle" eventually resulted in success. Alfred Wallace's tribute sums up Brooke's accomplishments.

Sir James Brooke found the Dyaks oppressed and ground down by the most cruel tyranny. They

were cheated by the Malay traders, robbed by
the Malay chiefs. Their wives and children
were often captured and sold into slavery, and
hostile tribes purchased permission from their
cruel rulers to plunder, enslave, and murder
them. Anything like justice or redress for
these injuries was utterly unattainable. From
the time Sir James obtained possession of the
country, all this was stopped. Equal justice
was awarded to Malay, Chinsman, and Dyak. The
ruthless pirates from the rivers farther east
were punished, and finally shut up within their
own territories, and the Dyak, for the first time,
could sleep in peace. His wife and children were
now safe from slavery; his house was no longer
burned over his head; his crops and his fruits
were now his own to sell or consume as he pleased.
And the unknown stranger who had done all this
for them, and asked for nothing in return, what
could he be? How was it possible for them to
realize his motives? Was it not natural that
they should refuse to believe that he was a man?
For of pure benevolence combined with great power,
they had had no experience among men. They
naturally concluded that he was a superior being,
coming down upon earth to confer blessings on the
afflicted. In many villages where he had not
been seen I was asked strange questions about him.
Was he not as old as the mountains? Could he not
bring the dead to life? And they firmly believe
that he can give them full harvests, and make
their fruit trees bear an abundant crop.

He has effectually protected the Dyaks, and
has invariably treated them as, in his sight, equal
to the Malays, and yet he has secured the affection
and good-will of both. Notwithstanding the
religious prejudices of Mohammedans, he has induced
them to modify many of their worst laws and customs,
and to assimilate their criminal code to that of
the civilized world. That his government still
continues after twenty-seven years--notwithstanding
conspiracies of Malay chiefs, and insurrections of
Chinese gold-diggers, all of which have been over-
come by the support of the native population; and
notwithstanding financial, political, and domestic
troubles--is due, I believe solely to the many ad-
mirable qualities which Sir James Brooke possessed,
and especially to his having convinced the native
population, by every action of his life, that he
ruled them, not for his own advantage but for their good.

Since these lines were written his noble spirit has passed away. But though, by those who knew him not, he may be sneered at as an enthusiastic adventurer, or abused as a hard-headed despot, the universal testimony of everyone who came in contact with him in his adopted country whether European, Malay, or Dyak, will be, that Rajah Brooke was a great, a wise, and a good ruler—a true and faithful friend—a man to be admired for his talents, respected for his honesty and courage, and loved for his genuine hospitality, his kindness of disposition, and his tenderness of heart.

Captain C—with ten years of experience in the Bornean section must have been interested in the Brooke experiment in Sarawak. As we learn from Jean-Aubry, Captain C—talked freely with Conrad, and it is difficult to believe that they never discussed the famous white Rajah. One of the most romantic stories to come out of the East, the rise of the Brooke dynasty must necessarily have come to Conrad’s attention, and probably with most insistence on the Bornean trips. Through Richard Curle we know it to be a fact that Conrad read Alfred Wallace’s *Malay Archipelago*. Wallace was Brooke’s friend and ardent admirer, and he gave sufficient space in his account of Malaysia to Brooke to arouse the curiosity of any attentive reader. Because of his profound interest in Malay affairs, and because it was one of the best authorities on Borneo, well known throughout the Archipelago and England, Conrad could scarcely have

2. *The Last Twelve Years of Joseph Conrad*, Sampson, Low, Marston and Company, London, 1928, p. 120. See below, p. 46.
failed to read Brooke's Journal as published in Captain Mundy's two volumes of selections with his narrative of the *Iris* appended, and in Captain Keppel's book of extracts with his account of the expedition of the *Dido* included. The Brookes still rule in Sarawak. In Conrad's time Sir James' nephew, Charles Johnston Brooke, was Rajah and followed the enlightened methods of his uncle. Most books of Eastern travel written in Conrad's day mentioned the thriving condition of Sarawak and the generous policies of its ruler, but returned to the subject of its founder and delighted in enthusiastic praises of his accomplishments. ¹

It is *The Rescue* that offers proof beyond doubt that Brooke's romantic and devoted life did not escape Conrad's attention. Although Conrad referred to Brooke but once in his writings, and then without mentioning his name, there can be no doubt about the identity of the man of whom he wrote. The description fits no other figure in the history of the Archipelago.

The shallow sea that foams and murmurs on the shores of the thousand islands, big and little, which make up the Malay Archipelago has been for centuries the scene of adventurous undertakings. The vices and virtues of four nations have been

displayed in the conquest of that region that even to this day has not been robbed of all the mystery and romance of its past—and the race of men who had fought against the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the English, has not been changed by the unavoidable defeat. They have kept to this day their love of liberty, their fanatical devotion to their chiefs, their blind fidelity in friendships and hate—all their lawful and unlawful instincts. Their country of land and water—for the sea was as much their country as the earth of their islands—has fallen a prey to the western race—the reward of superior strength if not of superior virtue. Tomorrow the advancing civilization will obliterate the marks of a long struggle in the accomplishment of the inevitable victory.

The adventurers who began that struggle have left no descendants. The ideas of the world changed too quickly for that. But even far into the present century they have had successors. Almost within our own day we have seen one of them—a true adventurer in his devotion to his impulses—a man of high mind and of pure heart, lay the foundation of a flourishing state on the ideas of pity and justice. He recognized chivalrously the claims of the conquered; he was a disinterested adventurer, and the reward of his noble instincts is in the veneration with which a strange and faithful race cherish his memory.

Misunderstood and traduced in life, the glory of his achievement has vindicated the purity of his motives. He belongs to history. But there were others—obscure adventurers who had not his advantages of birth, position, and intelligence; who had only his sympathy with the people of forests and sea he understood and loved so well.

Beyond doubt, then, Conrad knew of Rajah Brooke. It has been assumed that he was also familiar with Brooke's Journal. Are there indications in his fiction which justify the assumption?

1. The Rescue, pp. 3,4.
In the first place, it seems probable that the personality of Brooke, whether known through his diaries or through other means, has left its mark on two of Conrad's characters—Tom Lingard and Lord Jim. Tom Lingard was an illogically developed character, for it does not seem possible that his old age, as presented in Almayer's Folly (1895) and An Outcast of the Islands (1896) could be the natural outcome of his youth, the period seen in The Rescue (1920). In Almayer's Folly (1895) Lingard was depicted as he was at the end of his life. In the Outcast (1896) he was perhaps fifteen years younger. These first two books of Conrad's so present him that he was less suggestive of Brooke than he was later on as a youth in The Rescue (1920). The cause of this change is, I believe, that the character of Brooke gradually impressed Conrad more forcibly, and became more and more clearly the model for Lingard.

The old Tom Lingard took a strong sentimental interest in the Malays. "We would make them happy whether or no, he said, and he meant it. His trade brought prosperity to the young state, and the fear of his heavy hand secured its internal peace for years."

He was not fired with Brooke's unswerving intent to accomplish governmental reform and the bettering of Malay

life in spite of Malays, for he was a trader at heart
and it was the sea that he loved more than the land. Rajah
Laut ("Rajah Sea") was a proper name for him. But although
he eluded Dutch and English law, his nature was fundamentally
honest and even idealistic. His "heavy hand" did not
"secure Sembir's internal peace" entirely that trade might
be good for him. He had Brooke's belief in his own power
to rule the people better than they could rule themselves,
and he had his warm, sincere love of the Indies.

He looked proudly upon his world. With every
passing year he loved more the land, the people,
the muddy river that, if he could help it, would
carry no other craft but the Flash upon its un-
clean and friendly surface. As he slowly werped
his vessel up-stream he would scan with knowing
looks the riverside clearings, and pronounce
solemn judgment upon the prospects of the season's
rice-crop. He knew every settler on the banks be-
tween the sea and Sembir; he knew their wives,
their children; he knew every individual of the
multi-coloured groups that standing on the flimsy
platforms of tiny reed dwellings built over the
water, waved their hands and shouted shrilly: 'O!
Kapel layer! H'ai!' while the Flash swept slowly
through the populated reach, to enter the lonely
stretches of sparkling brown water bordered by the
dense and silent forest, whose big trees nodded
their outspread boughs gently in the faint, warm
breeze—as if in sign of tender but melancholy
welcome. He loved it all: the landscape; the
whispering big trees; the loquacious nipa-palms
that rattled their leaves volubly in the night
breeze, as if in haste to tell him all the secrets
of the great forest behind them. He loved the
heavy scents of blossoms and black earth, that
breath of life and death which lingered over his
brig in the damp air of tepid and peaceful nights.
He loved the narrow and sombre creeks, strangers to sunshine: black, smooth, tortuous—like byways of despair. He liked even the troops of sorrowful-faced monkeys that profaned the quiet spots with capricious gambols and insane gestures of inhuman madness. He loved everything there, animated or inanimated: the very mud of the river-side; the very alligators, enormous and stolid, basking on it with impertinent unconcern. 1

After Almayer's Folly and the Outcast, came Lord Jim, and in the hero, Jim, the reflection of Brooke is seen more clearly. It is possible that as time went on the example of Brooke came to Conrad's mind with increasing insistence. Lord Jim was a Rajah Brooke on a smaller, less powerful scale. When he arrived at Patusan, he found "utter insecurity for life and property was the normal condition. There were in Patusan antagonistic forces, and one of them was Rajah Allang, the worst of the Sultan's uncles, the governor of the river, who did the extorting and the stealing, and ground down to the point of extinction the country-born Malays, who, utterly defenceless, had not even the resource of emigrating". 2 When Jim came, "he appeared like a creature not only of another kind but of another essence. Had they not seen him come up in a cenoe, they might have thought he had descended upon them from the clouds". 3

2. Lord Jim, p. 228.
3. Ibid., p. 229.
After he had conquered the Arabs and settled the Rajah, giving the Bugis settlers a fair chance, and restoring peace to the up country so that "the miserable hunted villagers began to crawl out of the jungle back to the rotting houses",¹ a legend of invulnerability grew about him, and he was fairly the idol of Patusan. These accomplishments resemble Brooke's delivery of the up-country Dyaks from the tyranny of the piratical Malays, and the legends which were formed about him.

When Joseph Conrad insisted on becoming a sailor, he broke the military, literary, and political-leadership traditions of his family. His relatives opposed his desire vigorously, but futilely. Jean-Aubry tells us that their attitude then changed. The correspondence of Conrad's uncle, Thaddeus Bobrowski, is full of encouragement. Conrad must work toward the highest reward in his chosen profession, for, after all, to be a sailor was nearly the same as to be a soldier. Rajah Brooke had been a trained soldier and had commanded a yacht. Jim and Tom Lingard were both the next thing, sailors, and had the "fondness" for a fight that "what man has not", to which Brooke confessed. Tom planned a private war in behalf of Immada and Hassim. Jim's eyes sparkled as he recounted to Marlow his campaign against the Arabs. They were both idealists and fighters, like

¹. Ibid., p. 273.
Rajah Brooke.

The fact that there are three books about Lingard must be very nearly an accident. Almayer's Jolly, of course, was written without thought of any other books, but, on page 24, Conrad explains that, years before, the Arabs had found the river and established a trading post which ruined Almayer's business. The Outcast gives us in detail the story of how that came about through "Willems' treachery to his benefactor, Lingard. Then in the Outcast, page 14, there is mention of Tom's rescuing "the yacht of some big wig from home, somewhere down Carimata way", and that ties this story to The Rescue.

The Lingard of The Rescue (1920) is a much more subtle person than the same man in the other books (1895 and 1896); moreover, the experience told in The Rescue would have prevented him from ever becoming quite as simple as he had appeared in the two earlier books. His whole treatment of the young Sulu girl, later Mrs. Almayer, would have been different--more understanding and enlightened--for the Lingard who had known Mas Immeda would not have been guilty of educating and disposing of his adopted daughter as did Rajah Laut. He was the proud defender of the Malay and would never have said in the tone he used to Afssa, "I am white". Nor would he have felt that a recommendation of superiority. "The sea took him young, fashioned him body

and soul: gave him his fierce aspect, his loud voice, his fearless eyes, his stupidly guileless heart. Generously it gave him his absurd faith in himself, his universal love of creation, his wide indulgence, his contemptuous severity, his straight-forward simplicity of motive and of aim.¹ But after *The Rescue* experience, Tom would not have been so "stupidly guileless", nor would he have retained his "absurd faith in himself". Greater knowledge would have bequeathed him the shattering fear of failure that crops up in Brooke's journals.

¹he Lingard of the first books believed himself competent to manage anyone's life--Almayer's ("Oh, he lives happy as a king. D'ye see, I have them all in my pocket. The rajah is an old friend of mind. My word is law."), Willems' (for whom he confidently assumed responsibility a second time. "I will see this thing through . . . and I will have it all square and shipshape; see if I don't!"), and Joanna's ("Well, I said I would see her through it all right; help Willems to a fresh start and so on . . . I promised to guarantee Willems' good behaviour. We settled all that . . . .")²

³This old Lingard--somehow a little amazing because he is not the outgrowth of his younger self--was "the man of purpose who does not understand and goes on, full of contempt. He never loses his way . . . Lingard had never

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1. An Outcast of the Islands, p. 43.
2. Ibid., p. 40.
3. Ibid., p. 189-190.
hesitated in his life. Why should he? He had been a most successful trader, and a man lucky in his fights, skillful in navigation, undeniably first in seamanship in those seas . . . His experience appeared to him immense and conclusive, teaching him the lesson of the simplicity of life. In life—as in seamanship—there were only two ways of doing a thing—the right way and the wrong way . . . He was only angry with things he could not understand, but for the weaknesses of humanity he could find a contemptuous tolerance.  

Then the experience with Willems began to change this good-natured complacent man "who had boasted of never having regretted a single action of his life". He became a "Lingard doubtful and giving way to doubt, unable to make up his mind and unwilling to act; Lingard timid and hesitating one minute, angry yet inactive the next". "He felt a great emptiness in his heart," and there is real bitterness in his indictment of Willems. "I regret nothing. I picked you up by the waterside, like a starving cat—by God. I regret nothing; nothing that I have done. Abdulla—twenty others—no doubt Hudig himself, were after me. That's business—for them. But that you should . . . Money belongs to him who picks it up and is strong enough to keep it—but this thing is different. It was part of my life . . . I

2. Ibid., p. 235.
3. Ibid., p. 235.
4. Ibid., p. 272.
am an old fool.'”¹ And so with a shout of "'You are my mistake'”², he left Willems to his fate.

Young Lingard at the beginning of The Rescue was a logical character to forerun the old Lingard of the earlier books, "dead to the subtle voices, and blind to the mysterious aspects of the world—the man ready for the obvious, no matter how startling, how terrible or menacing, yet defenseless as a child before the shadowy impulses of his own heart".³

Adventurer that he was, he could not resist the Wajo affair. But once he had the refugees aboard, he wondered, "What on earth am I going to do with them?" He lacked the easily conceived solutions of the old Lingard who would have delighted in having these native charges. But once Lingard agreed to back Pate Hassim, he threw "himself body and soul into the great enterprise" and "had lived in the long intoxication of slowly preparing success".⁵

Young Tom's delicate relations with Pate Hassim and Mas Immada, with Jaffir and Wasub, the complications of the situation (no easy solution through "one right way" is possible here) by the appearance of the yacht, the fact of his love for as complex and alien a person as Edith Travers, the catastrophe when all his hopes were literally exploded, would

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¹ An Outcast of the Islands, p. 235.
² Ibid., p. 275.
³ The Rescue, p. 11.
⁴ Ibid., p. 89.
⁵ Ibid., p. 106.
give us another Rajah Laut than the mere "noisy, beeming" and boasting later one. It is impossible to conceive of Tom's later life being other than deeply affected by The Rescue episode. Never again could he have had absolute faith in his own power, nor been unable to see the dark possibilities of failure. All life would have become infinitely more subtle and disturbing. This fact strengthens the theory that the personality of Rajah Brooke increasingly influenced Conrad's Malaysian fiction, for Tom Lingard of The Rescue, whose experience was analogous to Rajah Brooke's, resembles Brooke more closely than Tom Lingard of Almayer's Folly (1895) and the Outcast (1896), who did not share that tragic experience.

Coming closer to the influence of Brooke's journals themselves on Conrad's fiction, it may be noted first that Brooke's daily accounts of his life in Sarawak were simply saturated with the spirit of Malay intrigue. He was continually facing the problematic, veiled intentions of natives about him. He had to be on the alert to catch fleeting suggestions which might offer him a key to the situation that lay behind the false front which he knew his native opponents were purposefully and cleverly presenting to him. An entry for October 17, 1845, is typical:

My friend, the excellent, the candid, the amiable Der Makota, arrived a few days ago. I knew he was under authority to enact some dark intrigue, some scheme
of villainy—yet I feared him not. On the contrary I gave him fair words, though I knew him to be a dissembler and a swindler—a man whose very nature was intrigue; one who would try the cunning of his right hand against the jugglery of his left, provided no one else could be found on whom he could exercise this hateful propensity; yet, withal, he is not a dangerous man—he is a very coward—with wit to ruin his own country—but whether sufficient to save his own head remains a question. I waited patiently till the gentleman should open his business, feeling as before a thunder-storm, that a shower of intrigue was about to fall on my devoted head.

Brooke's great accomplishment was his mastery of the pirate situation, about which his Journal contains much information. When the Illanum pirates enter into the situation in Belarab's little country, parts of The Rescue become analogous to parts of the Journal. The letters of the knowing old adventurer, Jørgensøn, and the Journal share a similar atmosphere when their writers attempt to express in writing the situation which involves a new work of intrigue entangling the native life with which their own existences are bound up. The differences in style are due to the fact that Brooke was educated while Conrad's Jørgensøn was not.

First consider these scattered extracts from the Journal.

On our arrival here yesterday, we found everything in a satisfactory state. Muda Hassim was in power; Fangeren Jøsop friendly and quiet; Sudrudeen, the director of all. They were delighted to see us and more especially with the presents which we brought. From

1. Narrative of Events in Zomeo, etc., Captain Mundy, comp., vol. 2., p. 48.
Budrudeen we learnt all particulars of the events that had occurred since my last visit, when Rajah Muda Hassim had been reinstated in his power and authority. The sultan, imbecile as he is, has been apparently submissive, but in his heart he is mischievous and entertains a dread that it is Muda Hassim's intention to depose him. I have been informed that he has addressed a private letter to Colonel Hutterworth, requesting my removal from Sarawak.

This morning I visited the sultan in company with Muda Hassim, and tried to soothe his mind and at the same time to show him that his best and only course is to hold by his treaty with us, and to work with Muda Hassim and Budrudeen. He is, however, such an imbecile it is impossible to make more than a momentary impression upon him.

With reference to present politics I may remark that the sultan is weak and doubtful; Pangeran Usop, clever, mercantile and adverse—at least so I may reckon; Sheriff Osman is a pirate, positively and undoubtedly a pirate, direct and indirect. These two last are in communication with each other, but how intimately I cannot venture to say. This party in Borneo may muster, at present, four-tenths of the inhabitants, and they may gain the support of the Illanums of Temesuk, and of Sheriff Osman. On the other hand is the party of Muda Hassim, with a numerous connection and six-tenths of the population. Borneo, therefore, being thus divided within itself, there is no danger of Muda Hassim's fall, for if Sheriff Osman and the other pirates were to support Pangeran Usop, Sarawak could as quickly support Muda Hassim. One circumstance is to Muda Hassim's disadvantage, namely, he being the corrective party, aiming to do good. The opposite party are evil doers who can promise plunder as the prize of success... The league between Sheriff Osman and Pangeran Usop is undoubtedly of an intimate nature... The danger to Borneo arises from his negotiation with us; for were Pangeran Usop to invite Sheriff Osman to Borneo, there is no denying that conjointly, they would endanger the

1. Narrative of Events in Borneo, etc., vol. 2, p. 10.
2. ibid., p. 37.
very existence of Muda Hassim and his brothers.¹

In Jörgenson’s letter to Óingard are like careful appraisals.

There was great excitement in the village... Hassim attended the council held every evening in the shed outside Belarab’s stockade. That holy man Ningrat was for looting that vessel... Belarab backed up Hassim... Ningrat was very angry and reproached Belarab for keeping him, Ningrat, short of opium to smoke... The followers of Tengga were ready to interfere and you know how it is between Tengga and Belarab. Tengga always wanted to oust Belarab, and his chances were getting pretty good before you turned up and armed Belarab’s bodyguard with muskets... I think it is a pity Tengga is not chief of the land instead of Belarab. A brave and foresighted man, however, treacherous at heart, can always be trusted to a certain extent. One can never get anything clear from Belarab. Peace! Peace!... It will cost him his life in the end... Sheriff Daman arrived from the north on the very day he was expected, with two Elleenum praus. He looks like an Arab. It was very evident to me he can wind the two Elleenum prauers round his little finger. The two praus are large and armed... Daman went to see Tengga who detained him a very long time... Tengga called on me as a good friend to try to persuade me to give Daman the arms and gunpowder he is so anxious to get. Somehow or other they tried to get around Belarab, who came to see me last night and hinted I had better do so. He is anxious for these Elleenums to leave the neighbourhood. He thinks that if they loot the schooner they will be off at once. That’s all he wants now... Tengga lights up smoky fires often. Some signal to Daman. I go ashore with Hassim’s men and put them out. This is risking a right every time... I don’t know what the next move will be. Hassim’s as true as steel. Immead is very unhappy. They will tell you many details I have no time to write.²

². The Rescue, p. 172-177.
Conrad frequently used the method of slightly altering the actual names, as when he changed the boat to the Judea from the Palestine in "Youth", and "Klein" to "Kurtz" in "The Heart of Darkness". There is a startling resemblance between the names of the Malays influencing Brooke's life and therefore appearing frequently in his journal, and the names of the chief characters of "The Rescue". The alterations are very slight. Add to this the remarkable similarity between that part of Conrad's plot which especially involves Malays in "The Rescue" and the situation followed daily by Brooke, and the probability of Brooke's journal having done much to form "The Rescue" immediately becomes apparent.

It will be remembered that "The Rescue" lingered over twenty years before it was completed. Although it was not published until 1920, Conrad was groaning over it in 1896 in his letters to Edward Garnett.

It is all about that ghastly 'Rescuer'. Your commendation of Part I plunges me simply into despair because Part II must be very different in theme if not in treatment and I am afraid this will make the book a strange and repulsive hybrid . . . You see I must justify--give motive--to my yacht people . . . I begin to fear that I cannot invent an illuminating episode that would set in a clear light the persons and feelings . . . I am in desperation.¹

But eventually his efforts to bring together his "artificial" yacht people, the "primitive" Lingard, and a native popula-

tion emerged in a close amalgamation of the three—-and one of his best books. Probably the incident in the Outcast of some "big wig's" yacht being grounded gave him the idea for his yacht people. This placed his Westerners in a Malay background and the introduction of Lingard, as a Westerner with Eastern sympathies, formed a connecting link between the two widely separated races. Now let us see how it is that the Journal may be considered the source of the native action and of the catastrophe which produced a solution for the involved situation which had grown out of the contact of West and East.

The thrilling story recorded day by day in the Journal ends in the "endangering of the very existence of Muda Hassim and his brothers", that Brooke feared, as the coming of Daman endangered the existence of Pata Hassim and Mas Immede in The Rescue. The Journal tells of the downfall of Rajah Brooke's adherents, Muda Hassim and his highly esteemed brother, Budrudeen. The outcome of the alliance between James Brooke and Muda Hassim and Tom Lingard and Pata Hassim have several points in common. This general likeness is strengthened by the striking resemblance of the names. A more concise account than can be culled from the Journal is to be found in Owen Rutter's The Pirate Wind.

An appeal to the Sultan's greed never failed. For a while he hesitated, never having made a quick decision in his life [like Beralab], then gave way,
and under his royal signet issued the order for the assassination of more than a dozen of his own family.

Once the royal approval had been secured, Saman [who suggests Daman] and his fellow-conspirators did the rest. Without warning, and in the dead of night, forty or fifty armed men surrounded the house of Muda Hassim [Conrad's Fatu Hassim], set fire to it in several places and then began a general attack. Muda Hassim, however, succeeded in escaping to the opposite side of the river in a canoe, taking with him his wife and children and several of his brothers. Saman's men followed, but with the aid of a small body of attendants who had come to his rescue, Muda Hassim defended himself for some time. His brothers fell, some killed, some wounded, and at last he found himself at the mercy of his assailants. He persuaded them to allow a message to be sent to the Sultan, begging that his life might be spared. This entreaty the Sultan refused. Seeing that death was inevitable [Jürgenson's and Hassim's reason for a like act], Muda Hassim then retreated to a vessel which chanced to be moored to the river bank, and then having placed a cask of gunpowder in the cabin, he laid a train [Jürgenson's task], and then summoned the survivors of his people. When they had joined him he fired the train and the whole party was blown up [as with the Emme, which also, however, held the enemy].

While Saman's assassins were attacking the heir to the throne, another gang was assaulting the house of his brother Bedrudin. Although taken completely by surprise, Bedrudin fought bravely at the head of the few followers who happened to be in the house. One by one his companions were cut down, overpowered by numbers. Bedrudin, after fighting desperately and killing several of his assailants, was shot in the left wrist; his shoulder and chest were cut open by a knife wound, so that his right arm hung useless, and he had a cut on his head and face. A young woman of his harem, Nur Salum, fought with him and was wounded by his side, and this girl, with Bedrudin's sister and a slave called Japer [Japer and Jeffir are identical names—sometimes spelled one way, sometimes the other] his personal attendant, remained with him.... In the darkness and confusion these four escaped to a distant part of the house, which
stood on piles over the water.

Bedrudin directed Japer to open a cask of gunpowder which was standing in the room and to scatter the powder in a circle on the floor. Then he took from his finger a ring [we think of Pata Hassim and Tom], it was Rajah Brooke's own signet ring, with the Brooke crest on it, which had been given him as a present. Calling Japer to him, he gave him the ring, bidding him escape from Brunei by sea, make for Sarawak and hand the ring to Rajah Brooke. He was to beg the Rajah not to forget his friend [Pata Hassim's message to Rajah Leut was the opposite— "to forget everything"], and to tell the queen of England of his fate.

Japer swore that he would obey his lord's commands [as Jaffir carried out his lord's]. Bedrudin bade him go, and the boy dropped through the loose flooring of the house into the water below. Then Bedrudin fired the powder, putting himself and the two women forever beyond the reach of the Sultan's treachery....

Thus two enlightened princes were removed from the Brunei scene. Both had been men of vision, friends of England, friends of Brunei, too; perhaps the best friends Brunei had.

Rajah Brooke's Journal for April 1, 1846, expresses his despair over the event:

The arrival of the Hazard two days ago has brought me intelligence of a most melancholy catastrophe .... I have had most heartrending details from one of the personal and favorite servants of the pangeran Budrudeen, by name, Jaffer, who fled from the city by order of the pangeran Jude, one of the surviving brothers of the Rajah Mude Hassim, and took refuge on board his Majesty's ship .... No less than thirteen members of the royal family have been massacred; and that the vicious sovereign gave his consent, if he did not directly order these murders, is clear on the face of the evidence before me.

l. p. 207
had I the power I would myself destroy both the city and the Sultan, or at least would depose him; then, if possible, I would rescue the son of Muda Hassim and his surviving brothers, and place them in a fresh locality, and commence de novo with a better government under my own supervision [a truly Lingard desire]. . . . I have received this report from Jaffir. I have known him long and well and he has shown a devotion to his master which does him high credit. I can write no more. My poor, poor, friends, how sad and melancholy has been your fate! Never, never can I forget it. The regret, the indignation which I feel overpowers me.

Tom, too, was overpowered with regret and grief from the moment "the heavens split over his head with a crash in the lick of a red tongue of flame", and he saw the remnants of the Emma sink, afire.

"How do you think this awful accident happened?" asked d'Alcacer . . .
"What is an accident?" said Lingard with great effort. "Where did you hear of such a thing? Accident! Don't disturb me, Mr. d'Alcacer. I have just come back to life and it has closed on me colder and darker than the grave itself. Let me get used . . . Can't bare the sound of a human voice yet."

After he received Jaffir's message, he thought "that now Jaffir was dead there was no one left on the empty earth to speak to him a word of reproach; no one to know the greatness of his intentions, the bond of fidelity between him and

1. p. 87-91.
2. The Rescue, p. 442.
3. Ibid., p. 444.
Hassim and Immada, the depth of his affection for those people, the earnestness of his visions and the unbounded trust that was his reward.1 They had been his "heart's children".2

"While there was nothing for Tom Lingard to gather together and continue, James Brooke in his "great grief and rage" pushed on to revenge and reconstruction.

To put it concisely, Comred borrowed the idea of the Emme, a vessel moored to the bank and exploded with gunpowder by her owners themselves with all on board in order to prevent capture and unhonorable death, from Brooke's Journal. This catastrophic event, which resolves in one loud explosion the tangle of The Rescue plot, may seem melodramatic and sensational, but it is grounded on historic precedence and is not an unique invention drawn in to prevent The Rescue from remaining unfinished indefinitely. It is not even unusual Malayan history, for Owen Rutter's Pirate Wind mentions two other occasions on which ships were blown up with powder for much the same reason. The sultans of the Journal and the novel are both of the vacillating, inactive sort. Saman and Daman are the conspirators in each case who bring the situations to their climax. Muda Hassim and Pata Hassim are native leaders who have the protection of Rajah Brooke and

2. Ibid., p. 330.
Rajah Laut. Japer and Jaffir are both the ideal, devoted and loyal servants. Each bears a ring and a farewell message from his native master to the white rajah, and in doing so, pass through great peril. Their final messages have affinity through being opposite. Rajah Brooke was "not to forget his friend"; Rajah Laut was "to forget all". Both white rajahs were struck with bitter grief.

Having seen that James Brooke's Journal helped form Conrad's Malay atmosphere, the character of his Western adventurers, the plot, and even the Malay names in The Rescue, we turn our attention to the other literary source to be considered.

Alfred Wallace, world-known scientist in his day, and especially famous for having arrived independently at Darwin's theory of Natural Selection, wandered the Malay Archipelago from 1854 to 1862, carefully examining the geography and the human and animal life of the islands. His chief work was with lepidopterous and ornithic life. At that time many portions of the islands were still under the control of small native rulers of the "Kerain" order. The Portuguese had fallen very low from their pedestal of power, and Wallace's description of Delli corroborates Morrison's opinion of it when Heyst of Victory found him there and saved him. Spanish control was decaying. The British had growing influence. The Dutch were the leading colonizers and commanded Wallace's admiring respect. Sir James Brooke was master of Sarawak.
where Wallace visited him, twice enjoying Christmas with him. Wallace was profoundly impressed by Rajah Brooke's civilizing accomplishments. Before going to Malaysia, Wallace had made one long trip through South America. Afterward he retired to England, where he lived to be active in several fields of investigation until his death at the age of ninety in 1913.

What is there in Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* to earn unusual and life-long favor from Conrad? The book reveals a very attractive character, a kindly, considerate man, with, at the same time, an indomitable will; an observant and eager naturalist who was thrilled with each new discovery; a born adventurer who looked on succeeding scenes as the open sesame to opportunities for discovering and solving mysteries. The book is a mirror held to the real Wallace. There is no concealing, no boasting, no pretention. The reflection is there without any conscious effort on his part, for he was an extroverted person, absorbed in the world about him. When he made up his mind that a certain island would be worth visiting, there he went in spite of every obstacle. He travelled in cockle shells of boats, overloaded and forever threatening to sink, although he intensely disliked them and was a poor swimmer. He suffered from infections, fevers, boils, stings, sprains, strange unknown diseases. Disasters ruined his collections. Once he was near death from thirst before rescued after a shipwreck. All these evils come in for but brief mention in his *Malay Archipelago*, but what is written
is so clear that it is evident he would not have continued in discomfort year after year had he not been afire with the discoverer's longings. All life about him merited his thoughtful comment. He wrote entirely as one wishing to give a straightforward and honest account and with no attempt at literary effect.

We are indebted to Richard Curle for having recorded what Conrad thought of Alfred Wallace. In The Last Twelve Years of Joseph Conrad, Curle mentioned that Conrad read Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* "over and over again... It was his favorite bedside companion. He had an intense admiration for those pioneer explorers--'profoundly inspired men' as he has called them--who have left us a record of their work; and of Wallace, above all, he never ceased to speak in terms of enthusiasm. Even in conversation he would amplify some remark by observing, 'Wallace says so-and-so', and the *Malay Archipelago* had been his intimate friend for many years."¹ This Curle repeated more recently.

He [Conrad] loved old memoirs and travels--and I think Wallace's *Malay Archipelago* was his favorite bedside book... When he was in bed he would have, perhaps, half a dozen volumes turned down on the coverlet, glancing at them in haphazard order as the fancy took him. Against the boredom or weariness with life which so frequently descended upon Conrad, books, and especially books whose flavour he had often tasted, were his unfailing standby.²

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¹. pp. 120-121.
There is no indication that Conrad ever met Wallace. Conrad left the marine service definitely in January, 1894. His first lodgings were 17 Gillingham Street, London, and, after his marriage, when he was not on the continent, he was at Ivy Walls, Stanford-le-Hope, Essex (1896-1898), at Pent Farm, near Hythe in Kent (intermittently from 1898 to 1907), near Luton in Bedfordshire (1908-1909), and at Capel House, Ordestone near Ashford in Kent, until after Wallace's death. He kept to the east of England in the districts directly north, east, and south of London. Meanwhile, Wallace, after his adventurous youth in far countries, was passing the peaceful rural life of his old age farther west in Dorset in various houses near Wimborne. So they never resided in the same part of England.

It may seem curious that Wallace's letters and autobiography make no mention of Conrad's work with the East, but, as his reading was mainly outside fiction and Conrad was not yet widely recognized, he probably failed to notice Conrad's writing even though it dealt with a part of the world especially interesting to him. Lord Jim was published eleven years before he died. Had he read it, he could not have failed to notice his own influence on it, and, prolific writer that he was, he would surely have commented on that fact somewhere.

No one knows, but it would not be surprising if Conrad first came across the book in a ship's library on some eastern route. It was one of the few authorities on the district
and had been well known and popular for years. H. M. Tomlinson, in *Tide Marks*, mentions finding it in the library for the seamen on his voyage to the Moluccas. So for at least sixty years it must have been read frequently by travellers in the East.

To Conrad, puzzled about many Malayan matters which he had lacked the opportunity to discover for himself, the book must have seemed a safe and reliable source. Reading it often through the years, as he did, he would come to regard it as if it were his own experience. It must have influenced him strongly in his portrayal of Malayan character. He rarely diverged from Wallace's opinions on this. From *The Malayan Archipelago*, written as it was with one purpose—to give sound information—he could even borrow phrases almost as one would from a dictionary. It offered good available raw material for him to convert into something fine.

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2. On pages 421, 430, 438, 439, 584-587 of *The Malayan Archipelago* Wallace emphasizes the deliberate, controlled manners of Malays, their quiet, low voices, their disdain of openly expressed emotion, especially of surprise, and their deceiving appearance of timidity which is often only polite restraint. The estimate of Wallace has had a permeating effect on Conrad's portrayal of Malayan character. If Conrad's Malays sometimes seem a little blurred and hazy, they may have acquired this slight indeterminateness because Conrad was following Wallace's instructions about them. Thus 'ain Maroola of Almeyer's *Folly* and Pata Hassim of *The Rescue*, both described as fearless and active young princes, are made so constrained in their movements that it is difficult to think of them as bold.
The plainest influence of Wallace on Conrad is to be seen in *Lord Jim* and *The Rescue*, but his book must have been of use from the beginning. There are indications that Conrad consulted *The Malay Archipelago* for backgrounds with which he was unfamiliar. In fact, any geography he might consult that was written after *The Malay Archipelago* would refer him to it. Conrad never, as far as we know, visited Bali, and a study in comparisons shows that the attractive and detailed description of the island which Dain Marocla gave Nina may well have been based on Wallace’s information. Bali and Lombok were particularly interesting to Wallace, because geographically they form a meeting place from which the arid and heavily forested regions of the archipelago diverge. In *Almayer’s Folly*, the Bali passage begins: “He spoke to her of his own island where the gloomy forest and the muddy rivers were unknown.”¹ Lombok and Bali were also the first islands Wallace had seen where the irrigated terrace system of cultivation, with which he was delighted, was used. In his detailed description of the land, these lines are included:

> Every one of these patches can be flooded or drained at will by means of a system of ditches and small channels into which were diverted the

¹ *Almayer’s Folly*, p. 173-174.
whole of the streams that descend from the mountains. Every patch now bore crops in various stages of growth, some almost ready for cutting, and all in the most flourishing condition and of the most exquisite green tints.  

Dain of Almayer's Folly "Spoke of its (Bali's) terraced fields, of the murmuring clear rills of sparkling water that flowed down the sides of great mountains, bringing life to the land and joy to its tiller".  

Wallace wrote of the "superb views" of the "volcano of Bali", "about eight thousand feet high", and forming a "magnificent object at sunrise and sunset", when it rose "out of the mists and clouds that surround its base, glowing with the rich and changing tints of these the most charming moments in a tropical day". He devoted one entire chapter to a Malay story, "How the Rajah took the Census", which is based on the legend that the volcanic peaks of the twin islands, Lombok and Bali, were considered sacred as the residences of the gods. Dain "spoke also of the mountain peak that rising lonely above the belt of trees knew the secrets of the passing clouds, and was the dwelling-place of the mysterious spirit of his race, of the guardian genius of his house".  

Delli is another place Conrad is not known to have visited. Wallace described it as definitely unhealthy.

3. The Malay Archipelago, p. 162.  
Delli is a most miserable place, compared with even the poorest of the Dutch towns. The whole aspect of the place is that of a poor native town, and there is no sign of cultivation about it. The town being surrounded for some distance by swamps and mud-flats, is very unhealthy, and a single night often gives a fever to new-comers which not frequently proves fatal. Although one-half of the European residents in Delli are continually ill from fever, and the Portuguese have occupied the place for three centuries, no attempt has yet been made to form a single mile of road or a single acre of plantation.

Perhaps Wallace had something to do with Conrad's selection of "that highly pestilential place" as the scene where Heyst came across Morrison looking so miserable that

"You are in for a bout of fever, I fear!" he said sympathetically.

Poor Morrison's tongue was loosened at last.

"Fever!" he cried. "Give me fever. Give me plague. They are diseases. One gets over them."

To continue the quotation of scattered lines from Wallace's chapter on Timor:

The government in Timor is a most miserable one. All the government officials oppress and rob the natives as much as they can. Morality at Delli is at as low an ebb as in the far interior of Brazil, and crimes are connived at which would entail infamy and criminal prosecution in Europe.

Conrad's Morrison was much more disturbed by the government officials than by the fever of Timor. "I am being murdered by the Portuguese. The gang here down me at last among them. I am to have my throat cut tomorrow," he confided to Heyst, adding that he felt like "refusing to accept the racial whiteness of the Portuguese officials."

3. Ibid.
Not Wallace's geography alone was useful to Conrad. He helped explain reactions of white and brown men in their relations to one another. In The Rescue there is an incident which surely Conrad took from "his constant bedside companion". Wallace's story came from Ampanam in Lombok where the ruling classes are natives of Bali. It is as follows:

The men are exceedingly jealous and very strict with their wives. A married woman may not accept a cigar or a siren leaf from a stranger under pain of death. I was informed that some years ago one of the English traders had a Balinese woman of good family living with him--the connection being considered quite honorable by the natives. During some festival, this girl offended against the law by accepting a flower or some such trifle from another man. This was reported to the Rajah (to some of whose wives the girl was related), and he immediately sent to the Englishman's house, ordering him to give the woman up as she must be "krissed". In vain he begged and prayed and offered to pay any fine the Rajah might impose, and finally refused to give her up unless he was forced to do so. This the Rajah did not wish to resort to, as he had doubt thought he was acting as much for the Englishman's honour as for his own; so he appeared to let the matter drop. But some time afterwards, he sent one of his followers to the house, who beckoned the girl to the door, and then saying, "The Rajah sends you this," stabbed her to the heart.

And here is Conrad's story:

1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 182.
2. Ibid., p. 183.
"And later on, some years ago," interrupted Lingard, "I chummed with a French skipper in Amphanum... You could not find a better fellow for company ashore. He had an affair with a Bali girl, who one evening threw a red blossom at him from a doorway, as we were going together to pay our respects to the Rajah's nephew. He was a good-looking Frenchman, he was—but the girl belonged to the Rajah's Nephew, and it was a serious matter. The old Rajah got angry and said the girl must die. I don't think the nephew cared particularly to have her krissed; but the old fellow made a great fuss and sent one of his chief men to see the thing done—and the girl had enemies—her own relatives approved! We could do nothing. Mind, Shaw, there was nothing else between them but that unlucky flower which the Frenchman pinned to his coat—and afterward, when the girl was dead, wore under his shirt, hung round his neck in a small box."1

The plot of "Ærein" hints at the same incident. Patā Matara's sister, "promised to another man",2 went to live with a Dutch trader. Matara accosted the Dutchman with the demand,

"Give her up to die—she is the daughter of chiefs." The white man refused and shut himself up, while his servants kept guard night and day with loaded guns. Matara raged. My brother called a council. But the Dutch ships were near, and watched our coast greedily. My brother said, "If he dies now our land will pay for his blood. Leave him alone till we grow stronger and the ships are gone. Matara was wise; he waited and watched. But the white man feared for her life and went away."3

3. Ibid.
Then comes the story of Matara and Karain wandering long with the one aim of accomplishing the death of the pair.

The Rescue account considered in connection with that of The Malay Archipelago reveals certain changes characteristic of Conrad. Thus he kept the girl a Bali and placed the incident in Lombok, as in Wallace. He changed the Englishman to a Frenchman—and, if "Karain" reflects this, too, to a Dutchman. The "flower or some such trifle" became "a red blossom". We know many instances where Conrad used this method. Thus, as the Bali girl remained a Bali girl, Blunt of The Arrow of Gold, Captain Beard of "Ivyth", the ship Narcissus, Captain John McWhirr of "Typhoon", Abdulla of Almayer's Folly and An Outcast of the Islands, Ellis and Burns of The Shadow Line, Tom Lingard of The Rescue kept the names given them in real life. The change of nationality of the Englishman involved is also typical of the slight alterations Conrad practiced, such as have been discussed in connection with Brooke's influence on Conrad's fiction.

An Outcast of the Islands furnishes another instance of Wallace's having helped Conrad portray the effect of East and West on each other. In his final analysis of Malay character, Wallace mentioned that "children and women are timid, and scream and run at the unexpected sight of a European". Once, in Sorneo, he came to a town where "it

... it was evident that Europeans seldom came for numbers of women sheltered away as I walked through the village; and one girl about ten or twelve years old, who had just brought a bamboo full of water from the river, threw it down with a cry of horror and alarm the moment she caught sight of me, turned round and jumped into the stream. She swam beautifully, and kept looking back as if expecting I would follow her, scream-violently all the time.

He had a like experience in a Celebes village, where scarcely any of the people appeared to have seen a European before.

One most disagreeable result of this was that I excited terror alike in man and beast. Wherever I went, dogs barked, children screamed, women ran away and men stared as though I were some strange and terrible cannibal monster. Even the pack-horses on the roads and paths would start aside when I appeared and rush into the jungle; and as to those horrid, ugly brutes, the buffaloes, they would first stick out their necks and stare at me, and then on a nearer view break loose from their halters or tethers, and rush away helter-skelter as if a demon were after them, without any regard for what might be in their way. Whenever I met buffaloes carrying packs along a pathway, or being driven home to the village, I had to turn aside into the jungle, and hide myself till they had passed, to avoid a catastrophe which would increase the dislike with which I was already regarded. Every day about noon the buffaloes were brought into the village and were tethered in the shade around the houses; and then I had to creep about like a thief by back ways, for no one could tell what mischief they might do to children and houses were I to walk among them. If I came suddenly upon a well where women were drawing water or children bathing, a sudden flight was the certain result; which things occurring day

1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 75.
after day, were not very pleasant to a person who does not like to be disliked, and who had never been accustomed to be treated as an ogre.

This passage is strongly suggestive of the following from An Outcast of the Islands:

There were only a few feeble attempts at a clearing here and there, but the ground was low and the river, retiring after its yearly floods, left on each a gradually diminishing mudhold, where the imported buffaloes of the Bugis settlers wallowed happily during the heat of the day. When Willems walked on the path, the indolent men stretched on the shady side of the houses looked at him with calm curiosity, the women round the cooking fires would send after him wondering and timid glances, while the children would only look once, and then run away yelling with fright at the horrible appearance of the man with a red and white face. The manifestations of childish disgust and fear stung Willems with a sense of absurd humiliation; he sought in his walks the comparative solitude of the rudimentary clearings, but the very buffaloes snorted with alarm at his sight, scrambled lumberingly out of the cool mud and stared wildly in a compact herd at him as he tried to slink unperceived along the edge of the forest. One day at some unguarded and sudden movement of his, the whole herd stampeded down the path, scattered the fires, sent the women flying with shrill cries, and left behind a track of smashed pots, trampled rice, overturned children, and a crowd of angry men brandishing sticks in loud-voiced pursuit. The innocent cause of this disturbance ran shamefacedly the gauntlet of black looks and unfriendly remarks, and hastily sought refuge in Almayer's compound. After that he left the settlement alone.

There are curious likenesses in these passages. Naturally

1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 171.
the fear was not as pronounced toward Willems, for the Sambir people were more accustomed to white faces. But the reactions were much the same, of the buffaloes, the Malays, and the white men. The most significant resemblance lies in the like feelings of Wallace and Willems, in their similar embarrassment. These "things occurring day after day were not very pleasant" to Wallace who "did not like to be disliked" and "treated as an ogre", so he began "creeping about like a thief by back ways". Willems felt "stung with a sense of absurd humiliation" and resorted to "slinking unperceived along the edge of the forest". Wallace "turned aside into the jungle and hid" when meeting Malays and buffaloes, to "avoid a catastrophe". The catastrophe which he dreaded at length occurred to Willems and "after that he left the settlement alone".

It is interesting to note the manner in which Conrad borrowed material from Wallace to describe Papuans, with whom he had little contact. Into The Rescue Conrad fitted a few phrases from The Malay Archipelago. They are insignificant trifles in themselves, but are meaningful in that they help to reveal one method Conrad used to achieve his style. With characters, Conrad usually superimposed one personality on another until the remarkable outcome was an amazingly complete personality as changeable as a chameleon when compared with a half dozen originals, and always having elements coming from nobody knows where. In
his descriptions, he was apt to inlay, side by side, in a sort of mosaic, the actual language from an outside source and his own expressions.

Wallace, of course, went deep into his investigations of racial differences in the archipelago and his favorite expressions in describing Papuans were "black, naked, mop-headed savages", ¹ with "sooty blackness of skin" and "mop-like heads of frizzly hair", ² "black mop-headed savages" ³ Examples of the bits of Conrad mosaic to be found in The Rescue are on pages 70 and 71 in the descriptions of the Papuans from whom Pata Hassim saved Lingard. They were a "mop-headed, sooty crowd", with "black bodies and frizzly heads", "a naked, wild crowd". Wallace compares Malays with Papuans in these words:

They remind me of a party of demure and well-behaved children broken in upon by a lot of wild, romping riotous boys, whose conduct seems most extraordinary and very naughty.

On page 89 of The Rescue, Conrad describes Pata Hassim's people, just rescued by Lingard, as conversing "interminably in low voices, cheerful and quiet, like well-behaved children".

1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 420.
2. Ibid., p. 421.
3. Ibid., p. 409.
4. Ibid., p. 421.
There is a strong permeating influence of Wallace in the later part of Lord Jim. Most of it is difficult to lay a finger on. There are suggestions everywhere. For example, Doramin’s household seems stirred with some of the life Wallace found when he visited the Rajah of Goa. It is as if Wallace’s sketchy description was completed in Conrad’s imagination with the clear features of people he had himself seen. Conrad’s own opportunities to examine Rajahs’ households were not extensive. He watched the parade from along shore or on board ship and his impressions were largely visual. In the Personal Record he tells of listening to a Malay Rajah on the Vidar who was talking of Almayer, but of understanding almost nothing of the conversation. No one can get into the inner life of a people without knowing the language and he apparently used only the limited trade Malay. When he concerned himself with the intimate interiors of his Malay households, it is only natural to surmise that he turned to some good available source for information. Doramin’s superior house was as “large, well-built, and lofty” as the Rajah of Goa’s. They each had audience rooms. Near a window sat the queen of Goa, squatting on a rough, wooden arm chair, chewing the everlasting sirih and betel-nut, while

1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 75.
2. ibid., p. 226.
a brass spittoom by her side and a sirih box in front, were ready to administer to her wants." Doramin's old wife, of whom Jim was fond, "chewed betel assiduously".¹ "In the afternoon she would sit in a very roomy arm-chair, opposite her husband, gazing steadily through a wide opening in the wall which gave an extensive view of the settlement and the river. She invariably tucked up her feet under her".² The two women sat chewing, in the same oriental squatting position looking on the scene without. Returning to Wallace, "The Rajah seated himself opposite to her [the queen] in a similar arm chair”. Doramin, like the Rajah, was seated. "Old Doramin sat squarely, sat imposingly as a mountain sits on a plain."³ So did the Rajah and Rani of Goa sit in the same position as did Doramin and his wife. Wallace found no oriental splendor at Goa, and "the only thing that excited some degree of admiration was the quiet and dignified manner of the Rajah, and the great respect always paid to him. No one can stand erect in his presence; and when he sits on a chair, all present (Europeans of course excepted) squatted upon the ground".⁴ Marlow told of the public functions at Doramin's.⁵ "The solemn formality of greetings and leave-takings, the profound respect expressed in

1. Lord Jim, p. 255.
2. Ibid., p. 256.
4. Lord Jim, p. 256.
5. The Malay Archipelago, p. 227
gestures, on the faces, in the low whispers, is simply indescribable."

Doremin's wife, as head of the women in the household, was constantly in motion . . . ordering unceasingly a troop of young women with clear brown faces and big grave eyes, her daughters, her servants, her slave-girls. You know how it is in these households; it's generally impossible to tell the difference.¹ Wallace mentions "several young women, some of the Rajah's daughters, others, slaves, were standing about; a few were working at frames making sarongs, but most of them were idle".² Although Conrad had to the best of our knowledge no personal experience of Rajah's households, nevertheless after reading Wallace, he would know "how it is in these households". Wallace gave considerable space to the explanation of the Malay slave system.

Unmistakable evidence of the Wallace influence is to be found in one of Conrad's greatest chapters—chapter twenty of Lord Jim, which relates Marlow's consultation with Stein. Conrad never created a more attractive nor profound figure than Stein, whose great analysis of Jim transfers to him the rare penetrating power of his creator. His appear-

1. Lord Jim, p. 256.
ance, his manner, his life and interests, and his conversation form a fascinating personality. He immediately arouses curiosity. What is his origin?

If Stein is a typical Conrad character, he will have a number of origins. For one, if Gustav Morf in his *Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad* is correct, Conrad himself will furnish some characteristics for Stein. There is scarcely a man in Conrad's books who has not been identified with his author somehow by Morf. Stein has a strain of Conrad not only because he is both keen and imaginative, but because of the contour of his life. He was born in central Europe (Bavaria). Like Apollo Korzeniowski, he took part in a revolutionary movement (that of 1848), but he escaped. Like Conrad he left his country because living there was dangerous and confining. He sought freedom in the East. To Stein Conrad gave the quotation from Goethe's "Torquato Tasso" which Morf considers an "echo of the German lessons" of Conrad's boyhood days at St. Anne's school in Cracow, for it was then "widely read as a school-book".  

There is a possibility that part of Conrad's Stein came from that Captain Morris whom Mrs. Conrad mentions:

It was here that Captain Morris, an Australian sea-captain, paid a never to be forgotten visit. A pathetic story lay behind the loss of his memory,

and helplessness. He showed us photographs of his wife who was a Malay princess, and his little daughter. The partial paralysis that obscured his recollection, was the result of a collision in some Eastern river. ¹

At least, some circumstance of this nature is the reality back of "my dear wife, the princess" and little Emmie.

Beyond doubt, in his home near Samarung, and in the manner of his life, Stein drew from Mr. Mesman, Wallace's friend, a Macassar-born Dutchman. Here the Wallace bits are again fitted into the Conrad mosaic. Compare the sentences for their obvious connection.

The Malay Archipelago, page 233

[He]

lived in a spacious house near the town, situated in the midst of a grove of fruit trees, and surrounded by a perfect labyrinth of offices, stables, and native cottages, occupied by his numerous servants, slaves, or dependents. He usually rose before sunrise and, after a cup of coffee, looked after his servants, horses and dogs till seven when a substantial breakfast of rice and meat was ready in a cool veranda. Putting on a clean white linen suit, he then drove to town in his buggy, where he had an office, with two or three Chinese clerks, who looked after his affairs.

Wallace made a larger contribution to the make-up

of Stein than this passage about Mr. Mesman, for, beyond reasonable doubt, he himself was the model for Stein the naturalist. Stein possesses Wallace's fervent eagerness over any discovery in natural life. This quality is repeatedly apparent in The Malay Archipelago. In Borneo he gave up the chase for an orang-utan because "as it was swampy, and in parts dangerous, I might easily have lost myself in the eagerness of pursuit". In connection with the King Bird of Paradise, he wrote,

1. It is highly probable that Conrad read the articles of the day written about Wallace, saw his pictures, and acquired first hand information about him from people who knew him. If this were known beyond doubt to be true, a closer likeness than can now be made safely could be drawn between Conrad's Stein and Alfred Wallace. Wallace's My Life was published entirely after Lord Jim came out (Lord Jim--1899, My Life--1905), but parts of it had appeared in magazines previously. If, before he wrote Lord Jim, Conrad knew the information contained in My Life and in later sketches and biographies of Wallace, such as that contained in Frank Harris's Contemporary Portraits, Third Series (1920) and such as Alfred Russel Wallace: Letters and Reminiscences by James Marchant (1916), his Stein may have acquired some of Wallace's physical features and more of his experience. Lord Jim (pp. 202-204) describes Stein as having a "student's face", "thick and bushy" eyebrows, a "resolve" expression in his eyes, spectacles, a "tall and loose-jointed" frame, a "slight stoop", "long arms with pale big hands" which had "rare deliberate gestures of a pointing out, demonstrating kind". All these were characteristics of Wallace. Stein, moreover, after escaping from Bavaria, is made to associate for some time with a Trieste watchmaker until he met the naturalist who took him East. Wallace as a youth had been a watchmaker. In watch-making there was careful training in delicacy of touch for the "pale big hands" of both the real and the fictitious naturalists.

2. The Malay Archipelago, p. 52, footnote.
The emotions in the mind of a naturalist who has long desired to see the actual thing which he has hitherto known only by description, drawing, or badly preserved external covering, especially when that thing is of surpassing rarity and beauty, require the poetic faculty fully to express them. 1

When Marlow entered Stein's study, he found his friend examining a "case where a butterfly in solitary grandeur spread out dark bronze wings, seven inches or more across, with exquisite white veinings and a gorgeous border of yellow spots". 2 This very butterfly is one that "allace caught in Celebes (where Stein captured his).

The ground color of this superb insect was a rich shining bronzy black, the lower wings were delicately grained with white, and bordered by a row of large spots of the most brilliant satiny yellow... I gazed upon my prize with extreme interest as at first I thought it was quite a new species. It proved, however, to be a variety of Ornithoptera remus, one of the rarest and most remarkable species of this highly esteemed group.

The partial origin of Stein's account of the capture of this butterfly is to be found in The Malay Archipelago:

I at once saw that it was a female of a new species of Ornithoptera, or "bird-winged butterfly", the pride of the Eastern tropics. I was very anxious to get it and to find the male, which in this genus is always of extreme beauty. During the two succeeding months, I only saw it once again, and shortly afterward I saw the male flying

1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 448.
2. Lord Jim, p. 205.
high in the air at the mining village. I had
began to despair of ever getting a specimen, as
it seemed so rare and wild; till one day... I
found a beautiful... shrub and saw one of
these noble insects hovering over it, but it
was too quick for me, and flew away. The next
day I went again to the same shrub and succeeded
in catching a female and the day after a fine
male. I found it to be as I had expected, a per-
fectly new and most magnificent species, and one
of the most gorgeously coloured butterflies in the
world. Fine specimens of the male are more than
seven inches across the wings, which are a vel-
vety black and fiery orange, the latter colour
replacing the green of the allied species. The
beauty and brilliancy of this insect are in-
describable and none but the naturalist can un-
derstand the intense excitement I experienced when I
at length captured it. On taking it out of my
net and opening the glorious wings, my heart began
to beat violently, the blood rushed to my head,
and I felt more like fainting than I have done when
in apprehension of immediate death. I had a head-
sache the rest of the day, so great was the excite-
ment produced by what will appear to most people a
very inadequate cause.

Stein told Marlow that he secured his prize during the
war of succession when he was backing his "poor Mohammed
Bonso". He had been caught in an ambush of the foes. After
the first bullet, he pretended to be killed and let his
horse walk toward the enemy, while he lay crumpled slack
on the animal's neck. When near enough, he shot three times.

All was quiet, but he proceeded carefully, for the bodies
he saw through the tall grass might be deceptive in their
limpness; and then the miracle happened.

And as I looked at his face for some sign
of life I observed something like a faint shadow

pass over his forehead. It was the shadow of this butterfly. Look at the form of the wing. I raised my eyes and saw him fluttering away. I think—Can it be possible? And then I lost him. I dismounted and went on very slow, leading my horse and holding my revolver in one hand and my eyes darting up and down and right and left, everywhere! At last I saw him sitting on a small heap of dirt ten feet away. At once my heart began to beat quick. I let go my horses, keep my revolver in one hand and with the other snatch my soft felt hat off my head. One step. Steady. Another step. Flop! I got him! When I got up I shook like a leaf with excitement, and when I opened these beautiful wings made sure what a rare and so extraordinary perfect specimen I had, my head went round and my legs became so weak with emotion that I had to sit on the ground.

Here Conrad used Wallace's "felt more like fainting then I have done when in apprehension of immediate death" in a most interesting manner. He placed Stein under "apprehension of immediate death", and then introduced the butterfly. Stein had remained perfectly calm while three hidden men sought his life, but the sight of the desired butterfly made his "head go round and his legs become weak". Something of the process of construction is here laid bare.

Stein had continued,

I had greatly desired to possess myself of a specimen of that species when collecting for the professor. I took long journeys and underwent great privations; I had dreamed of him in my sleep, and here suddenly I had him in my fingers--for myself!

Wallace wrote of an Aru Island find,

I trembled with excitement when I saw it coming majestically toward me, and could scarcely believe I had really succeeded in my stroke till I had taken it out of the net and was gazing, lost in admiration, at the velvet black and brilliant green of its wings . . . It is true I had seen similar insects in cabinets, at home, but it is quite another thing to capture such one's self—to feel it struggling between one's fingers, and to gaze upon its fresh and living beauty, a bright green shining out amidst the silent gloom of a dark and tangled forest.

Indeed, Stein, the naturalist of the fiction, received his identity from Wallace as seen in The Malay Archipelago.

Before proceeding toward a more detailed study of Conrad's Malaysia, let us summarize the influences of Sir James Brooke and Alfred Wallace on his writing. In his effort to round out his knowledge of a foreign life which had become important to the plan of his early fiction, Conrad evidently consulted the records left by these two men. No statement has been printed of his indebtedness to either. Richard Curle's words about Wallace and a paragraph on Brooke in The Rescue form our only direct evidence that Conrad was interested in them. Nevertheless, a comparison of Brooke's Journal with The Rescue and Lord Jim shows a highly probable influence of the character of Sir James Brooke on Tom Lingard and Jim, and a clear evidence that the account

1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 454.
in the Journal coloured the Malay atmosphere, furnished names, and partially determined the plot of The Rescue. A still stronger impression was left on Conrad's work by The Malay Archipelago. From it there is clearly a permeating influence. In places Conrad actually borrowed Wallace's terms, word for word, as in his descriptions of Papuans and in his transfer of phrases about Wallace's men to his own. Wallace fortified Conrad in his portrayal of native life: the Hajah of Goa's household became the model for the home of Loramin; an Ampanem murder recorded in The Malay Archipelago furnishes Lingard an example of a native attitude toward women. Wallace strengthened Conrad's presentation of the effect of East on West: Willems has Wallace's embarrassed feelings toward Malay distrust of him. His point of view was useful to Conrad even in the psychology of the Western; Stein owes a great debt to Wallace.
PART II

AN EVALUATION OF JOSEPH CONRAD'S MALAYSIAN BACKGROUND

The Authenticity of Conrad's Use of Malay Geography, History, External Life, and Psychology

Geography

Thus far it has been seen that Conrad strengthened his own knowledge of Malaysia which had been gained through his years of experience in the East by borrowing material from two reliable literary sources: the Journal of Sir James Brooke, and Alfred Wallace's Malay Archipelago. The purpose of the second part of this thesis is to analyse his Malayan background in order to determine the degree of the factual authenticity of the Malay geography, history, external life, and psychology which he uses to form his background material.

Conrad's use of Malay geography is considered first. His geography is of vital importance to his fiction. It was stated in the introduction to this paper that "the Malay background is used to isolate each case of Western psychology and to create situations which determine the course of the main action". Conrad's geography is of great importance as an isolating and determining factor.

1. In Part II it is necessary to compare a mass of detail culled from Conrad's Malayan fiction and from factual writings on Malaysia. Those who do not care to read all of this will find a list of the comparisons and references with the summaries at the end of the sections, on pages 124-129; 165-169; 203-206; 275-282.
As has been mentioned, Conrad's chief emphasis is thrown on Western characters in the East. Cut free from the solid basis of Western society, they are placed unattached and alone in an alien scene where they may be studied for what they are in themselves. Almayer, Willems, Jim, Heyst, and Lingard are each successively put in such an illuminating situation. Sambir--almost entirely removed from Western influence with the Pantai the only means of escape--very effectively isolates the personalities of Almayer and Willems. They become laboratory specimens, segregated for microscopical examination. Petusan, equally lonely from a Western viewpoint, places Jim in the same position, a welcome one in his case. Heyst's Samburan--its "most frequent visitors were shadows, shadows of clouds" is the loneliest of all Conrad's backgrounds. "The Shore of Refuge" in The Rescue had been purposely selected by Conrad's Belarab because it was difficult to find; and in it Conrad could best portray the slow awakening of his Westerners to a realization of their detached and helpless position.

Conrad's geography was also of vital use to him in "creating situations which determine the course of the main action". On the area of calms in the Siamese Gulf depends the action of The Shadow Line. The island Koh Ring near

the west coast of the gulf is important for the escape of the hunted men whom the captain befriended in "The Secret Sharer". The catastrophe of "Freya of the Seven Isles" occurs when a boat is stranded on a reef in the Macassar Straits. A reef off Pangu Bay causes the tragic ending of "The End of the Tether". Examples of geographical features shaping the plot are numerous.

Critics have been interested from the beginning in Conrad's use of geography as nature sympathetically accompanying the plot; \(^1\) and of course the great beauty and vividness of Conrad's scenes have been fully praised. \(^2\)

Having called to mind the fact that Conrad's geography is of great importance to his fiction, for isolating the lives of his "westerners, as a determining factor in his plots, and as nature sympathetically accompanying the plot, we turn to our present concern, which lies elsewhere. The question to be answered is simply this: does Conrad's geography conform to the true Malaysian scene?

In the first place just what, geographically speaking, does the Malaysian scene include, and what is its general character?

Howard Barker's description of Malaysia as "the In-

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2. For example, "John Galsworthy, "Reminiscences of Conrad", *Scribner's Magazine*, January, 1925, p. 4."
donesian group, including not only Malaya and the East Indies but also Siem and Indo-China, if combined with the definition by Alfred Wallace noted below contains the physical situations mentioned in Conrad's Eastern fiction, with the exception of a few outlying places.

According to my views, Wallace wrote] the Malay--
or, as I should prefer to name it, the Melo-Australian Archipelago--extends from the "icobar Islands on the north-west to St.Christoval, one of the Solomon Islands, on the south-east, and from Luzan on the north to Rotti, near Timor, on the south... Though not geographically correct to include any part of a continent in an archipelago, it is necessary for our purpose to consider the Malay peninsula as not only almost but quite an island, since it cannot be physically separated from the region.

According to Ridpath, Malaysia extends westward to include Madagascar and nearby islands. So considered, Malaysia contains Mauritius, the scene of "A Smile of Fortune".

Heinrich states that the archipelago is the

... largest group of islands in the world...

The innumerable members of the group include the most gigantically islands of the globe with mountain ranges and navigable rivers as well as diminutive islets, which hardly supply the sparsest population with the necessaries of life. We find as we go toward the East, the first traces of Australian dryness and desolation as well as regions of tropical luxuriance and splendid fertility.

The main bodies of land and their positions should be included in a definition. To the south of this vast area lie the Indian Ocean and Australia; to the north, Asia, culminating in the slender Malay peninsula which extends nearly to the equator, and the Pacific. The deep indentation of the Siamese Gulf leads up to bangkok in Siam, to the northeast of the peninsula, with Indo-China and the China Sea on farther east and north. The narrow Malay Straits separate it on the west from Sumatra, which stretches its great length tipped northwest-southeast to where one may look across from the southern end to Java. Java's slim length lies nearly directly east and west and from it Bali, Sumbawa, Flores, Umbay and Timor continue the straight line of islands westward to the Arafure Sea between Australia on the south and New Guinea on the north. On the other side of New Guinea are the Solomon Islands, among which is Malaita. Between this semi-circle of broken land and China on the far north lies in a triangular space the rest of the archipelago. The tip of the triangle on the north is occupied by the Philippines, and above the base, ranging from west to east, are the great thick bulk of Borneo, Celebes with its four curious arms of land, and the myriad forms of the Moluccas which dot the seas to within sight of the New Guinea shore.

Thus defined, the Malay Archipelago stretches over an immense distance. Of the spaciousness of the region Alfred
Wallace wrote:

The traveller ... finds himself sailing for
days or even for weeks along the shores of one of
these great islands, often so great that the in-
habitants believe it to be a boundless continent.
He finds that voyages among these islands are com-
monly reckoned by weeks and months, and that the
inhabitants of the eastern and western portions of
the Archipelago are as mutually unknown to each
other as are the native races of North and South
America. On visiting the coasts of one of the
larger islands, he hears of the distinct kingdoms
which lie along its shores of the remote north or
east or south of which he can obtain little definite
information, and of the wild and inaccessible in-
terior, inhabited by cannibals and demons ... The
traveller, therefore, soon looks upon this region
as one altogether apart. He finds it possesses its
own races of men and its own aspects of nature. It
is an island world with insular ideas and feelings,
customs, and modes of speech; altogether cut off
from the great continents into which we are accus-
tomed to divide the globe, and quite incapable of
being classed with any of them. Its dimensions,
too, are continental. You may travel as many thou-
sand miles across it, in various directions, occupi-
ing as many weeks and months as would be necessary
to explore any of the so-called quarters of the
globe.

The variety of the scene and life included in the Archi-
pelago is very wide. There are mountains heavily forested
or rugged and bare; soil teeming with life and soil incapable
of supporting any living thing; coasts that rise in sheer
cliffs from the sea, and many miles of low-lying mangrove
swamp that scarcely raises its green line above the water.

1. "On the Physical Geography of the Malay Archipelago",
p. 218-19.
There are islands volcanic, coralline, or stratified, neighboring islands often varying astonishing in vegetation and animal life.

The island semi-circle beginning with Sumatra and curving into the Moluccas is almost entirely volcanic. To quote Wallace again, "Borneo and Celebes form the central mass around which the volcanic islands are distributed so as rudely to follow their outline and embrace them on every side but one in a vast fiery girdle".¹ There are hundreds of islands of volcanic origin. "The island of Java contains more volcanoes, active and extinct, than any other known district of equal extent."² And yet, "by contrast, the island of Celebes in all its southern peninsulas, the great mass of Borneo, and the Malay peninsula, are not known to contain a single volcano active or extinct. To the east of the volcanic bend is another area of one thousand miles wide, including New Guinea, free from volcanoes and earth quakes. Towards its eastern extremity, these reappear in small islands off its coast, in New Britain, New Ireland, and in the Solomon Islands."³

In continuing his summary of the regional contradictions, Wallace wrote in The Malay Archipelago,

¹. W. On the Physical Geography of the Malay Archipelago,"p. 221.
². Ibid., p. 221.
³. Ibid., p. 222-223.
Borneo closely resembles New Guinea, not only in its vast size and its freedom from volcanoes, but in its variety of geological structure, its uniformity of climate, and the general aspect of the forest vegetation that clothes its surface. The Moluccas are the counterpart of the Philippines in their volcanic structures, their extreme fertility, their luxuriant forests, and their frequent earthquakes; and Bali with the east end of Java has a climate almost as dry and a soil almost as arid as that of Timor. Yet between these corresponding groups of islands, constructed as it were after the same pattern, subjected to the same climate, and bathed by the same oceans, there exists the greatest possible contrast when we compare their animal productions. Nowhere does that ancient doctrine—that differences or similarities in the various forms of life that inhabit different countries are due to corresponding physical differences or similarities in the countries themselves—meet with so direct and palpable a contradiction. Borneo and New Guinea, as alike physically as two distinct countries can be, are zoologically wide as the poles asunder, while Australia, with its dry winds, its open plains, its stony deserts, and its temperate climate, yet produces birds and quadrupeds which are closely related to those inhabiting the hot, damp luxuriant forests which everywhere clothe the plains and mountains of New Guinea.

Having defined the Malaysian area, we turn to Conrad. Conrad's fiction centers chiefly in two districts of Malaysia—in southern Asia and in the central part of the East Indies. We shall consider the former first.

Southern Asia is northern Malaysia. The Siamese Gulf and lower Siam together form the scene for "Falk", "The Secret Sharer", and The Shadow Line. The Malay Peninsula

1. p. 27.
with surrounding waters and small nearby islands is the setting for "The End of the Tether" and "Freya of the Seven Isles".

Conrad had extensive experience, scattered over several years, in northern Malaysia. It will be remembered that after Conrad left the Vider and was waiting in Singapore for a home-going vessel, he was offered his first command, that of the Otago which was then in Bangkok. The Shadow Line tells how he went to Bangkok and was delayed there for some time. "Falk" is a story the plot of which concerns the period of delay. At length the Otago was allowed to sail down the Meinam River from Bangkok, across the bar at its mouth, out into the gulf. "The Secret Sharer" is set in the northern and eastern parts of the gulf. The Shadow Line is the true account of Conrad's fight to bring the Otago to Singapore in the face of dangerous calms and disease among the sailors. This occurred in 1888. Conrad's acquaintance with Singapore began much earlier. He took a home-going boat from there in 1881 after he had escaped from the burning Palestine, which sank west of Java. In reaching Singapore, he would necessarily sail through the Lingga and Rho Archipelagos, directly south of it, and the setting of "Freya of the Seven Isles". His boat for home passed from Singapore through the Strait of Malacca, the scene of "The End of the Tether". He was again in Singapore in 1885, and in 1887 he was in the hospital there for three weeks, recovering from an injury received while he was on the High-
Land Forest. During the period while he was mate on the Vidar, he was in Singapore, the starting point of the route, five or six times. With all this experience in northern Malaysia, Conrad could confidently and faithfully introduce the geography into his background.

Those who have had actual contact with Malaysia sense immediately the factual authenticity of Conrad's Malay background. The Nautical Magazine for January, 1921, contains an article by a seaman, Lieutenant-Commander F.G. Cooper, a great lover of Conrad's books. He writes that he first became acquainted with Almayer's Folly while on board an "old tramp steamer trading Eastern waters, and I suppose that the setting and environment in which I read that book were in a measure responsible for the influence it had upon me at the time. I could picture, mentally, that Eastern river with its pestilentiel breath and decaying life, the spirit of which seemed to have entered the souls of the dwellers on its banks; Almayer, that poor slave of hope, with his dreams of vast wealth awaiting him in the interior..." 1 Lieutenant-Commander Cooper read Almayer's Folly while he was on some such route among the islands as the Vidar plied, and Almayer's Folly became very real to him. His impression of the truth of Conrad's scene is interesting, for he had the opportunity of comparing the background of the book with the actual background before his eyes.

Lieutenant Cooper's experience was somewhat like my own. Conrad's work was unknown to me until after I had become acquainted with northern Malaysia. When I then happened across "Falk", I was immediately convinced that I knew the places of which Conrad wrote, although actual names were not given. I went on to The Shadow Line and "The Secret Sharer", in which he used more of the true geographical names, and then on to his other fiction with the conviction that there was a strong factual reality to be found everywhere in his pages.

That part of north Malaysia which includes Siam and the Siamese Gulf, as far as Conrad's fiction is concerned with it, will first be discussed. Élisée Reclus in his Asia describes the basin of the Meinam (variously spelled, as practically all native words used as geographical names in Malaysia are).

Although less extensive than the other great Indo-Chinese fluvial basins, that of the Meinam, or "Mother of Waters", occupies a more central position, and has thus played a leading part in the historic evolution of Farther India. Uniting its waters with several other rivers in a common delta, it reaches the coast at the northern extremity of a gulf, which penetrates far inland, and which presents a seaboard of no less than 900 miles. The entrance of the Meinam thus forms the central point of a vast circle, towards which converge all the sea routes on the one hand, and on the other all the highways of the river valleys . . . The Meinam rises in the Lao territory and throughout the whole of Siam proper is navigable by light craft, while steamers ascend its lower course with the tides.
So dense is the vegetation on both sides that in many places the banks are entirely concealed by a tangled growth of palms, bamboos, creepers, and tropical foliage. At the head of the gulf a crescent of submerged sandbanks, stretching some 60 miles east and west and accessible to vessels of 500 tons only at high water, separates the sea from the plains of Bangkok, which at one time formed a northern continuation of the gulf.  

In *The International Geography*, edited by Hugh Mills, are these sentences:

> The heat of the great alluvial plain is tempered by its proximity to the gulf. . . . The amount of moisture in the atmosphere, however, makes the climate of the lowlands peculiarly trying.


Siam has only one great river that is entirely her own. It is marked on English maps as the "Menam", but the real name is "Menam Chow Phya" . . . . The Menam is not merely the mother of the waters, but of the land also, for all the lower part of Siam is one extensive plain, which has been built up by the mud, gravel, and sand brought down from the mountains by the river.

Suppose we get on board a steamer and sail from Bangkok down to the mouth of the Menam. The distance from Bangkok to the mouth of the river, measured as the crow flies, is only twelve miles, but so much does the river twist and turn that we shall be three hours before we reach the sea . . . .

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2. Asia is part of the series known as *Europe and Its Inhabitants* by the noted French geographer.
3. Ernest Young, former inspector of Anglo-Vernacular Schools in Siam, is headmaster of a Harrow school and a writer of geographies for youthful readers.
As the capital is left behind, the houses get fewer and fewer along the banks, and the trees come right down to the edge of the river. On either side of us, as the mouth is neared, there are dreary salt marshes, which are often flooded by the sea when the tides are high. On the banks, the fern-like attap-palm, that lover of the mud, bends over in graceful curves to dip the ends of its long fronds in the dirty water. Just behind, on firmer ground, rise the stately coconut and areca-nut palms...

By this time we are at the mouth of the river. Here the current of the river meets the sea. That current is bearing with it tons of fine sand and soil. But the sea seems to say to the river, "Thus far, and no farther". And so here all the muddy stuff in the river water is deposited. In this way a bar has been formed, which blocks the river mouth. At low tide there are only three feet of water over it, and even during the highest tides there is never more than fifteen feet of water on the bar. Hence very big steamers can never enter the Chow Phya, but have to load and unload their cargoes by means of... lighters.

The chief attraction at the mouth of the river is a magnificent pagoda, known as "the Shrine in the Middle of the Waters". It stands on a little island, is built of whitewashed stone and bricks, and is surrounded by the buildings of the temple of which it forms a part.

On page 468 of Reclus' Asia is a map of the Meinam from Bangkok to the gulf. The line of the river executes great looping meanders between the city and the mouth. Mid-stream on the last big curve is the island with the pagoda, marked "Paknam", on it. The depth of the water at the mouth of the river is indicated. The mid-channel measures only three to sixteen feet, and the extensive mud bars suggest how difficult navigation is. The coast is shown as very

2. Vol. 3.
low.

Now, how does Conrad describe the river? A series of quotations will tell.

There were no pilots, no buoys of any sort; but there was a very devil of a current for anybody to see, no end of shoal places, and at least two obviously awkward turns of the channel between me and the sea.

There was a shallow bar at the mouth of the river which ought to have been kept down, but the authorities of the State were piously gilding afresh the great Buddhist Pagoda just then, and had no money to spare for dredging operations. I don't know how it may be now, but at the time I speak of that sandbank was a great nuisance to the shipping. One of its consequences was that vessels of a certain draught of water, like Hermann's or mine, could not complete their loading in the river. After taking in as much as possible of their cargo, they had to go outside to fill up. The whole procedure was an unmitigated bore. When you thought you had as much on board as your ship could carry safely over the bar, you went and gave notice to your agents.

I could not detect the smallest dot of a bird on the immense sky, and the flatness of the land continued the flatness of the sea to the naked line of the horizon.

Eighteen miles down the river you had to go behind him, and then three more along the coast to where a group of uninhabited rocky islets enclosed a sheltered anchorage. . . There was nothing to look at besides but a bare coast, the muddy edge of the brown plain with the sinuosities of the river you had left, traced in dull green, and the Great Pagoda uprising lonely and massive with shining curves and pinnacles like the gorgeous and stony efflorescence of tropical rocks.

2. Ibid., p. 164-5.
3. Ibid., p. 209.
4. Ibid., p. 165-166.
And when I turned my head to take a parting glance at the tug which had just left us anchored outside the bar, I saw the straight line of the flat shore joined to the stable sea, edge to edge, with a perfect and unmarked closeness, in one levelled floor half brown, half blue under the enormous dome of the sky... Two small clumps of trees, one on each side of the only fault in the impeccable joint, marked the mouth of the river Meinam we had just left on the first preparatory stage of our homeward journey; and, far back on the inland level, a larger and loftier mass, the grove surrounding the great Paknam pagoda, was the only thing on which the eye could rest from the vain task of exploring the monotonous sweep of the horizon. Here and there gleams as of a few scattered pieces of silver marked the windings of the great river; and on the nearest of them, just within the bar, the tug steaming right into the land became lost to my sight...

One morning early, we crossed the bar, and while the sun was rising splendidly over the flat spaces of the land we steamed up the innumerable bends, passed under the shadow of the great gilt pagada, and reached the outskirts of the town. 2

About mid-day we anchored a mile outside the bar... While watching the work from the poop... I detected in it some of the languor of the six weeks spent in the steaming heat of the river. 3

I believe he had partly fretted himself into that illness; the climate did the rest with the swiftness of an invisible monster ambushed in the air, in the water, in the mud of the river bank. 4

Thus in his portrayal of the Menam River, of Paknam Pagoda, and of the gulf mainly at the river mouth, Conrad presents an authentic picture.

3. Ibid., p. 73.
4. Ibid., p. 67.
The town of Bangkok is described by Reclus as lying

... on the left bank of the Menam, which here
describes a sudden curve to the west ... Above
the houses, shipping, and dense foliage, rise the
sculptured pyramids of the pagodas, covered with
mosaics and glittering like gold in the bright sun-
shine. Both sides of the stream are hidden by
floating houses and picturesque dwellings, mostly
carved, embellished with paintings and gilding, and
moored to the banks.

Scattered lines from Ernest Young's book on Siam tell
us that:

The whole place is threaded with canals of every
possible size and description ... Along the sides
of the "streets" there are long lines of floating
houses in which the people live ... Each raft is
loosely moored to big wooden stakes, which are
driven deep in the bed of the river, so that the
houses rise and fall with the tide. 2

Some of the people who live on the water do not
inhabit floating houses, but boats, and in these
they can travel about from time to time as fancy
or business may direct. Many people spend the
whole of their lives on boats. 3

The houses are built of wood, and are raised
above the ground on piles, so that when the rainy
season comes and the plains are flooded, the floors
are left high and dry. 4

The floors of the native houses are made of teak
planks, or more usually of plaited bamboo. 5

The roofs are thatched with the leaf of the attap-
palm. 6

2. Siem, p. 35.
3. Ibid., p. 6
4. Ibid., p. 48.
5. Ibid., p. 49.
6. Ibid., p. 51.
The Shadow Line contains Conrad's expression of appearance of Sengkok.

There it was, spread out on both banks, the Oriental capital which had as yet suffered no white conqueror; an expanse of brown houses of bamboo, of mats, of leaves, of vegetable-matter style of architecture, sprung out of the brown soil on the banks of the muddy river. It was amazing to think that in those miles of human habitations there was not probably half a dozen pounds of nails. Some of those houses of sticks and grass, like the nests of an aquatic race, clung to the low shores. Others seemed to grow out of the water; others again floated in long anchored rows in the very middle of the stream. Here and there in the distance, above the crowded mob of low, brown roof hedges, towered great piles of masonry, King's Palace, temples, gorgeous and dilapidated, crumbling under the vertical sunlight, tremendous, overpowering, almost palpable, which seemed to enter one's breast with the breath of one's nostrils and soak into one's limbs through every pore of one's skin. 1

Conrad's Sengkok, composed of temples and houses crowded on the low shores of the water ways, and of house boats built of matting and wood is the same Sengkok described by Kelms and Young.

Out in the Gulf of Siam, the skipper in "The Secret Sharer" steered his boat down the east coast. A map of the gulf shows innumerable islands all along that shore, and Conrad's account of it runs thus:

The east side of the gulf is fringed with islands, some solitary, others in groups. On the blue background of the high coast they seem to

float on silvery patches of calm water, arid and grey, or dark green and rounded like clumps of evergreen bushes, with the larger ones, a mile or two long, showing the outlines of ridges, ribs of grey rock under the dank mantle of matted leaf-age. Unknown to trade, to travel, almost to geography, the manner of life they harbour is an unsolved secret. There must be villages—settlements of fishermen at least—on the largest of them, and some communication with the world is probably kept up by native craft. But all that forenoon, as we headed for them, fanned along by the faintest of breezes, I saw no sign of men or canoe in the field of the telescope I kept on pointing at the scattered group.

As yet no chart has come to hand showing which among the islands is Koh-ring, the place of escape in "The Secret Sharer". Perhaps it is one of the many unmarked islands, or perhaps Conrad again slightly changed a name—the Koh Chang, Koh Kong, Koh Trong, or Koh Kut of the maps. The Shadow Line involves the same island and, before reaching it, the boat had passed Cape Liang², a real Siamese jut of land beyond which the gulf suddenly doubles its width. Koh lies somewhere between Cape Liang and Cambodia. Point at the eastern end of the gulf, and probably far down on the coast, for the man who was "the secret sharer", after agreeing with the captain on the place of escape—"Koh-ring let it be."², looked thoughtfully at the chart as if surveying chances

1. 'Twixt Land and Sea, p. 133.
2. p. 77.
3. 'Twixt Land and Sea, p. 134.
and distances from a lofty height—and following with his eyes his own figure wandering on the blank land of Cochin-China, and then passing off that piece of paper clean out of sight into uncharted regions.¹ Cochin-China borders the southeastern shore of the gulf.

To summarize Conrad's geography of the Siamese district, his background is constructed on facts in the appearance of Bangkok, the form and nature of the Meinam, the position of Paknam, the curious contour of the mouth of the river, the climate, and the general character of the east coast of the gulf. In no feature can it be shown that he has deviated from the true geography.

West of the Siamese Gulf is the other region of north Malaysia with which Conrad's fiction is concerned. It includes the Peninsula and waters and islands immediately to its south and west.

Old Nelson of "Frela of the Seven Isles" "bought, or else leased, part of a small island from the sultan of a little group called the Seven Isles not far north of Banka".²

The setting of this story is to the south of Singapore. On the charts the sea north of the large Banca Island and off the southwest Sumatran coast is closely dotted with many islands, some large, some small, which form the Lingga and

¹. Twixt Land and Sea, p. 134.
². Ibid., p. 149.
Rhio Archipelago, and the Seven Isles are charted among the Southern Lingga Islands, Reclus states that this area is known to Malays as Tanah Salat (Land of Straits). The climate is healthy, for the land, unlike the low Sumatran coast within sight, rises in hills and is free from marshes. "A large number of the islands are uninhabited and entirely clothed with a dark forest vegetation." Conrad tells us little about the appearance of the Seven Isles. He mentions that Freya met "Jasper at a certain cleared spot on the banks of the only stream on Nelson's little island." This implies that the land was forested and that it was not marshy and stream-cut. The atmosphere of the story is buoyant and healthy. It lacks the fever-laden air of low jungle country, such as that about Sambir. The "Seven Isles" are kept true to the geographical facts in their healthy climate, forestation, and lack of extreme moisture.

North of the Seven Isles the Sofala of "The End of the Tether" plied a route up and down the Malacca Straits stopping at peninsular and Sumatran ports, "a round of 1600 miles and thirty days". The names of Captain "Halley's points of trade are on the charts—low Cape, Batu Beru, and Melantan on the Sumatran coast, and Malacca, Pangu, and Tenasserim on the mainland.

2. Ibid., p. 116.
3. Twixt Land and Sea, p. 163.
Reclus writes that

... although slower than the underground forces in their geological work, the Sumatran rivers have been more powerful agents in modifying the aspect of the land than have been the volcanic agencies... Over two-thirds of the eastern seaboard is of quite recent geological formation, and is still continuously growing by the addition of fresh deposits. ¹

The mangroves, by which these low-lying tracts are overgrown, contributes to the enlargement of the dry land by arresting the sedimentary matter amid its branches, and by shedding their fruits beyond the river banks in the muddy waters, where they take root. ²

On the Sumatran side of the Strait of Malacca the chief agricultural and commercial centre is the group of villages and plantations which takes the name of Deli, from a petty state occupying this part of the island. Since the sultan placed his territory under the protection of Holland in 1862, numerous planters have settled in the district, the soil of which is unusually fertile. The first European speculators directed their attention mainly to the nutmeg, pepper, and other spices; but they have gradually abandoned these products, and now occupy themselves exclusively with the cultivation of tobacco for the Amsterdam market, where it is highly appreciated. ³

The east coast in contrast to the west is washed by shallower seas, of irregular outline and indented with creeks and inlets. ⁴

In "The End of the Tether" Conrad correctly characterizes the Sumatran east coast.

From Low Cape to Malantun the distance was fifty miles, six hours' steaming for the old ship with the tide, or seven against. Then you steered straight for the land, and by and by

¹ Oceanica, p. 90.
² Ibid., p. 92.
³ Ibid., p. 113.
⁴ Ibid., p. 80.
three palms would appear on the sky, tall and slim, and with their dishevelled heads in a bunch, as if in confidential criticism of the dark mangroves. The Sofala would be headed towards the sombre strip of the coast, which at a given moment, as the ship closed with it obliquely, would show several clean shining fractures—the brimful estuary of a river. Then on through a brown liquid, three parts water and one part black earth, on and on between the low shores, three parts black earth and one part brackish water, the Sofala would plough her way upstream . . . He knew it well, too, this monotonous huckster's round, up and down the Straits . . . Malacca to begin with, in at daylight and out at dusk, to cross over with a rigid phosphorescent wake this highway of the Far East. Darkness and gleams on the water . . . and low land on the other side in sight at daylight. At noon the three palms of the next side of call, up a sluggish river.1

Mr. Van Wyk, the white man of Batu Beru . . . who . . . had become the pioneer of tobacco-planting on that remote part of the coast . . . At that time Batu Beru was not what it has become since: the centre of a prosperous tobacco-growing district.2

An entirely different type of scene is that found in the Fangu group of islands in the north Malacca Strait, and about half way up the peninsula to Tenasserim, Captain Whalley's most northern point of call. It was outside Fangu Bay of the mainland that the Sofala struck a reef and sank. This is at the southern extremity of the Mergui Archipelago.

The Mergui Islands [writes Reclus] which fringe the Tenasserim coast for about 250 miles, are themselves the scattered fragments of partly submerged ranges disposed in several chains parallel with the

2. Ibid., p. 277.
axis of the Peninsula, and consisting of the same granitic, porphyry, and conglomerate formations.

On this coast are also found the rude fishing communities of the Silongs or Selongs, who encamp during the south-west monsoon on the Mergui Islands, and at other times reside chiefly in their boats or on the beach. 2

In his Tales of the Malayan Coast, Rownsevelle Wildman, who spent nine years along the shores of the peninsula, describes the small rocky islands of the Strait of Malacca and the flocks of gulls which make them their home. 3

Conrad's use of the island group near Pangu conforms to the true geography.

They had just left a place of call on the mainland called Pangu; they were steaming straight out of the bay . . . Across the wide opening the nearest of a group of small islands stood enveloped in the hazy yellow light of a breezy sunrise; still farther out the hummocky tops of other islets peeped out motionless above the water of the channels between, scoured tumultuously by the breeze. The usual track of the Sofala both going and returning on every trip led her for a few miles along this reef-infested region. She followed a broad lane of water, dropping astern, one after another, these crumbs of the earth's crust resembling a squadron of dismasted hulks run in disorder upon a foul ground of rocks and shoals. Some of these fragments of land appeared, indeed, no bigger than a stranded ship; others, quite flat, lay awash like anchored rafts, like ponderous, black rafts of stone; several, heavily timbered and round at the base, emerged in squat domes of deep green foliage that shuddered darkly all over the flying touch of cloud shadows driven by the sudden gusts of the squally season . . . The multitudes of seafowl urging their way

2. Ibid., p. 491.
3. Tales of the Malayan Coast, Lothrop Publishing Co., Boston, 1899, Chapter III.
from all the points of the horizon to sleep on the outer rocks of the group, unrolled the converging evolutions of their flight in long, sombre streamers upon the glow of the sky. The palpitating cloud of their wings soared and stopped over the pinnacles of the rocks, over the rocks slender like spires, squat like martello towers; over the pyramidal heaps like ruins, over the lines of bald shoulders showing like a wall of stones, battered to pieces and scorched by lightning—with the sleepy, clear glimmer of water in every breach. The noise of their continuous screaming filled the air... But when the Sofala happened to close with the land after sunset she would find everything very still there under the mantle of the night... Sometimes there were human eyes open to watch them come nearer, travelling smoothly in the sombre void; the eyes of a naked fisherman in his canoe floating over a reef... A few miserable, half-naked families, a sort of outcast tribe of long-haired, lean, and wild-eyed people, strove for their living in this lonely wilderness of islets, lying like an abandoned outwork of the land at the gates of the bay. "Within the knots and loops of the rocks the water rested more transparent than crystal under their crooked and leaky canoes, scooped out of the trunk of a tree."

In his use of actual names—Low Cape, Batu Baru, Malanten, Malacca, Pangu, Tenasserim—, in his low, swampy east Sumatran scene, in the production of Sumatran tobacco, in the formation of the Pangu Islands and in the primitive type of their inhabitants, Conrad's Malaysian background is authentic.

Nowhere in his use of setting in "Freya of the Seven Isles" and "The End of the Tether", then, does Conrad introduce anything which can be considered geographically in-

correct. There are a few references made in his description of Singapore in "The End of the Tether" which indicate that he did not alter the plan of the city so well known to him, but described it as it was half a century ago. On page 194 he describes the approach to New Harbour from the west and mentions a "queer white monument peeping over the bushy point of the land". A booklet entitled *Federated Malay States Railways* identifies the "monument" as "the obelisk which marks the harbour limit"¹ of Keppel Harbour, which was "formerly known as New Harbour"². On page 196 of "The End of the Tether" is the line:

... they came slowly to the end of the avenue before the Cathedral

and there follows a description of the

... sacred edifice standing in solemn isolation amongst the converging avenues of enormous trees.

This is St. Andrew's Cathedral—marked clearly with the open ground about it on the map of Singapore included in *Federated Malay States Railways*. On the same page of "The End of the Tether" is mention of "the Government House—a many-windowed, arcaded palace upon a hill laid out in roads and gardens". Reclus' *Asia*³ presents a map of Singapore as it was in 1895

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and the Government House is placed on it at some distance from the main part of town amid extensive grounds on a plainly marked hill with roads clearly charted. On page 209 of "The End of the "ether" are these lines:

The Esplanade was very quiet; only from afar, from very far, a long way from the sea-shore, across stretches of grass, through the ranges of trees came faintly the toot-toot-toot of the cable car beginning to roll before the empty peristyle of the Public Library on its three-mile journey to the New Harbour Rocks.

The map of Singapore in the **Federated Malay Railways** shows the Esplanade with St. Andrew's Cathedral facing on it and the library within three long blocks inland. There is a scale for measuring mileage and according to it the distance from the library to Keppel Harbour docks would be three miles. In the placement of the harbour, its obelisk, the Cathedral, the government House, the Esplanade and the Library, Conrad's Singapore is true to the city of his day.

Conrad's geography of northern Malaysia is, then, without doubt authentic in both its regions centering about the Siamese Gulf and the Peninsula. How true to fact is his geography of the district of his most extensive experience--Borneo and Celebes with islands nearby? The half dozen trips he took on the **Vider** from Singapore to points on the west, south, and east Bornean coast and to west Celebes ports introduced him to the settings of Almayer's Folly, An Outcast of the Islands, The Rescue, Victory, "Karain", **
"The Lagoon", and "Because of the Dollers".

According to Reclus, "The three great Indonesian islands of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo, together with the Malay peninsula, all rest on a vast flooded plateau, where the water is scarcely anywhere more than forty fathoms deep.\(^1\) The International Geography states that this shallow water extends "from the Strait of Sunda east to the meridian of Lombok... while beyond that line all the way to a bank close to the coast of New Guinea, extends a deep sea with deeper basins. The boundary between this plateau and the deeper sea, known as "Wallace's Line\(^2\) (after the distinguished naturalist who first indicated its existence), lies close to the east of Bali, Borneo, and the Philippine Islands, and runs thence, via Formosa to the Asiatic mainland.\(^2\) "Wallace calls this a "shallow sea", "so shallow that ships can anchor in any part of it".\(^3\)

The Rescue deals especially with the portion of this sea between Sumatra and Borneo, the setting of the early chapters of the novel. The book begins:

The shallow sea that foams and murmurs on the shores of the thousand islands, big and little, which make up the Malay Archipelago has been for centuries the scene of adventurous undertakings.\(^4\)

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1. Oceanica, p. 18.
3. The Malay Archipelago, p. 23.
4. p. 3.
Out of the level blue of a shallow sea Carimate raises a lofty barrenness of grey and yellow tints, the drab eminence of its arid heights. Separated by a narrow strip of water, Suroetan, to the west, shows curved and ridged outline resembling the backbone of a stooping giant. 1

The Carimate Channel is between the large islands of Billiton and Banke off the southeast Sumatran shore and the southeast Bornean coast. Carimate and Suroetan are in the charts in the northern waters of the channel. Reclus describes the islands of this region as being extensions of the peninsula and not of Sumatra. They are rocky, surrounded by dangerous reefs, and "almost destitute of thermal springs". 2

Both Conrad’s shallow sea and its islands of Carimate and Suroetan are treated authentically.

Borneo is very important in Conrad’s Malay fiction. Conrad’s Daret-es-Salam (Shore of Refuge) is on the south-west coast of Borneo facing the Java Sea, which lies between south Borneo and north Java.

According to Hendrik De Leeuw,

Java, Celebes and Bali present glistening rocky coastlines to the beating of the seas; Borneo is low and dank. The sun beats down on Java, Celebes and Bali and makes people kind.

1. p. 5.
2. Oceanica, p. 117.
and cheerful; in Borneo it makes them primitive and often ferocious. It is healthy to travel in those other islands; in Borneo there are moist heat, malodorous jungle and fatally dangerous insects to contend with. My first view of Borneo was in the morning from the Royal Packet of the K.P.M., en route from Surabaja to Banjermassin (south Borneo). On the packet it was cool, yet the low dark green--almost black--coastline ahead looked like a steaming wall; forbidding and impassable. Then we came shortly to Banjermassin, barely stopping there, and steamed right on down the coast. It was on our left all the way: muddy, poisonous-looking, making navigation dangerous to ships that come too close. I boarded a small coastwise steamer, heading for Samarinda. . . on the delta of the Mahakam River, the Mississippi of the Dyak country [mid-way up the east coast]. The coast on this trip offered, virtually without difference, the same prospect, as my first view of Borneo. Marshy strips extended far out into the water, while low vegetation marked the beginning of the jungle wall, which a little further back towered up to tall majestic trees, bound together thickly with creepers and vines. On the entire scene the sun beat steadily and hotly, and at spots an almost visible vapour steamed from the forbidding panorama. The island of Borneo, geographically, is the third largest island on the face of the globe, after New Guinea and Greenland. Its coast is compact, almost bayless. The central portions are very mountainous, and it is there that the four main waterway systems have their fount, working down to lower levels and thus to the ocean, where the detritus carried from the highlands forms large and swampy deltas. The completeness of the jungle territory in the east has caused most of the native population, and European pioneering, to be concentrated in the west.

Further information is to be had from Ridpath.

The coast line is smooth throughout the whole periphery, with only occasional and moderate indent-

1. Crossroads of the Java Sea, Garden City Publishing Co., New York, 1951, pp. 3-7. Hendrik de Leeuw is a member of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers, of the Royal Dutch Geographic Society, of the Java Institute, and Fellow of the American Geographic Society.
tations... The smoothness of the coast line is to be explained by the alluvial character of the maritime parts of the island... There is no climate more humid than this. The number of raining days in the year—that is, of the days in which rain falls in the form of showers or continuous nimbus—approximates three hundred... In the rainy season, extending from November to May, the clouds thicken and the outpouring is many times like a deluge. Wind and thunder accompany the storm.

In his account of Bornean geography, Reclus remarks that

... the section of Borneo lying south of the equator is the most abundantly watered part of the country. Here follow in rapid succession the rivers Koterining, Pembyan, Sampit, Katungan, Kahajan, and Barito, all, like the Kapuas, lined by occasionally flooded moorasses, all steadily advancing beyond the normal coastline, and all presenting navigable highways far into the interior... During the inundations of floodwaters (streams)... intermingle, converting the intervening plains into a vast sheet of water. Like... other large rivers flowing through low-lying tracts (the streams) shift their courses, forming new channels, especially at sharp turnings, and thus give rise to lagoons and backwaters.

... the dangerous character of the Bornean climate is due not to its heat, but to the heavy night dews and to the malaria caused by the periodic inundations and decomposition of organic matters, especially in the interior less exposed to the invigorating sea breezes.

What German writes in his Handbook of British Malaya applies to all equatorial Malaya.

Malaya has no experience of typhoons and other destructive storms for which the China Sea is

1. Great Races of Mankind, vol. 3, pp. 752-753.
2. Oceanica, p. 127.
3. Ibid., p. 130.
notorious, as they do not come so far south. The frequency of thunderstorms, on the other hand, is very high, probably the highest in the world, particularly in the transition seasons, in which the stagnant air with its high humidity especially lends itself to the formation of the large local disturbances which result in thunderstorms.

To return to De Leeuw for the scene farther inland on Bornean rivers:

For miles that first day the river flowed in a wide course, with a deep current, strong but not very swift. Of course as we progressed the almost imperceptible narrowing of the banks became noticeable, especially as compared with the delta from which we had come, where the main river divided itself into smaller streams constantly, until the sea was reached and the network of branches merged into the harbour and the shore. Our narrow praus knifed their way through the water . . . We had plenty of time to watch the banks slip by. Nearly all that first day they were monotonous. Low and poisonous looking, with only stunted trees to mark the edge, behind which seemed to stretch an interminably flat country . . . But soon the view took on a different aspect. The banks grew somewhat steeper, and seemed to press in on us as we slid silently over the surface of the great river . . . Now the trees were surrounded, smothered in vegetation. It was not a solid green, but a strange merging of seemingly hundreds of infinitesimally differing shades of green. The undermides of great heavy leaves, turning lazily in a faint gust of wind, would show momentarily an almost white green, and then disappear as suddenly . . . Gigantic fern-like growths reached their nodding heads over the bank, at times dipping gently, like weeping willows, into the water . . . From time to time, as we came exceptionally close to the shore, we could see literal swarms of centipedes, scorpions and terantules. The very

1. Malayan Civil Service, 1930, p. 15.
undergrowth seemed to creep with them, while over the edge of the water where the vegetation disappeared into it, however, numberless squadrons of huge mosquitoes, each carrying a deadly load of germs . . . And now, as we progressed further upstream during the afternoon, the river narrowed even more. We glided along between walls of dark green in the shadow of mighty trees, their boles hidden behind thick creepers and peri petrol climbers, the area around the roots of the trees being choked with floral growths in brilliant contrasting colours, like a hodge-podge garden. Above, waving gently to and fro in the puffs of faint river breeze, were the tops of the trees, plumed like giant green feathers . . . There everything was big, of heavy, solid colours, with tree bound to tree by twining, writhing creepers, that seemed like fetters chaining a vast horde of giants together.

A quotation from Frank Swettenham's² Malay Sketches on the nature of the Malaysian jungle will complete the picture of Borneo that is needed for a comparison with Conrad's Borneo.

The reading public, no doubt, believes that the jungle of Darkest Africa is a place of gloom, terror and difficulty without parallel. It may be so, but few of those who know it have visited Malaya . . . Whatever gruesome peculiarities there are about the African jungle, it seems possible for large bodies of men and women to make their way through it at a fair pace without great difficulty. In that respect at least it has the advantage of the Malay forest. To begin with there are the trees of all sizes, from the smallest shoot to the giants of the jungle, towering to a height of 150 feet. I know that is

2. Frank Swettenham has been in turn British Resident for Selangor and Perak, Resident General of the Federated Malay States, and Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Straits Settlements. He has written several authoritative books on Malaya.
not excessive, but in this forcing climate there are an enormous number of such trees, treading on each other's roots and crowding the older and feeble out of existence. These are nothing, they afford a pleasant shade from the pitiless rays of the sun, and though this mitigated light cannot by any stretch of the imagination be called darkness, it is possible to take off your hat without fear of sunstroke. If it were only for the trees, jungle walking would be pleasant enough.

Under them, however, there is an undergrowth so thick as to beggar description. Every conceivable kind of palm, of bush, of creeper, flourishes there with a luxuriance, with a prodigality of vegetable life, that shows how richly Nature deserves her title of Mother. It is a curious fact . . . that a very large number of the shrubs, many of the palms, and most of the creepers are armed with spines of various length, but all of about the same sharpness. . . . Under the creepers lie fallen trees, and the ground is covered with ferns, rank grasses, and what is generally termed undergrowth, so thick that the soil is often entirely hidden. It may be added that this tangle of vegetation harbours every species of crawling, jumping, and flying unpleasantness . . . To force a way through such a place is an impossibility, even on all fours it could not be crawled through, the only means of progress is by cutting a path.

The lower and more swampy the country, the thicker the undergrowth, and I have often noticed that, where a river flows between two low banks clothed with virgin forest, it would be almost impossible for even a strong swimmer to force his way out of the water on to the land through the thickly interlaced tangle of branches, reeds, and other thorny creepers that stretch their uninviting arms from the bank far over the water of the stream.1

It is seen that the main features of Bornean geography are a generally low, swampy, even coast, heavily vegetated, at which many large, sluggish, muddy rivers, having their rise in the mountain system at the center of the island, enter the surrounding seas through deltas. These rivers often

form lagoons and water byways. Farther inland, they
reach firmer land, laden with jungle growth. The climate
is hot and moist, with a high frequency of thunderstorms
especially during the monsoon season. It is a trying cli-
mate because of its sogginess and of the pests it breeds.

If the route of the Vider is followed around south
Borneo and up the east side to Bulungan in connection with
Conrad's novels, the first of Borneo to come to view is The
Shore of Refuge of The Rescue, on the southwest coast. It
appears as might be expected—even even, low shore with hid-
den lagoons.

To the eastward the coast was low; a coast of
green forests fringed with dark mangroves.¹

The coast off which the little brig . . . seemed to
guard the high hull of the yacht has no distinctive
features. It is land without form. It stretches
away without cape or bluff, long and low—indeﬁnitely;
and when the heavy gusts of the northeast monsoon
drive the thick rain slanting over the sea, it is
seen faintly under the grey sky, black and with
blurring outline like the straight edge of a dissolving
shore. In the long season of unclouded days, it pre-
sents to view only a narrow band of earth that appears
crushed ﬂat upon the vast level of waters by the
weight of the sky, whose immense dome rests on it in
a line as ﬁne and true as that of the sea horizon
itself. Its approaches are extremely difﬁcult for a
stranger. Looked at from seaward, the innumerable
islets fringing what, on account of its vast size, may
be called the mainland, merge into a background that

¹ The Rescue, p. 57.
presents not a single landmark to point the way through the intricate channels.  

Back in from this shore, dangerous as De Leeuw stated, on a typical lagoon was Belarab’s settlement.

Far away the inland forests were tinted a shimmering blue, like the forests of a dream. 'In the seaward side the belt of great trunks and matted undergrowth came to the western shore of the oval lagoon.'

Jaffir in the jungle

. . . walked stooping, with a broad chopper in his hand . . . Along the hot and gloomy forest path, neglected, overgrown and strangled in the fierce life of the jungle, there came a faint rustle of leaves . . . A multitude of biting insects made a cloud about his head . . . Putting his head low in the tunnel of vegetation, he dashed forward out of the horrible cloud of flies . . . But it was not from the cruelty of insects that he was flying, for no man could hope to drop that escort, and Jaffir in his life of a faithful messenger had been accustomed, if such an extravagant phrase may be used, to be eaten alive. Bent nearly double, he glided and dodged between the trees, through the undergrowth, his brown body streaming with sweat, his firm limbs gleaming like limbs of imperishable bronze through the mass of green leaves that are forever born and forever dying.'

There is nothing in The rescue scene out of accord with the true Borneo.

Cape Selatan is marked near the southeast point of Borneo on the map. "The body of Laughing Anne" was "com-

1. Ibid., p. 63.
2. Ibid., p. 106.
3. Ibid., pp. 372-373.
mitted to the deep" some twenty miles S.S.W. from Cape Selatan. The main setting of "Because of the Dollars" is Mirrah Settlement. In consideration of the fact that Anne was buried at sea near Cape Selatan, it is probable that the Mirrah Settlement Conrad meant was near Cape Mirrah on the east Bornean coast not far north of Selatan. The Vider traded all along that coast. The description of Mirrah fits the Bornean scene.

It was a small settlement. Some sixty houses, most of them built on piles over the river, the rest scattered in the long grass; the usual pathway at the back; the forest hemming in the clearing and smothering what there might have been of air into a dead, hot stagnation.

No geographical names are given in "The Lagoon", but it is highly probable that Arsat's home was Wajo on the Gulf of Boni, Celebes; for there is a similarity between this story and "Kerain", and Kerain's native country was Wajo. Wajo and the Bugis people, moreover, particularly interested Conrad. It is also probable that Conrad had Arsat and Diamelon seek refuge on one of the hundreds of hidden lagoons along the east Bornean shore. Certainly nothing could fit the Bornean scene, which he knew so well, more closely than his description of the lagoon.

At the end of the straight avenue of forests cut by the intense glitter of the river, the sun appeared unclouded and dazzling, poised low over the water that shone smoothly like a band of metal. The forests, sombre and dull, stood motionless and silent on each side of the broad stream. At the foot of big, towering trees, trunkless nipa palms rose from the mud of the bank, in bunches of leaves enormous and heavy, that hung unstirring over the brown swirl of eddies. In the stillness of the air every tree, every leaf, every bough, every tendril of creeper and every petal of minute blossoms seemed to have been bewitched into an immobility perfect and final... For the last three miles of its course the wandering, hesitating river, as if enticed irresistibly by the freedom of an open horizon, flows straight into the sea, flows straight to the east that harbours both light and darkness... The steersman dug his paddle into the stream and held on with stiffened arms... The water gurgled cloud; and suddenly the long straight reach seemed to pivot at the centre... The course of the boat had been altered at right-angles to the stream, and the carved dragon-head of its prow was pointing now at a gap in the fringing bushes of the bank. It glided through, brushing the overhanging twigs, and disappeared from the river... The narrow creek was like a ditch: tortuous, fabulously deep; filled with gloom under the thin strip of pure and shining blue of the heaven. Immense trees soared up, invisible behind the festooned draperies of creepers. Here and there, near the glistening blackness of the water, a twisted root of some tall tree showed amongst the treecry of small ferns, black and dull, writhing and motionless like an arrested snake. The short words of the paddlers reverberated loudly between the thick and sombre walls of vegetation. Darkness oozed out from between the trees, through the tangled maze of the creepers, from behind the great fantastic and unstirring leaves; the darkness, mysterious and invincible; the darkness, scented and poisonous, of impenetrable forests... The creek broadened, opening out into a wide sweep of a stagnant lagoon. The forest receded from the marshy bank, leaving a level strip of bright green, reedy grass to frame the reflected blueness of the sky. A fleecy pink cloud drifted high above, trailing the delicate colouring of its image under the floating leaves and the silvery blossoms of the lotus. A little house, perched on
high piles, appeared black in the distance. Near it, two tall nibong palms that seemed to have come out of the forests in the background, leaned slightly over the ragged roof, with a suggestion of sad tenderness and care in the droop of their leafy and soaring heads.

Bulungan (Conrad’s Sambir) is marked on the map up from the mouth of the Kajam (Conrad’s Pantai) River probably the same number of miles as Conrad states in Almayer’s Folly:

"there are thirty miles of river from Sambir to the gem-like islands of the estuary". This setting of Almayer’s Folly and An Outcast of the Islands includes the features that might be expected from its Bornean position:

... the lonely stretches of sparkling brown water bordered by the dense and silent forest...

the landscape of brown golds and brilliant emeralds under the dome of hot sapphire; the whispering big trees; the logunacious nipa-palms that rustled their leaves volubly in the night breeze...

the heavy scents of blossoms and black earth, that breath of life and death that lingered...

in the damp air of tepid... nights...

the narrow and sombre creeks, strangers to the sun; black, smooth, tortuous.

There are the by-paths of water and the quiet lagoons surrounded by dense vegetation.

In a moment the two little nutshells with their occupants floated quietly side by side, reflected by the black water in the dim light struggling through a high canopy of dense foliage... All around them in a ring of luxuriant vegetation

2. Almayer’s Folly, p. 36.
3. An Outcast of the Islands, p. 201.
bathed in the warm air charged with strong and harsh perfumes, the intense work of tropical nature went on: plants shooting upward, entwined, interlaced in inextricable confusion, climbing madly and brutally over each other in the terrible silence of a desperate struggle towards the life-giving sunshine above—as if struck with sudden horror at the seething mass of corruption below, at the death and decay from which they sprang. 1

Here is the heat and smelliness of damp lowland.

The present misery of burning sun of the muddy and malodorous river bank disappeared in a gorgeous dream.

The light and heat fell upon the settlement, the clearings, and the river as if flung down by an angry hand. The land lay silent, still, and brilliant under the avalanche of burning rays that had destroyed all sound and all motion, had buried all shadows, had choked every breath.

Sembir was born in a swamp and passed his youth in malodorous mud. 4

There are the clammy, dewy, damp nights and the hordes of mosquitoes.

The sun was sinking rapidly... the trunks of the trees in the forest on the east bank were lost in gloom while their highest branches swayed gently in the departing sunlight. The air felt heavy and cold in the breeze expiring in slight puffs that came over the water. Almayer shivered... 5

2. Ibid., p. 62.
4. Ibid., p. 65.
5. Almayer's Folly, p. 143.
Babralatchi sat ... slapping himself over his naked torso incessantly in a vain endeavor to keep off an occasional and wandering mosquito that, rising as high as the platform above the swarms of the riverside, would settle with a ping of triumph upon the unexpected victim.

The characteristic Malaysian violent thunderstorms complete the scene.

Round her all was yet stillness and peace, but she could hear afar off the driving roar, and hiss of heavy rain, the wash of the waves on the tormented river. It came nearer and nearer, with loud thunder-claps and long flashes of vivid lightning, followed by short periods of appalling blackness. The thunder spoke in one prolonged roll, and the incessant lightning disclosed a turmoil of leaping waters, driving logs, and the big trees bending before a brutal and merciless force. Undisturbed by the nightly event of the rainy monsoon, the father slept quietly ... .

The thunder seemed to take up the burden in a low growl coming from the inland hills. The noise approached in confused mutterings which kept on increasing, swelling into a roar that came nearer, rushed down the river, passed close in a tearing crash—and instantly sounded faint, dying away in monotonous and dull repetitions amongst the endless sinuosities of the lower reaches.

A light frown ran over the river, the clouds stirred slowly, changing their aspect but not their place, as if they had turned ponderously over; and when the sudden movement had died out in a quickened tremor of the slenderest twigs, there was a short period of formidable immobility above and below, during which the voice of thunder was heard, speaking in a sustained, emphatic and vibrating roll, with violent louder bursts of crashing sound, like a wrathful and threatening discourse of an angry god. For a moment it died out, and then another

1. An Outcast of the Islands, p. 49.
gust of wind passed, driving before it a white mist which filled the space with a cloud of water-dust that hid suddenly from Willems the canoe, the forests, the river itself. He made a few hurried steps up the courtyard and was arrested by an immense sheet of water that fell all at once on him, fell sudden and overwhelming from the clouds, cutting his respiration, streaming over his head, clinging to him, running down his body, off his arms, off his legs. He stood gasping while the water beat him in a vertical downpour, drove on him slanting in squalls, and he felt the drops striking him from above, from everywhere. From under his feet a great vapour of broken water floated up, he felt the ground become soft—melt under him—and saw the water spring out from the dry earth to meet the water that fell from the sombre heaven.

In Conrad's Borneo, the scene includes the low mangrove shore line of The Shore of Refuge, lagoons of The Shore of Refuge and "The Lagoon", the broad Sembir flowing between low, jungle-forested banks, the jungle tangle of Belarab's country, the pestilen ce of a tropical swamp land, and the crashing thunderstorms typical of Malaya—all geographical characteristics mentioned as typically Bornean and Malayan by Reclus, De Leeuw, Ridpath, and Swettenham.

The Wider stopped on each trip at the important trading town of Macassar near the point of Celebes farthest southwest and facing the Java Sea. Through the memories of Almayer and in the first few chapters of the Outcast Conrad's Macassar is seen as a thriving commercial town.

2. Almayer's Folly, chapter 1.
with busy warehouses. "At that time Macassar was teeming with life and commerce."¹ Reclus remarks that Macassar's position is "one of the most convenient for trade in Indonesia".² Conrad did not describe Macassar with exact allusions to certain buildings, monuments, etc., such as he used in connection with Singapore. His description leaves a general impression of a town composed of warehouses along a busy roadstead, a native section,³ and a residential section of European cottages surrounded by gardens.⁴ Macassar was to Conrad "the prettiest, and perhaps the cleanest-looking of all the towns of the islands".⁵ This was also Wallace's opinion on his visit there: "Macassar was the first Dutch town I had visited, and I found it prettier and cleaner than any I had yet seen in the East."⁶ Macassar harbour is important in "Freya of the Seven Isles" for it was there that the Neptun, while going through the Spermonde Passage, left the Bonito, which was in tow, on the Tamissa Reef.⁷

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¹ Almayer's Folly, p. 6.
² Oceanica, p. 227.
³ Almayer's Folly, p. 5.
⁴ An Outcast of the Islands, p. 30.
⁵ Ibid., p. 7.
⁶ Twixt Land and Sea, p. 221-222.
⁷ The Malay Archipelago, p. 219.
⁸ Twixt Land and Sea, p. 220.
⁹ Ibid., p. 219.
The Spermonde islets and Tamissa Reef are both actual names on the map just off the coast and within view of Macassar.1

Thus far the discussion has been held to the Malaysian settings found in Conrad's fiction with which he himself is known to have had actual experience. As has been stated, we are not yet certain exactly how far Conrad travelled beyond the itineraries of his boats.

South Celebes and the Gulf of Boni figure importantly in Conrad's fiction. Conrad's Karein was the brother of the ruler of one of the four states of Wajo2 and the river on which he lived3 probably flowed into the Gulf of Boni, the great body of water that cuts deep into the southern shore.

1. This incident of the grounding of the Bonito on Tamissa Reef, ending with Heemskirk's derisive call to Jasper Allen as they reached Macassar, "And now you may go ashore to the courts, you damned Englishmen" (Twixt Land and Sea, p. 221), is evidently the same as that referred to in The Rescue, page 101, where the same words are used, although the victim is there named Lawson instead of Allen. Joseph Conrad Life and Letters by Jean-Aubry, volume 2, page 133, gives the name of the man to whom this actually happened, as Sutton. In the letter to Edward Garnett reproduced on this page, Conrad explained that he had heard the story in Singapore. It is therefore most probable that the boat in tow was stranded on the real Tamissa Reef and just as described in "Freya of the Seven Isles".

2. Tales of Unrest, p. 28.
3. Ibid., p. 30.
of Celebes. When Kerain and Matara started on their mission of vengeance, they "sailed south . . . examined the creeks and bays . . . saw the end of " their "coast, of" their "island--a steep cape over a disturbed strait". They "saw a great mountain burning in the midst of the water; . . . and thousands of islets scattered like bits of iron fired from a big gun."¹ Reclus writes of the "numerous fishing stations on the creeks and sheltered straits" of the Gulf of Boni.² A map of Celebes in Oceanica ³ shows the "steep cape" --Lassoa--jutting out into the island-dotted Selayer Strait. Kerain was headed for Java. Somewhere near Selayer Strait and Java he passed the "mountain burning in the midst of the water". Java belongs to the "fiery girdle" of volcanoes which Wallace traced in a semicircle around Celebes to the south and east and touching the island only on its northeastern tip. Kerain probably saw one of the small volcanic islands on the northern edge of the "girdle". Perhaps it was the one referred to in Victory that "smoked faintly all day with its head just above the northern horizon" from Samburan. Whether or not Conrad was acquainted with the South Celebes region, he mentions no feature which can be proved false.

¹ Tales of Unrest, p. 28.
² Oceanica, p. 227.
³ Ibid., p. 220. Also Rand-McNally map of East Indies.
land facing the Salayer Strait, is the Tiger group of isles and shoals. As yet I have not found a map complete enough to name the various Tiger islands, which indeed resemble on the chart "scattered" shot "from a big gun"; so the exact position of Samburan (or Round Island) cannot be indicated. Conrad's Samburan had a high hill on it.\textsuperscript{1} Reclus states that Salayer is a "long, hilly island" with one part of its ridge as high as 5,840 feet, and that the islands to the south of it "may also be regarded as forming part of the same geographical system".\textsuperscript{2} Geographies in general omit any account of the Tigers, but it is probable that those islands are of the same formation as Salayer. To the general character of this region--the indented west coast of the Gulf of Boni and the island world south of it, part of it, volcanic, Conrad's background is true.

Eventually Conrad's Karain established a small feudal country of his own in "a conveniently isolated corner of Mindanao".\textsuperscript{3} This introduces Conrad's one description of the Philippines. Reclus writes of this island:

\begin{quote}
The vegetation of the seaboard . . . is dense and leafy . . . ; the shores are everywhere deeply indented by bays and inlets; island-studded lakes reflect the surrounding woodlands; the horizon is
\end{quote}

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{Victria}, p. 185.
\item \textit{Oceanica}, p. 221.
\item \textit{Tales of Unrest}, p. 7.
\end{enumerate}
bounded by lofty crests and cones wrapped in vapours.

The scene of "Kerain" involves a "bey-like a bottomless pit of intense light. The circular sheet of water reflected a luminous sky, and the shores enclosing it made an opaque ring of earth floating in an emptiness of transparent blue. The hills, purple and arid, stood out heavily on the sky: their summits seemed to fade into a coloured tremble as of ascending vapour; their steep sides were streaked with the green of narrow ravines; at their foot lay rice-fields, plantain-patches, yellow sands. A torrent wound about like a dropped thread. Clumps of fruit trees marked the villages; slim palms put their nodding heads together above the low houses; dried palm-leaf roofs shone afar... behind the dark colonnades of tree-trunks."\(^2\) In its protected harbor, fertile shore, and range of mountains in the background, Conrad's Mindanao is like Reclus's.

It can be said for the settings of "Kerain" and Victory, then, that although they cannot be mapped with perfect clarity and although we are not certain that Conrad knew them personally, their geography is true to the general character of the land and sea of the south Celebes and Philippine districts.

The bulk of Conrad's Malaysian settings fall in the

2. Tales of Unrest, p. 5,6.
central area of Malaysia, but some include geographical positions at the very edge of that region when most broadly defined. "Typhoon" on the north boundary describes one of what Heclus calls "the terrific cyclonic movements of the China Sea, here known as typhoons, that is 'tai fung', or 'great winds'."¹ It is no doubt a faithful account of a typhoon. Lieutenant-Commander Cooper, in the same article on Conrad referred to before, concludes that in "Typhoon" Conrad's "shifting of the wind" is "in a manner which could not be done by any one who had not actually experienced it", and adds, "I repeat a former statement, even at the risk of offending eminent men of letters, . . . that a story, or tale, or what you will, such as 'Typhoon' can only by appreciated to the full by those who have an intimate knowledge of the sea and its followers."²

"The Planter of Malata" is set at the eastern extremity of Malaysia. The map with a list of locations included with the Concord edition of Conrad's works places the story in "Australia and probably a Melanesian island". Conrad may have seen the setting for his future Malata when he took his boat from Australia to Mauritius by way of the Torres Strait. Among the Solomon Islands east of New Guinea where the whole Malaysian Archipelago borders the open ocean, is

¹ Oceanica, p. 22.
one named Malayta or Malaita, which spelling might easily vary to Malata. In "The Planter of Maleta" there are references to the Pacific as tempering the climate and to Tahitians among Renouard's workmen. Renouard himself is described as a Canadian sent out from England to experiment with silk plants on a grant of government land on an island, and the Solomon Islands belong to England. Reclus writes of the Solomon Islands as being fringed by barrier reefs.

These are mentioned by Conrad. "Malaita in the northern division of the Solomon group" Reclus describes as "consisting of igneous ranges whose culminating crest rises... to the altitude of 4,270 feet." On the hillsides the forests extend in a continuous, impenetrable mass." Conrad's Malata "grew from the sea, showing here and there its naked members of basaltic rock through the rents of heavy foliage." In spite of these likenesses, one has the feeling that Conrad's Malata is too small and its hill too low to be identified with Malaita. It fits perfectly, however, into the general physical background of the area in which it is placed.

At the extreme western edge of Malaysia, broadly con-

1. Example—*Within the Tides*, p. 119.
5. *Oceanica*, p. 322.
6. *Within the Tides*, p. 64, 126.
9. *Within the Tides*, p. 64.
Considered, are the islands of Madagascar and Mauritius. Of Mauritius, the Pearl Island of "A Smile of Fortune", Reclus writes:

Consisting entirely of basaltic rocks, it is probably older than Réunion, its coasts more indented, its hills more eroded, and its craters more obliterated. The great central mass is encircled by plains of reddish clay formerly clothed with dense forests, but now laid out in plantations and gardens and studded with villages. The central plateau is dominated by the Piton du Midi (2,000 feet), consisting exclusively of horizontally disposed columnar basalt, but exceeded in altitude by the Black River peak, culminating point of the island (2,730 feet). Above the picturesque hills in the northern district rises the remarkable obelisk-shaped Pieter Both surmounted by an enormous globular block.

The staple produce and exports are sugar and rum, the island possessing over two hundred and fifty sugar mills... yielding on an average from fifty to eighty thousand tons of sugar.

"A Smile of Fortune" begins:

Ever since the sun rose I had been looking ahead... After a sixty days' passage I was anxious to make my landfall, a fertile and beautiful island of the tropics. The more enthusiastic of its inhabitants delight in describing it as the "Pearl of the Ocean"... First rate sugar cane is grown there. All the population of the Pearl lives for it and by it. Sugar is their daily bread, as it were. And I was coming to them for a cargo of sugar in the hope of the crop having been good and of the freights being high... Very soon

1. Oceanica, p. 43.
2. Ibid., p. 44.
I became entranced by this blue, pinnacled apparition, almost transparent against the light of the sky, a mere emanation, the astral body of an island risen to greet me from afar... I wondered... whether what would meet me in that island would be as luckily exceptional as this beautiful, dreamlike vision.

An island constructed along the line indicated by Reclus could give Conrad this lovely impression.

Somewhere between Mauritius and the East Indies, in the Indian Ocean, the Judea of "Jough" burned and sank. Conrad prevented Richard Curle from publishing the name of the exact place off southwest Java where he and his boat load of seamen landed. He wished to poetize his first impressions of the East and he felt that the reader's knowledge of the true setting would make his description seem overdrawn. In the Eastern background of "Jough", then, there is nothing to place it definitely in any one part of the Indies.

At the southern extremity of Malaysia are the islands Timor and Bali, neither of which was ever visited by Conrad as far as we know. That he probably consulted Wallace's Malay Archipelago for information when he described Bali in Almayer's Folly and Timor in Victory, has already been stated in the part of this paper which discusses Wallace's influence on Conrad. Since Wallace's word as that of an authority has been respected by geographers for years,

1. 'Twixt Land and Sea, p. 3.
Conrad's Bali and Timor may be considered authentic.

In his settings on the borders of Malaysia, then, Conrad is correct. "Typhoon" takes place in the true typhoon area, the China Sea. Melata, whether the true Maleita or not, is true to the type of island in the far western area of the Archipelago. It is wooded, hilly, and surrounded by dangerous reefs. It is less humid than the center islands of the Archipelago because of its proximity to the Pacific. Mauritius at the other extremity is the real Mauritius in its mountainous nature and its sugar trade. Bali has its proper high peak and terraced fields. Timor is swampy and pestilent as it should be.

It is highly improbable that Conrad ever visited the west coast of Sumatra, scene of his Patusan of Lord Jim. The exact position of an actual Patusan in Sumatra is unknown. At present there is no Patusan nor Patusan River in Sumatra, yet Conrad's fictitious setting can be quite accurately placed on the real map.

In the first place, we know that Patusan is in Sumatra because the adventurer Brown passed through the Sunda Strait, which divides Java and Sumatra, and sailed for nearly a week along the coast westward before he reached Betu Kring, the village at the mouth of the Patusan river.¹ The only coast he could sail along westward from the Strait of

¹ Lord Jim, p. 357.
Sunda would be that of Sumatra. Further evidence that Patusan was on the west coast is offered by the fact that Marlow and Jim looked westward over the ocean from the landing beach at Patusan.\(^1\)

Just what is Patusan? "Patusan is a remote district of a native-ruled State, and the chief settlement bears the same name."\(^2\) Conrad situates the settlement about forty miles up the Patusan River.\(^3\) "The stream of civilization, as if divided on a headland a hundred miles north of Patusan, branches east and south-east."\(^4\) This would be the headland of Atjeh, passed by vessels going east to Penang and south-east to Singapore and the "Indies. Patusan, then, is one hundred miles down the west coast from the extreme north-west tip of Sumatra.

What is the nature of this part of Sumatra? A study of the map shows that about one hundred miles down the west coast the river Tenom rises in the range of mountains not far inland and flows over lowlands into the ocean. The coast all along there is very even, with but few and small indentations. Reclus mentions a port at the mouth of the Tenom which would correspond to Conrad's Batu Kring.\(^5\) Although the rivers of the west coast are not long, Reclus writes

1. Lord Jim, p. 334.
2. Ibid., p. 220.
3. Ibid., p. 220.
4. Ibid., p. 226.
5. Oceanica, p. 108.
that they have built up "alluvial lands of great extent", and that there is heavy vegetation everywhere, for on both east and west slopes of the Sumatran mountains "an enormous volume of rain water" falls annually. We would then expect Patusan to consist of a range of mountains inland where the Patusan River would rise and flow through damp lowlands swathed in tropical vegetation to the sea; and that is exactly what it is, as a quotation from Lord Jim proves.

The coast of Patusan ... is straight and sombre, and faces a misty ocean. Red trails are seen like cataracts of rust streaming under the dark-green foliage of bushes and creepers clothing the low cliffs. Swamy plains open out at the mouth of rivers; with a view of jagged peaks beyond the vast forests.

These are the main facts, enlarged into a typical Malaysian scene on various pages of the Patusan narrative. In its general character of low, jungle-clothed alluvial lands bordering a straight coast and drained by rivers rising in mountain chains about forty miles inland, Conrad's Patusan

1. Osteenca, p. 91.
2. Ibid., p. 91.
4. The landscape from the town of Patusan is of especial interest. "At a point on the river about forty miles from the sea, where the first houses come into view, there can be seen rising above the level of the forests the summits of two steep hills very close together." (p. 220) It was on one of these hills that a wandering Arab half-breed ... had established himself in a fortified camp" (p. 257) and raided the surrounding country until Jim and Doremin managed to destroy his fort. Owen Rutter (The Pirate Wind,
is typical of the west Sumatran area.

This concludes the comparison of Conrad's geography with the geography of Malaysia as presented by maps and authoritative writers. One thing more should be mentioned. In his fiction Conrad makes use of about one hundred place-names and nearly all of them are actually to be found on maps. There are islands, as, for example, the Moluccas, Pulo Laut, New Guinea, Pulo Condor, Sumbawa, and Madura; bodies of water, such as the Straits of Khio, Billiton Passage, Strait of Macasser, and Formosa Channel, and towns, Temate, Zamboanga, Saigon, Anjer, and Menangkabo. Even such

p. 115 ff.), tells an incident which may account for the name Patusan. In the days of Sir James Brooke, two half-bred Arab brothers occupied a strongly fortified hill position at a place called Patusan up the Batang Luper River on the west Bornean coast. Rajah Brooke with the aid of Dyak and Malay friends overcame the Arabs who were really pirates, and destroyed the fort. Conrad's Patusan is in accord with the true Sumatran scene, but it may have received its name and perhaps some of its geography from a place in Borneo.

1. Lord Jim, p. 21.
2. Ibid., p. 35.
3. The Rescue, p. 69.
5. The Rescue, p. 68.
6. Almayer's Folly, p. 133.
7. The Rescue, p. 35.
8. Ibid., p. 92.
11. Lord Jim, p. 357.
12. Ibid., p. 344.
13. Within the Tides, p. 252.
15. Ibid., p. 102.
fragments of land as the "Alpole Reefs" are to be found on the maps. Only a few of the many, many place-names scattered through Conrad's Malaysian fiction remain unfound: Whalley Island and Condor Reef, "somewhere between Australia and China", are examples.

A consideration of Conrad's geography results in the conclusion that it is very nearly faultless. Conrad kept his backgrounds true to the Malaysian map and climate and physical geography. In the life of a sea man accurate charts play a very important part; so also does careful observation of physical features which may be of use in navigation. When we remember that for years Conrad's duty involved a close scrutiny of Malaysian maps and landscape, it is not surprising to find that the geography of his fiction is kept true to the actual geography of the region.

Summarizing more fully, we note that Conrad properly characterizes his north Malaysian district; first, in the region of the Siamese Gulf where he describes the circuitous and dangerous course of the Menam River, the Pakham Fagoda on an island in the Menam, the mud bar at the river mouth which complicates navigation and the transportation of produce, the city of Bangkok with its showy temples and its

wood and matting homes crowding the river banks and the
1 water itself, and the island-studded west coast of the
Gulf of Siam; 2 second, in the region farther east centering
about the island archipelagoes south of Singapore where Con-
rad correctly indicates the Seven Isles as being wooded,
well-drained, and healthy, 3 and about the Strait of Malacca,
where he uses the actual place names—Low Cape, Batu Beru,
Malantang, Malacca, Pangu, and Temasserim—, characterizes
correctly the low, swampy Sumatran east coast with its man-
grove bordered rivers and its plantations for tobacco growing,
the rocky, dangerous Pangu Archipelago with its flocks of
sea birds and few primitive inhabitants, 4 and Singapore as
that city was in his day, placing properly New Harbour, the

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1. For the purpose of proving the authenticity of Conrad's
Bangkok, compare The Shadow Line, pp. 47-48 with Elisée
Reclus's Asia, vol. 3, p. 467, and Siam by Ernest Young,
pp. 5, 6, 48, 49, 51.

2. To prove the authenticity of Conrad's treatment of this
part of the Gulf of Siam, compare "The Secret Serer",
'Twixt Land and Sea, pp. 133, 134, 149, and The Shadow
Line, p. 133 with Philip's Authentic Imperial Map, East
Indies, printed in Great Britain and retailed from the
American Map Co., 12 East 42nd St. New York City.

3. Likewise compare "Freya of the Seven Isles", 'Twixt Land
and Sea, pp. 163-167 with Oceania, by Elisée Reclus,
pp. 115, 116.

4. Likewise compare "The End of the Tether", Selected Stories
of Joseph Conrad, pp. 165, 167, 241-244, 277 with Reclus's
Oceania, pp. 80, 90, 92, 116, and Asia, vol. 3, pp. 488,
491.
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harbour obelisk, the Cathedral, the esplanade, the library, and the Government House. 1

In the second place, the central Malaysian geographical area of Borneo, Celebes, and islands nearby is treated authentically in the background of Conrad's fiction. He recognizes the existence of the Shallow Sea west of Borneo2 and the arid, hilly character of the islands of the Carimata Sea. 3 His Borneo is authentic with its generally low, even, swampy coast covered with heavy mangrove vegetation, its large, sluggish muddy rivers, its lagoons and water by-paths, its inland jungle growth, its hot, moist climate which induces fever, its high frequency of thunderstorms, and the use of actual geographical locations such as Cape Salatan in "Because of the Dollars"4 and the Kajen River with the town of Buniungan situated upon it, in which case, however, the names were


3. For proof of the authenticity of Conrad's Carimata islands compare The Rescue, p. 5 and Oceanica by Elisée Reclus, p. 117.

4. See Within the Tides, p. 294.
changed to Pantai and Sembir. As to Celebes, Conrad describes correctly the trading town of Macassar and its harbour with the Spermonde islets and Tamissa reef {actual geographical names to be found on the map} within sight of the town, and a part of the coast of south Celebes along the Gulf of Boni where there are many creeks and bays. Conrad describes the region south of Celebes as a sea dotted with many islands. Among them is his Samburan of the Tiger group, a hilly island within sight of another island having an active volcano upon it. This description is in keeping with the nature of the region. North of Celebes is Mindanao on a fragment of the coast of which Kerain established his kingdom. In its protected harbour, fertile shore, and mountainous background, the scene of "Kerain" is typical of the real Mindanao geography.

3. Twixt Land and Sea, pp. 219, 220.
5. Compare Tales of Unrest, p. 31 and Victory, p. 185 with Oceania by Elisée Reclus, pp. 220, 221, 227.
6. Compare Tales of Unrest, pp. 5-7, with Oceania by Elisée Reclus, p. 243.
Thirdly, Conrad's geography is true to reality in his outlying scenes, such as the China Sea, principal typhoon region and scene for Conrad's "Typhoon",\(^1\) the island, Malalas, of "The Planter of Malalas", hilly, forested, reef-surrounded, and cooled by the fresh Pacific breezes, as an island in the extreme east of the Archipelago should be,\(^2\) Mauritius at the extreme west of the Archipelago, a mountainous island with sugar as its main product,\(^3\) and Bali with its peak and its terraced fields\(^4\) and swampy, unhealthy Timor\(^5\) at the southern limit of the Archipelago.

In the fourth place, although Patusan of Lord Jim cannot be found under that name on a Sumatran map, its position is indicated by Conrad as one hundred miles down the west coast from the northern tip of Sumatra.\(^6\) In this position, if it is in keeping with the district as described by authorities, it should consist of an alluvial plain covered with heavy tropical vegetation across which muddy rivers flow from their sources in the range of mountains about forty

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1. See Oceanica by Elise Reclus, p. 22.
2. To prove the authenticity of Conrad's Malalas, compare Within the Tides, pp. 7, 13, 84, 119, 126 with Oceanica by Elise Reclus, pp. 322-323.
5. Compare Victory, pp. 10, 13 with Wallace The Malay Archipelago, pp. 197, 205.
miles inland to the straight, unindented coast line; and Conrad's Patusan is so arranged.¹

Last, Conrad refers to a multitude of actual place names, examples of which can be found on page 125 and on the maps at the end of this thesis.

History

Throughout his novels of the East Conrad makes occasional reference to facts which indicate his awareness of the general trend of Malay history. His books are in no sense historical novels, but, as a result of his knowledge of the true course of Malaysian events, the value of his background is increased. His references, fragmentary as they are, are always correct.

Three great religious movements have spread from India to the Malay Archipelago, bringing strong foreign Asiatic influence. At the beginning of the Christian era Buddhism won a temporary victory over Brahmanism in India, and during the centuries that followed, Buddhist missionaries worked through eastern Asia and the southern islands. Brahmanism revived, and for a time both Buddhist and Brahman influences were felt together in the Malay Peninsula. As a result the highest civilization which the Indies have known grew up in strong, rich kingdoms in Sumatra, Java, and south Borneo. The exact dates connected with this movement are not certainly known, but the year 779, inscribed on the Buddhist temple at Kalasan, Java, is believed to mark the beginning of the century of most marked Indian influence. Buddhism gradually died out until only the vast ruined monuments, chiefly in Java, remain to prove that it was once a vital force. Brah-
manism still flourishes in Bali and Lombok.¹

When Wallace examined the Indian remains in Java, he
felt

... overwhelmed by the contemplation of these
innumerable sculptures, worked with delicacy and
artistic feeling in a hard, intractable, trachytic
rock, and all formed on one tropical island. What
could have been the state of society, what the
amount of population, what the means of subsist-
ence which rendered such gigantic works possible,
will, perhaps, ever remain a mystery; and it is a
wonderful example of the power of religious ideas
in social life, that in the very country where,
five hundred years ago, these grand works were
being yearly executed, the inhabitants now only
build rude houses of bamboo and thatch, and look
upon these relics of their forefathers with igno-
rant amazement as the undoubted productions
of giants or demons.

One of Conrad's stories refers to the influence Hindu-
ism and Buddhism once had in Malaysia. In "Kearn", Conrad's

¹. This information on Buddhist and Brahman movements
in the East Indies is culled from:

Maxwell, W.E.--


Ordhendre Gomer Gangoly--The Art of Java, Calcutta, 1929.


2. The Malay Archipelago, pp. 116-117.
Karein recounts the story of his wanderings with Matera.

They were in Java.

"We lost ourselves in the fields, in the jungle; and one night, in a tangled forest, we came upon a place where crumbling old walls had fallen amongst the trees, and where strange stone idols—carved images of devils with many arms and legs, with snakes twined round their bodies, with twenty heads and holding a hundred swords—seemed to live and threaten in the light of our camp fire." ¹

This one small reference to the past glory of Java, in which Conrad agrees with Wallace that most Malays would "look upon these relics... with ignorant amazement", indicates his knowledge of it.

That Brahmanism still exists in Bali was known to Conrad. His Dein Maroole of Almayer's Folly is a Balinese prince and a Brahman. The Brahman rajah of Bali or Lambok is entitled "Anek Agong", "Son of heaven". ² Lakamba of Almayer's Folly answers Dein Maroole's request for protection with the words, "Your refuge was with your father, the Rajah of Bali, the Son of Heaven, the "Anek Agong" himself!" ³ Dein Maroole, as a Brahman bound by the caste system, kept himself aloof from Mohammedan Malays. "He said he was a Bali and a Brahmin, which last statement he made good by refusing all food during his oft-repeated visits to Lakamba's and Almayer's houses." ⁴ Conrad's Mohammedan Malays feel an equal anti-

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¹ Tales of Unrest, p. 32.
² The Malay Archipelago, p. 176.
³ Almayer's Folly, p. 80.
⁴ Ibid., p. 57-58.
pathy toward Dain Maroole. Babalatchi calls him "a Kaffir and the son of a dog". In his speech there is nothing to distinguish Dain Maroole from the Mohammeden Malays except the absence of Moslem exclamations and the substitution of "By all the gods!". He wears the usual Malay clothing and not the Hindu dress that, according to Featherman, belongs to the Balinese people. There is no reflection in Dain Maroole of the culture peculiar to Bali and explained in such books as The Last Paradise by Hickman Powell. Dain's dress and manners, however, may be explained by his frequent residence away from Bali. Nina earns the title "Ranee", which refers to the wife of a Brahman prince or Rajah, when she marries Dain Maroole.

The third great religious movement which came to Malaysia from India was Mohammedanism. Islam reached India at the beginning of the eighth century, conquered by the sword, and for five hundred years was professed by most Indian rulers.

1. Almeyer's Folly, p. 104.
2. Ibid., p. 178.
3. Ibid., pp. 54-55.
By the eleventh century Mohammedanism had been carried by Indian traders to the Malay Archipelago, and by the seventeenth century Arab merchants became conspicuous throughout the Indies. The Arabs encouraged pilgrimages to Mecca, and boats for that purpose frequently left Achin, Sumatra, bound for Arabia. Malay conversion to Mohammedanism was accomplished for the most part by peaceful means. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Islam became firmly established in the maritime districts of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Celebes, although many of the peoples of the island interiors still reject it.

The fact that Mohammedanism is a force in Malaysia affects, of course, Conrad's treatment of native peoples. He sprinkles the conversations of his Arabs and Malays with pious expressions of a Mohammedan character: "Power is in the hand of God", 1 "Allah is our refuge", 2 "Paradise is the lot of all True Believers", 3 "Allah gladdens our hearts", 4 "Our refuge is in the Most High". 5

According to Ernest Fiske:

The four points relating to practice of Mohammedanism are: 1. prayer, under which those ablutions or purifications are included which are requisite preparations for prayer; 2. alms; 3. fasting; 4. the

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1. The Rescue, p. 295.
2. Ibid., p. 297.
3. Ibid., p. 449.
5. Ibid., p. 121.
pilgrimage to Mecca.

These four points of Islamic practice are kept by Conrad's ardent Mohammedan, Omar, an Arab adventurer of An Outcast of the Islands is the "helpless wreck of a once brilliant pirate" whom Babelatchi describes as "a great fighter in the days before the breath of the Merciful put out the light of his eyes. He was a pilgrim, and had many virtues: he was brave, his hand was open, and he was a great robber. For many years he led the men that drank blood on the sea: first in prayer and first in fight!" There is a description of Omar at the fourth season of prayer--that at sunset.

Dutifully Babelatchi helped his old chief to rise, and they walked slowly towards the hut. Omar waited outside, while Babelatchi went in and came out directly, dragging after him the old Arab's praying carpet. Out of a brass vessel he poured the water of ablution on Omar's outstretched hands, and eased him carefully down into a kneeling posture, for the venerable robber was too infirm to stand. Then as Omar droved out the first words and made his first bow towards the Holy City, Babelatchi stepped noiselessly towards Alias, who . . . caught hold of his arm, and with the other hand pointed toward the sinking red disc that glowed, rayless, through the floating mists of the evening.

2. p. 148.
3. An Outcast of the Islands, p. 46.
4. Ibid., pp. 104-105.
Conrad's 'umar, pirate and murderer as he is, is the pious Mohammedan in adhering to the hours of prayer and the ablutions before prayer, in giving alms, and in making the pilgrimage to Mecca. The pilgrim boat, Fatna, of Lord Jim is filled with devoted Mohammedans on their way to Mecca.¹

The character of Abdulla of Almeyer's Folly, An Outcast of the Islands, and "Because of the Dollars", is founded on Conrad's observation of the part-owner of the Vidar, Syed Mosin, and of his eldest son, Abdulla.² There is mention of Syed Mosin in The Shadow Line.

He was the head of a great house of Straits Arabs, but as loyal a subject of the complex British Empire as you could find east of the Suez Canal. World politics did not trouble him at all, but he had a great occult power amongst his own people...¹ I myself saw him but once, quite accidentally on a wharf—an old, dark little man blind in one eye, in a snowy robe and yellow slippers. He was having his hand severely kissed by a crowd of Meley pilgrims to whom he had done some favour, in the way of food and money. His alms-giving, I have heard, was most extensive, covering almost the whole Archipelago. For isn't it said that "The charitable man is the friend of Allah"?³

Syed Mosin was a living example of the devout Mohammedan, giver of alms and encourager of pilgrims.

Examples of Mohammedan objects used by Conrad's Arabs

¹ Lord Jim, pp. 17-18.
³ The Shadow Line, pp. 4, 5.
are the "rosary of heavy wooden beads"\textsuperscript{1} worn by Abdullah and the Koran which the Arab pirates, Damen, of The Rescue keeps "in a velvet case hung on his breast by a red cord of silk".\textsuperscript{2}

Amy Vandenbosch in his book, The Dutch East Indies, writes that

\ldots the Arabians constitute the third most numerous and important [after Europeans and Chinese] non-indigenous racial group in the East Indies. They have been coming to the Dutch East Indies for centuries \ldots The later Arabian emigrants have nearly all come from Hadramaut, which is located in the south-central part of Arabia, bordering on the Gulf of Aden. From old the inhabitants of this sterile, poverty-stricken land were forced to seek their living outside their country. They steadily sought their fortunes at greater distances from home until in the 17th century they came to the East Indies. Like the Chinese they married native women without losing their distinctiveness in East Indian society. It is difficult to estimate what number of the 111,000 listed in the 1930 census report under Other Foreign Asiatics are Arabians, but probably three-fourths is a conservative estimate.\textsuperscript{3}

Conrad was fully aware of the part played by Arabs in the Archipelago. He combined admirably their qualities of determination to succeed in trade with the manners resulting from Islamic teachings. Conrad's sketch of Abdullah's life exemplifies accurately the part taken by influential Arabs in Malay life.

For upwards of forty years Abdullah had walked in the way of his Lord. Son of the rich Syed Selim

\textsuperscript{1} An Outcast of the Islands, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{2} The Rescue, p. 293.
\textsuperscript{3} William Berdman's Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1933, p. 20.
bin Sali, the great Mohammedan trader of the Straits, he went forth at the age of seventeen on his first commercial expedition, as his father's representative on board a pilgrim ship chartered by the wealthy Arab to convey a crowd of pious Malays to the Holy Shrine... The voyage was long and the young man's eyes were opened to the wonders of many lands. Allah had made it his fate to become a pilgrim very early in life. This was a great favour of Heaven, and it could not have been bestowed upon a man who prized it more, or who made himself more worthy of it by the unswerving piety of his heart and by the religious solemnity of his demeanour. Later on it became clear that the book of destiny contained the programme of a wandering life. He visited Bombay and Calcutta, looked in at the Persian Gulf, beheld in due course the high and barren coasts of the Gulf of Suez, and this was the limit of his wanderings westward. He was then twenty-seven, and the writing on his forehead decreed that the time had come for him to return to the Straits and take from his dying father's hands the many threads of a business over all the Archipelago: from Sumatre to New Guinea, from Batavia to Palewan. Very soon his ability, his will—strong to obstinacy—his wisdom beyond his years, caused him to be recognized as the head of a family whose members and connections were found in every part of those seas. An uncle here—a brother there; a father-in-law in Batavia, another in Palembang; husbands of numerous sisters; cousins innumerable scattered north, south, east, and west—in every place where there was trade: the great family lay like a network over the islands... .

He himself bore himself with the humility becoming a Believer, who never forgets, even for one moment

1. The following quotations from Al-Koran, translated by George Sale, Hurst and Co., New York, showing Islamic teaching to direct Arab action, are particularly applicable here:

"There is no doubt in this book; it is a direction to the pious, who believe in the mysteries of faith, who observe the appointed times of prayer, and distribute alms out of what we have bestowed upon them; and who believe in that revelation, which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down unto the prophets before thee, and have firm assurance in the life to come: these are directed by their Lord, and they shall prosper." p. 13.
of his waking life, that he is the servant of the Most High. He was largely charitable because the charitable man is the friend of Allah, and when he walked out of his house—built of stone, just outside the town of Penang—on his way to his godowns in the port, he had often to snatch his hand away sharply from under the lips of men of his race and creed...

Restless, like all his people, he very seldom dwelt for many days together in his splendid house in Penang. Owner of ships, he was often on board one or another of them, traversing in all directions the field of his operations. In every port he had a household—his own or that of a relation—to hail his advent with demonstrative joy. In every port there were rich and influential men eager to see him, there was business to talk over, there were important letters to read... left for him by taciturn nakhodas of native trading craft, or... delivered with profound salaams by travel-stained and weary men who would withdraw from his presence calling upon Allah to bless the generous giver of splendid rewards.

Conrad makes reference to one definite historical movement in the Indies which sprang out of Mohammedianism and Arab leadership. This is the Padri uprising in Sumatra.

According to Gottfried Simon, the Padris composed a fanatical sect formed in the highlands of Padang on the west Sumatran

"Perform the pilgrimage to Mecca... Make provision for your journey; but the best provision is piety: and fear me, O ye of understanding. It shall be no crime in you, if you seek an increase from your Lord, by trading during the pilgrimage." p. 26.

"O true believers, bestow alms of the good things which ye have gained, and of that which we have produced for you out of the earth, and choose not the bad thereof, to give it in alms, such as ye would not accept yourselves, otherwise than by connivance: and know that God is rich and worthy to be praised." p. 33.

coast by returned pilgrims from Mecca, who reformed Moslems themselves from betel nut chewing, use of opium, and tobacco smoking, and then attempted a conversion by the sword of the heathen Bataks of the interior. A long struggle followed in which the Dutch became involved, and the Padri sect was finally annihilated in 1837.

Conrad's old adventurer, Jørgenson of The Rescue, had been active in the Padri War when he was young. He had been the white adviser to the Manenckabo chiefs to whom the Dutch papers had referred as "a Frenchmen turned Mohammedan".¹ Belanab, son of Sentot, the King of the South Shore of Java, had joined the Padris during the same period and had fought against the Bataks.² For that reason there had been a price put on his head by the Dutch, and he had disappeared from Dutch view to set up his own hidden kingdom on The Shore of Refuge.

Thus through the typical Mohammedan expressions used in the conversations of his Arabs and Mohammedan Malays, in the introduction of Mohammedan customs, such as the wearing of rosary and Koran, and the keeping of Islamic rules of alms-giving, prayer, and pilgrimage, in the rise of influential Arab traders, and in the references to the Padri war, Conrad proves his knowledge of Mohammedan influence on the

¹ The Rescue, p. 103.
² Ibid., p. 102.
current of Maley life.

Aside from Indians and Arabs, one other foreign Asiatic people has strongly influenced Maley life—the Chinese. Like the Arabs they have traded in Maley waters for centuries. There is an old Javanese saying that "Chinese and Arabs both bleed us, but the Moor hurts".1

Owen Rutter, in reviewing the causes that led to Maley piracy, writes that

... from time immemorial outside commerce with the Archipelago has been in the hands of the Chinese, whose junks would come down in the north-east monsoon and return in the south-west laden with the precious cargoes of spices, rattans, edible birds' nests, camphor, sharks' fins and pearls. There came the Portuguese, and after them the Dutch, who, bent on securing the trade for themselves alone, created a system of monopolies, and by treaties with the Maley rulers were able to command the produce at their own rates and so undersell the Chinese. By planting "factories", or trading stations, in the Archipelago, they diverted to Malacca or Batavia the trade which for centuries had gone to China, so that in time the junks could compete no longer and came no more.2

Rutter refers, however, only to Chinese traders in Maley goods, which Europeans coveted. The Chinese in humbler stations became useful to the Western ruling classes and the demand for them grew throughout the Archipelago.

Vandenbosch describes the Chinese situation in Malaysia as follows:

The Chinese came to the East Indies even before the Dutch and have constituted an important part of the population throughout the Dutch period. Until a few decades ago they had no cultural or political aspirations. They asked only for the opportunity of improving their economic position, and in this they met with no opposition from the Dutch, for the Dutch found their presence necessary for the exploitation of the islands. Their interests complemented each other, as the Chinese served as the trade intermediaries between the natives and the Dutch. They also served as laborers in the tin mines of Banca and Julliton and on the large European plantations of Sumatra’s East Coast. The Chinese constitute about 75 percent of all the immigrants...

The vast majority of the Chinese born in the East Indies are Indo-Chinese, for until recent years women were not found among the immigrants. In spite of the fact that the Indo-Chinese have lived in the East Indies for centuries and are the descendants of forebears who for many generations absorbed native blood through marriage with Indonesian women, they remained Chinese in family life, religion and customs. Some differences between the pure Chinese and the Indo-Chinese developed, but both have remained a people apart.

In Conrad’s day there was as yet no trace of the strong nationalist movement now on foot among Chinese in Malaysia which looks out for Chinese interests. Chinese then lived throughout the Archipelago, independently working at any and every trade. There were hundreds of Chinese merchants.

2. Ibid., chapter 7.
Conrad's Chinese are scattered all over the Archipelago. The Nan Shan of "Typhoon" carries two hundred coolies home to China, sent there by the "Sun Bin Company". Wang of Victory goes to Samburan as a coolie in the coal mines of the Tropical Coal Belt Company. He becomes Heyst's personal servant after the liquidation of the company, marries an Al-furowoman, and cultivated enough land to raise produce for himself and Heyst. Hudig of Almeyer's Folly and the Outcast employs Chinese clerks in his warehouses at Macassar. Captain Whalley hires a Chinese sampen men to take him from Singapore quay out to the Sofala in the roadstead. Davidson of "Because of the Dollars" has as his employer the Chinese merchant who gave him "unbounded confidence" because he was "a straight man". It is obvious that Conrad recognized

2. Ibid., p. 233.
3. See Federated Malay States Railways, Anthony, pp. 43, 45.
4. See Tales of the Malayan Coast, by Wildman, p. 49 ff.
   Rounsevelle Wildman was a member of the United States Consular Service in Malaya in the early 1890's, before he became editor of The Overland Monthly.
7. Ibid., p. 178.
8. Ibid., p. 179.
the part played by the Chinese in Malaysia.

Although Conrad rightly recognizes in his fiction the Indian, Arab, and Chinese influences in the Archipelago, for this study the Malays themselves form the most important element in the mixed population of Malaysia. Malay history is difficult to unravel. To begin with, the origin of the people is a matter for controversy. There are several widely differing peoples in the Archipelago--Malay, Papuan, Alfuro, and various inland diminutive tribes--which may have come from one stalk or may not. The fact that Malaysia is an island world, the parts of which are separated by placid and often shallow seas, has made it a region of constantly shifting populations.

Charles Lobingier from his study of the Malay language, which contains many Sanskrit words, concludes that the Malays came from inland Asia. He believed that they entered the Archipelago and found there aboriginal tribes--the negritos in the Philippines, the Papuans of New Guinea, the Semang of the Peninsula, and so on--whom they fought and pushed back into the interiors. An article in the Royal Asiatic Society Journal calls the primitive peoples of the island the "Proto-Malays" and wonders "by what strange line of evolution did men of this listless and backward type grow into the artistic and intelligent Malays of today". 2 Wallace

2. Malayan Branch, volume 10, p. 70.
came to the conclusion that the Archipelago had produced two very different races, the Malays and the Papuans, with the Alfuros as a mixture of the two. Margaretta Morris in an article on "Race and Custom in the Malay Archipelago" summarizes the situation:

The Malays, in their language, their customs, and their religion, give a vivid picture of what one might call a compound, or eclectic civilization; people of the sea, trading from port to port, or retailers in some commercial emporium where all races meet, they offer an interesting field for study of the human powers of assimilation, the breaking down of the barrier of race, and building up of tradition by contact... Whether we agree with Wallace, that the Malays are Asiatic in affinities, the black Papuan, Oceanic, and the brown Polynesians a cross between the two; or with van der Aa, that the Papuan is the original element in all, and the physique of the Malays of the Archipelago the result of much Asiatic intermarriage, we must admit that the yellow Malay type, prevalent in the western portion, the dwarf negro of the Malay Peninsula, and the burly Papuan of the Eastern islands can hardly owe their similarity of custom to close family relationship.

The term "Malay" has come to be very broadly used, but the cradle of what was originally called the Malay people is traditionally placed in the Menangkabo region of central Sumatra. The Malay annals, recorded about 1612, give the story of the supposed rise of the Malay people who built a

mighty kingdom in Sumatra and then colonized the peninsula which they called Malecece, along with their chief town there. When the Mohammedans entered the peninsula, they came in contact first with the island nearest India—Sumatra—and employed the Malay language as the common tongue for trade and for religious purposes throughout the Archipelago. The result is that a "Malay" has come to mean one of the brown race who is a Mohammedan and therefore speaks Malay. Gottfried Simon writes that conversion to Islam means to the Betaks "renouncing their nationality. That Betak Mohammedans no longer call themselves Betak but Malay is regarded as a sad but inevitable result of conversion. The same holds good among the Dyaks of Borneo; when they become Mohammedan they call themselves olo maleju, Malays; and likewise in Celebes."  

Islam in the Dutch East Indies is thus bound up with a certain language . . . For the higher class native it has therefore become necessary to learn Malay; it is the language of civilization and the new era, but it can only be acquired from Mohammedans . . . The language means learning Malay, that is to say, Mohammedan customs.

In consideration of what we now know of the inhabitants of the Archipelago, we would expect Conrad's Malays to be a wandering people living on the coasts of the Islands, pro-

2. Ibid., p. 32.
fessing Mohammedanism, and speaking the Malay language, and this is just what they are. With Conrad we go no farther inland than Sambir and Patusan, trading posts situated on rivers and within easy access of the sea, for his Malays prefer the coasts and the water. They are great wanderers. The communities of Karein ("Karein"), and Belarab (The Rescue), and the towns of Sambir (Almayer's Folly and An Outcast of the Islands) and Patusan (Lord Jim) were all founded by Malays from other parts of the Archipelago. Belarab went from south Java to south Borneo to found his little country; Sugis from Celebes founded Karein's little kingdom in the Philippines and made up the best element of Patusan in Sumatra. The leaders in Sambir in Borneo came from Sulu. With the exception of Dein Merolla, Conrad's Malays are Mohammedan, and they all speak Malay although they sometimes drop into their own peculiar dialect. Babalatchi and Mrs. Almayer converse in Sulu.1 Conrad introduces a few native words in his Malay fiction. These are in the ordinary trade Malay language. A list of them may be found at the end of this paper.

Malay settlements throughout the Archipelago have taken the form of innumerable petty feudalistic kingdoms. Even today under the Dutch the identity of many of these small governments is nominally recognized.2

1. Almayer's Folly, p. 38.
In the Malaysian fiction, numerous small, feudalistic governments are introduced. Conrad's frequent mention of Wajo and the Bugis people indicates his especial interest in Celebes, an interest which his visits to Macassar on the Vider presumably aroused. A quotation from Brooke's Journal the will explain Government of south Celebes.

The southern limit of Celebes contains the four kingdoms of Luwa, Wajo, Boni, and Soping. Of these Luwa is the most ancient, and probably the parent state. The fifth kingdom of Coe, or Makassar, has long been under European domination, and the country of Si Dendring, formerly dependent on Boni, has of late years risen into an independent kingdom. The three states of Boni, Wajo, and Soping have always been united in a strict and intimate league, and heretofore (with occasional interruptions of their good understanding) have acted as one state for the purpose of defense. The constitutions of these three states bear some original resemblance. Boni is the most extensive and powerful; Wajo, the bravest and freest, in its constitution; and Soping, the last of the triple alliance, the least considerable. . . . The government of Wajo is feudal and comprised of numerous rajehs, independent, or nearly so, living in their own districts, possessing the power of life or death, and each surrounded by a body of slave retainers or serfs, attached solely to the fortunes of their master. A general form of collective government, however, holds amongst them, which modifies the arbitrary sway of rajehs over fiefs and acknowledges, to a certain degree, the rights of free men not of noble birth. The government consists of six hereditary rajehs, three civil and three military chiefs, one military chief being attached to each civil one. With these six officers rests the election of a head of the state, entitled the aru mateah, who may be considered an elective monarch, exercising during his reign all functions of the chief magistrate, checking and controlling the feudal lords, deciding cases of difference, and conducting the foreign policy of the
kingdom. Below the six chiefs is a council, or chamber of forty arengs, or nobles of inferior rank . . . A great council of the people, composed of the heads of the villages and all respectable freemen, convene on extraordinary occasions.

All offices of state, including even that of a ru met matoah, are open to women; and they actually fill the important post of government, four of the six great chiefs of Wajo being at present females. These ladies appear in public like the men; ride, rule, and visit even foreigners, without the knowledge or consent of their husbands. 2

Within the states there were frequent quarrels among the chiefs. Brooke's Journal has an account of a certain "Mearin, the datu's brother-in-law, whose dissolute followers would plunder and steal and keep up a feud that continually threatened civil war." 3 Another entry in the Journal tells of a disappointed Celebes prince longing to revenge himself on his brother.

Poor Lappe Tongi this evening gave me a long detail of his grievances, his claims, and his resolves. I gather that he would do anything; forfeit anything! Send him itself, to expel his brother from that country. A settled melancholy oppresses him—that gloomy and brooding revenge, which is dangerous in the native.

1. Narrative of the Events in Borneo and Celebes down to the Occupation of Labuan from the Journals of James Brooke . . . together with the Narrative of . . . the H.M.S. Iris, by Captain Mundy, vol. 1, pp. 60-61.
2. Ibid., p. 75.
3. Ibid., p. 85.
4. Ibid., p. 83.
The Bugis governmental plan of the chief positions being open to men and women alike and of the ruler having absolute power provided he or she can curb the wills of the lords, or chiefs, is to be seen in "Karain". Conrad's Karain had come from

... a small Bugis state on the island of Celebes ...
His mother had been the ruler of a small semi-independent state on the sea-coast at the head of the Gulf of Boni. He spoke of her with pride. She had been a woman resolute in affairs of state and of her own heart. After the death of her first husband, undismayed by the turbulent opposition of the chiefs, she married a rich trader, a Korinchi man of no family. Karain was her son by that second marriage, but his unfortunate descent had apparently nothing to do with his exile.

Karain founded his own little kingdom on Mindanao along Bugis lines. He was absolute ruler. "'All mine," he would say when pointing to the land from the deck of the schooner.

In his council hall he was surrounded by the gravity of armed chiefs, while two long rows of old headmen dressed in cotton stuffs squatted on their heels, with idle arms hanging over their knees ... In the open court suppliants walked through the gate, raising, when yet far off, their joined hands above bowed heads ... He dispensed justice in the shade; from a high seat he gave orders, advice, reproof.

Conrad's fiction gives a further account of Bugis women rulers and of the unsettled political situation in *Lord Jim*.

2. *ibid.*, p. 5.
Stein of Lord Jim had, as a young man, travelled the Archipelago as the assistant to a naturalist.

"Then the naturalist went home, and Stein, having no home to go to, remained with an old trader he had come across in the interior of Celebes—if Celebes may be said to have an interior. This old Scotsman, the only white man allowed to reside in the country at the time, was a privileged friend of the chief of Wajo states, who was a woman... He came to the council hall where all the rajahs, penjersans, and headmen were assembled, with the queen, a fat wrinkled woman... reclining on a high couch under a canopy. He... grasped Stein's arm, leading him right up to the couch. 'Look, queen, and you rajahs, this is my son... I have traded with your fathers, and when I die he shall trade with your sons.' By this simple formality Stein inherited the Scotsman's privileged position... Shortly afterward the old queen... died and the country became disturbed by various pretenders to the throne. Stein joined the party of a younger son... who was assassinated at the gate of his own royal residence... This rendered Stein's position extremely insecure."

and, his wife and child dying soon afterward, he left the country.

Brooke explains that the Jugas are (or were in his day) very particular about the descent of the rulers. People of high birth are given great privileges and are expected to keep aloof from too close contact with ordinary folk. The highest birth is conceded as being the possession of a small minority. The marriages of the women, particularly, are very carefully planned in order to preserve the rights of the

1. Lord Jim, pp. 205-206.
2. Narrative of the Events in Borneo and Celebes, Mundy, p. 73.
ruling families to participate in the elections for the highest positions. There are only a few who are eligible to be aru maatoh, and marriages such as Karseh's mother made would eventually lead to troubles at elections among aspirants who would be really "pretenders"—on the order of the ones, probably, who caused the trouble after the old queen's death in Lord Jim. If we piece together the bits of information about the country of the Jugis which Conrad includes in his fiction, we perceive that he had a correct idea of the type of history made in south Celebes—that resulting from a society built on a small aristocracy with almost unlimited power over the people and often at war among themselves.

Tradesman Lay, naturalist and missionary, who left an interesting account of his travels in Celebes, the Philippines, and Borneo, visited the section of the Bornean coast in which Conrad's Sambir is laid. A few scattered quotations will explain the forms of the petty kingdoms which he found there.

Despotism is the only kind of rule that agrees with this people . . . The will of the sultan is the law of the land, modified, of course, by the influence which his counsellors and great men exert upon him. He is elective, but the choice is limited to a single family. The nature of such an appointment leads to intrigue, quarrels, and vindictive measures, which may have been the cause of the anarchy that, a few years ago, drove away all the foreign vessels that used to trade with Borneo . . . The minister . . . is the chief executive officer in the state. The distinction between him and the sultan was very concisely made by a brother of the latter
in conversation with myself and fellow-traveller one evening. "The one speaks, and the other acts." The entire control and management of all public matters are placed in the hands of the latter, who, from the advantage of such a situation when a man of talent . . . can enact his own pleasure and so leave the sultan a mere pompous trifle, surrounded, indeed, with the habiliments of war and majesty, but destitute of any real power or authority. We see a large hall of assembly, a throne, a large gong . . . His liege subjects are sometimes summoned by the sound of this instrument, in conformity with Malayan custom, when we may suppose him seated upon his throne, in the midst of his guards . . . At other times his counsellors sit at his feet; the chieftains pay frequent visits of respect, and the orang Kaya, or great men of the realm, who live at a distance, wait upon him from time to time. But in the midst of much real respect for his person and office and a thousand usages of ceremony . . . he seems to be only free to do evil; he can harass any part of his people, or put a chief to death, because his own person is sacred; but for any benefit that he might wish to confer for the general welfare, he is solely dependent upon the wisdom and integrity of his minister.

By the period of which Conrad wrote, Dutch and English influence was so strong that rajahs dared not be as independent as formerly, but the community at Sambir of Almayer’s Folly and the Outcast was founded much on the old lines. Patalolo was rajah at Sambir when Lakamba arrived. 2 Lakamba had been a prince in some little kingdom east of Borneo and was hunting a suitable place in which to fulfil his ambitions. 3 He set himself up as a rival to Patalolo, and was

3. Ibid., p. 50.
ably supported by the Sulu pirate, Babalatchi, to whom Patalolo would not extend shelter. Together, Lekamba and Babalatchi plotted to bring in Arab traders in order to break up Lingard's monopoly, win the favor of the Dutch, and, in the general turmoil, establish themselves in power. Eventually Lekamba became rajah, Patalolo having been deported, and Babalatchi was his official adviser, "prime minister, harbour master, financial adviser, and general factotum . . . endowed with statesmenlike qualities." The progress of that change forms the native portion of the plot of An Outcast of the Islands.

When Lekamba transacted "business of state", his retainers gathered at "the audience chamber of the Rajah's residence", called there by the beating of a gong. Babalatchi remained near Lekamba, ready to offer him the suggestions which the Rajah knew must be heeded. Thus the form of government existing in Conrad's Sembir in which the ruler is a rajah who has much power over the personal lives of his subjects but whose affairs of state are controlled by his adviser is true to the form which observers have reported as typically Bornean.

2. Ibid., p. 38.
3. Ibid., p. 75.
4. Ibid., p. 75.
5. Ibid., p. 76.
6. Almayer's Folly, p. 76.
7. Ibid., p. 80.
Conrad has proved his awareness of the general trend of Malay events by introducing his "Malays as Mohammedans, great wanderers and settlers on the seaboards of the islands where they have formed numerous small kingdoms ruled along feudalistic lines and, in Bugis countries, allowing women rulers.

The background of all Conrad's Malaysian fiction is profoundly affected by the presence of European powers in the Archipelago.

The chief lure to the European countries which early sought power over Malaysia was the spice trade. According to the account by Heclus, the region of the Indian Ocean was known by traders in the far times of the ancient Egyptians and Mesopotamians; then by the Greeks, to whom is accredited the discovery of the regular easterly and westerly winds which enabled mariners to strike boldly out over the ocean for their goals instead of the coast lines; and by the Romans, whose traders went as far as the Moluccas for cloves. The era of modern exploration began when Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1498, and by 1509 the Portuguese were established in Malacca. Magellan's companions discovered the Moluccas or Spice Islands after their leader was killed in the Philippines at the end of the memorable voyage there by way of the Atlantic and the Pacific.

1. *Oceanica*, pp. 5-10.
English, and Dutch soon followed the Portuguese, and for centuries the Western nations quarreled over the taking of the islands. British-Dutch rivalry over the spice trade was very sharp, and hundreds of spice trees were cut down rather than allowed to benefit an opponent. Old accounts gave graphic descriptions of the petty means used on both sides to win possession.  

In Oceanica, by Reclus, may be found the information that from the extreme northern point of Sumatra eastward along that island the term Areca Coast is commonly used because of the prevalence of betel-nut palms; while from the same point westward, the shore of Sumatra is called the Pepper Coast. Conrad proves his knowledge of this and of the general character of the spice rivalry when he writes:

"You find the name of the country pretty often in collections of old voyages. The seventeenth-century traders went there for pepper, because the passion for pepper seemed to burn like a flame of love in the breast of Dutch and English adventurers about the time of James the First. Where wouldn't they go for pepper! For a bag of pepper they would cut each other's throats without hesitation, and would forswear their souls, of which they were so careful otherwise: the bizarre obstinacy of that desire made them defy death in a thousand shapes . . . In Patusen they had found lots of pepper, and had been impressed by the magnificence and the wisdom of the Sultan; but somehow, after a century of checkered intercourse, the country seemed to have

1. See, for example, A Voyage in the Flying Eagle from Santam to Saber and Other Islands Eastward from Timor, 1672, published from the original manuscript at East India House, London, 1781.  
2. p. 108.
dropped gradually out of the trade. Perhaps the pepper gave out.

One of the results of foreign domination in the East was the Acheen War. The country of Atjeh occupies the northern portion of Sumatra and was able to maintain its independence until the latter part of the nineteenth century. In 1819, Sir Stamford Raffles, then English governor of Bencoolen in Sumatra, concluded with the Sultan of Atjeh a treaty which gave the British East India Company the privilege of trading in Acheene harbors and maintaining representatives in the country. Atjeh agreed to make no treaties with other western nations without England's consent. Both Dutch and English were at the time considering occupying Singapore Island. England, through Raffles, acted first, and a controversy resulted. Dutch and English negotiated until 1824 before they could agree upon a division of territory in the northwest part of the Archipelago. It was then decided that England should have the claims of both nations on the Peninsula (Singapore included) and that the Netherlands should have Sumatra. An agreement was also made that the Dutch were not to interfere with the independence of Atjeh and that they were to keep down piracy in Sumatran waters for the benefit of undisturbed trade. To guarantee the good behaviour

2. For information about the Atjeh affair, see Vandenbosch's The Dutch East Indies, pp. 321-323.
(from the Western point of view) of the Chinese and still not interfere with Atjeh's independence was impossible of accomplishment. The English and Dutch, moreover, came to fear American, French, or Russian influence in Atjeh; so eventually the English permitted the Dutch to do what they pleased with Atjeh. The Acheen War resulted—a very expensive war most violent during the decade of the 1870's, at the close of which the Dutch held Atjeh in control, although it openly rebelled at the last of the century.

That Conrad knew of the Acheen War is clear from the casual references he makes to it. Karain, in his narrative of his wanderings, says, "we were on our way to Atjeh, where there was war." In "The End of the 'ether" Mr. Van Wyk told Captain Whalley that "he had seen some service in the last Acheen War". Captain Ford brought Almayer the Straits Times with "news of the Acheen War".

One of the evils resulting from the interference of Western nations in Malaysia was the development of the Malay pirate system. Hugh Clifford remarks that

... it is curious to note the impunity with which, during the Middle Ages, solitary white men were able to travel unmolested through Asiatic lands. This forces upon us a recognition of the fact that the European invasion of Asia, which began with the

1. Tales of Unrest, p. 35.
rounding of the Cape by Vasco da Gama . . . has had a very injurious effect upon the character of oriental peoples. Prior to the coming of the white man an extraordinary measure of tolerance, even of hospitality, was extended to strangers without distinction of race or creed . . . The change of attitude is to be sought for, not in the naughtiness of the Oriental nor in his moral degeneracy, but in the misconduct of the early European filibusters.¹

Piracy on a big scale was a late development in Malay life. Owen Rutter writes:

While it is quite clear that these Malays were pirates, and as such a menace to European trade, it is but fair to say that it was largely European intercourse with the East that made them so. ¹ It is true that the old Malay romances contain references to piratical cruises, yet there seems no doubt that piracy was not practiced on a wholesale scale until the eighteenth century. Dampier, who in 1686 and 1687 lived for six months among the Illanuns, in later years the most formidable of all the Malay pirates, subsequently wrote a detailed account of them and made no mention of any piratical propensities but described them as a peaceable people, who bought such foreign commodities as they needed with the products of their gold mines . . . "what was it, then that caused these people and their neighbors to revert from peace to piracy? The answer is: the greed of the European powers who traded in Eastern seas . . . The precious spice trade was regulated with such jealousy that the Dutch would wantonly destroy quantities of cloves and nutmegs rather than allow them to fall into foreign hands, not content with this, they poked their fingers into the internal affairs of the Malay governments and fomented dissension for their own ends, until they destroyed the authority of the rulers and disorganized the

¹ Further India, F.H. Stokes Co., New York, 1904, p. 34.
commercial enterprise of their people. . .
Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, and English all played the same game; but at that period the influence of the Dutch was paramount in the Archipelago and consequently they caused the greatest harm. The Malay potentates were driven to replenish their depleted coffers; their people sought a new outlet for their frustrated energies. They were a proud people accustomed to freedom; they resented most bitterly the injustice shown them and the restraints imposed by those whom they regarded as barbarians. They were accustomed to the sea, and under the leadership of their princes they turned their ways to piracy and plunder. If one may regard that metamorphosis through their eyes, one may see, in the attacks on European shipping that followed, acts of retaliation against those interlopers from the West, until in course of time this guerilla warfare by sea developed into an habitual mode of life, more lucrative and certainly more exciting than their former ways of peace. Piracy became looked upon as an honourable occupation; so that any chief who wanted to improve his fortune could collect about him a handful of restless followers and settle with them upon some secluded island in the Archipelago; thence he could sail out to attack ships and villages. 

among the strongest of the pirate nations were the Sulus and the Illanuns; the former, living in the Sulu Archipelago and raiding the Philippines mainly, the latter, occupying part of Mindanao and invading the entire Archipelago.

Conrad was aware of the existence of piracy among the Malays and of its causes. At the beginning of The Rescue

3. Ibid., p. 216.
Conrad makes the statement that "the Malayan Archipelago has been for centuries the scene of adventurous undertakings. The vices and virtues of four nations have been displayed in the conquest of that region that even to this day has not been robbed of all the mystery and romance of its past—and the race of men who had fought against the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch and the English, has not been changed by the unavoidable defeat. They have kept to this day their love of liberty, their fanatical devotion to their chiefs, their blind fidelity in friendship and hate—all their lawful and unlawful instincts."¹ The representative of piracy in The Rescue is Sherif Damen who brought his two Illanun praus, "large and armed",² to Belarab's lagoon. Damen boasted of being able to get by the Brunei coast uncaught.³ That was the region which Rajah Brooke cleared of pirates.

By Conrad's time, there were very few pirates left, and those of his books are rather lonely figures. Omar of An Outcast of the Islands had been "the leader of the Brunei rovers",⁴ Babalatchi belonged to the Sulu pirates⁵ before he served Omar "through the long years of successful depredation. And when that long career of murder,

¹. The Rescue, p. 3.
². Ibid., p. 175.
³. Ibid., p. 176.
⁴. An Outcast of the Islands, p. 52.
⁵. Ibid.
robbery, and violence received its first serious check at
the hands of white men, he stood faithfully by his chief,
looked steadily at the bursting shells, was undismayed by
the burning strongholds, by the death of his companions, by
the shrieks of their women.1 After the destruction of their
piratical colony by the white men, Omar and Babalatchi at-
ttempted to arouse the interest of the Sultan of Sulu in "a
profitable raid that was to sweep the islands from Fernate
to Acheen", 2 without any success. The days of open piracy
were over and the Babalatchi of the Outcast and of Almeyer's
Folly learned to turn from bold action to the seeming in-
activity of slow intrigue. On page 23, of The Rescue Conrad
has Shaw refer to Sir Thomas Cochrene's destroying the
pirates along the Bornean coast in his sloop, the Diana.3
Conrad's Karain had used piratical means to establish his
kingdom on Mindanao. 4 He had made a conquest of the bay,
killed the most of the inhabitants, and driven the others
over the hills. It is clear from his treatment of Babalatchi,
Omar, Demeen, and Karain that Conrad understood the part
which piracy played in the Archipelago.

The Dutch, the most powerful colonists in Malaysia,

1. An Outcast of the Islands, p. 52.
2. Ibid., p. 54.
3. See Federated Malay States Railways, Anthony, p. 41, for the account of how the Diana, the first steamer the Malayns had seen, destroyed the pirates who approached her thinking she was alive.
and their movements naturally enter Conrad's fiction. There is a Malay proverb, "seperti belanda mintak tanah", which means, "like a Hollander begging for land". The method by which the Dutch acquired control is illustrated in "Kerain" by Kerain's account.

"It was after the great trouble that broke the alliance of the four states of Wajo. We fought amongst ourselves, and the Dutch watched from afar until we were weary. Then the smoke of their fire-ships was seen at the mouth of our rivers, and their great men came in boats full of soldiers to talk to us of protection and peace. We answered with caution and wisdom for our villages were burnt, our stockades week, the people weary, and the weapons blunt. They came and went; there was much talk, but after they went away everything seemed to be as before, only their ships remained in sight from our coast, and very soon their traders came amongst us under a promise of safety."

Naturally the European possessors of East Indian Isles have feared rebellions from the natives and have tried to prevent ammunition and guns from being smuggled to Malay subjected kingdoms. The Englishmen of "Kerain" were carrying on an illegal traffic in guns with Kerain. Dain Maroole of Almayer's Folly went to Sambir in his search for arms for his father the rajah of Bali. He lost his ship to the Dutch, who knew what he was doing and hunted him down as a dangerous native character. Schultz of "Freya of the

1. The Malays of Malaya, by One of Them, Singapore, 1928, p. 50.
2. Tales of Unrest, p. 28.
3. Ibid., p. 12.
Seven Isles" sold guns off Jasper Allen's ship and so gave Heemskirk the opportunity of arresting Allen and giving him the blame.1

The Dutch and British rivalry enters into the plots of Almeyer's Folly and of The Outcast. Lingard, an Englishman, settled Almeyer as his representative at Sembir, but when Willems brought in the Arabs to compete with Almayers, the Dutch flag was raised.2 Almeyer gets in trouble with the Dutch over "ain Maroola."3 "Freya of the Seven Isles" is founded on the idea of Dutch-British antipathy. The rivalry between Heemskirk and Jasper Allen was not only over a girl. It was accentuated because Heemskirk hated an English rival. Old Nielson was very nearly unbalanced in his fear of the Dutch.4

Another result of European interest in Malaysia has been the presence of Western adventurers there. Rajah Brooke as the model for the best of Conrad's Western adventurers in the East, and Conrad's Jim of Lord Jim and Lingard of Almeyer's Folly, the Outcast and The Rescue, have been fully discussed. Conrad also includes among his characters the ruffianly type of adventurer, Jones of Victory, Chester and Brown of Lord Jim. In connection with his Brown Conrad mentions the historical "Bully Hayes" and the "mellifluous Pease".5 A book by

1. 'Twixt Land and Sea, p. 222.
4. 'Twixt Land and Sea, pp. 148, 155.
5. Lord Jim, p. 352.
Basil Lubbock, Bully Hayes, South Seas Pirate,\(^1\) represents Hayes as an adventurer from Cleveland, Ohio, who lived by turns the life of an honest trader and a pirate on his vessel, The Tropic Bird. Lubbock compares even Bully Hayes favorably with the cruel and ugly character of Ben Pease.

Conrad, therefore, proves his knowledge of European influence on the trend of Malayan events by his references to the spice rivalry, to the Acheen War, to the Malay pirate system which developed as a means of retaliation for European plundering, to Dutch ways of aggression, to the British-Dutch rivalry, and to the part played by independent adventurers in the East.

In summarizing the indications to be found in the background of Conrad's Malay fiction of his knowledge of the main movements which have controlled Malayan history during historic times, we may place these indications under three headings: foreign Asiatic, Malay, and European.

First, Conrad recognizes the influence of foreign Asians in the Archipelago by his reference in "Kerain" to architectural ruins left from the now dead but once powerful Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms in Java;\(^2\) by his admission of the present existence of Brahmanism in Jali, proved by

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2. For proof, compare Tales of Unrest, p. 2, with Alfred Wallace's Malay Archipelago, p. 116-117.
direct statement that the Beli prince, Dein Maroola, was a Brahman, by Dein Maroola's abstinence from Mohammedan food, his Brahman oaths, and the titles of Aneq Aogeong and Reene;\(^1\) by the importance given in his fiction to Mohammedanism and Arabs, first through the Mohammedan expressions used in the conversation of his Mohammedan natives,\(^2\) second through the use of Mohammedan customs, as, for example, in the keeping of the hours of prayer, in almsgiving, and in pilgrimages to Mecca,\(^3\) and in the wearing of sacred articles such as the rosary and the Koran, third through the influence of Arab traders in his fiction, and fourth in his references to the Padri war in Sumatra;\(^6\) and by his inclusion of Chinese in

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1. For proof of Conrad's recognition of the survival of Brahmanism in Beli, compare Almeyer's Folly, pp. 54, 55, 57, 58, 80, 104, 148, and 178, with Wallace's The Malay Archipelago, pp. 160, 176.
5. To prove his recognition of the importance of the Arab trader in Malaysia, compare An Outcast of the Islands, pp. 109-111 and Amry Vandenbosch's The Dutch East Indies, p. 20.
6. Compare The Rescue, pp. 102, 103 with Gottfried Simon's Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra, p. 8.
various capacities--coolies used on plantations and in mines, clerks, merchants, servants, and boatmen.  

In the second place, Conrad proves his sound knowledge of the sort of event which is common in Malay history. His Malays are wanderers who have accepted Mohammedanism and with it the Malay language, which originated in Sumatra. 

The portions of his plots referring to Wajo and the Bugis correctly portray the peculiar type of government developed there--feudalistic and allowing aristocratic women as well as men to be elected to the chief post of government--a form resulting in frequent internal wars over succession. 

Conrad's community of Sambir is true to the Bornean type in


3. All native words which Conrad introduces into his fiction in the conversations of his characters or as titles of native officials are in the trade Malay, with the exception of the two Brahman titles applied to Dain Maroola and Nine. See vocabulary at the end of the thesis and Gottfried Simon's The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra, pp. 13, 32.

that it is ruled by a rajah who collects about him a body of privileged retainers whom, along with the common people, he may treat according to his whim. A check on his actions, however, exists in his adviser who directs him on policies of state. 1

Thirdly, Conrad acknowledges the effects on Malay life caused by the entrance of European powers into Malayan affairs in his references to the spice rivalry, 2 to the Acheen War3, and to Malay piracy, 4 to Dutch-British relations to one another and to Malays, 5 and to the part played by Western adventurers, among whom he mentions Hayes and Pease and refers to Brooke. 6

A study of the references to Malaysian happenings in

1. For proof compare the Outcast, pp. 38, 50, 55, 75, 76, and Almayer's Folly, pp. 78, 80, with Tradescant Ley's Claims of Japan and Malaysia on Christendom, vol. 2, pp. 157-173.
6. Compare The Rescue, pp. 3, 4 and Lord Jim, p. 352, with Alfred Wallace's The Malay Archipelago, pp. 102-104 and Bully Hayes, South Sea Pirate by Basil Lubbock.
Conrad's Malay fiction proves, then, that he understood the part played in Malaysian history by foreign Asiatic elements—Hindu, Mohammedan, and Chinese; that he understood the native Malay situation as it existed in native states such as Wajo, and as it was affected by extensive Malay wanderings; that he understood the European influence—Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English—on the trend of Malay history; and that, in fact, as much of his knowledge of Malaysian history as he reveals in his books is correct.

External Malay Life

Having seen that Conrad's background represents the Malaysian Archipelago correctly in its physical aspect and in the trend of its historical events, we turn next to examine his portrayal of the native peoples and their mode of living. One of the delights of reading Conrad's Malay fiction results from his full, clear descriptions of the appearance of oriental life. While he was gradually accustoming himself to the scene which "in the cruel serenity of the sky, under the merciless brilliance of the sun" took on "strong outlines" and colors which seemed "crude and without shadow",¹ his indefatigable memory was, camera-like,

¹. Almayer's Folly, p. ix, "Author's Note".
recording countless and brilliant impressions. Later these, touched with his peculiar glamor, appeared in his descriptions, fascinating in their detail and graphically pictorial. The question is, are these impressions left by the external Malayan life portrayed in Conrad's background true to what actually exists?

In the first place does he differentiate among the native peoples, whose origin anthropologists have not yet solved? Perhaps due to Wallace's influence upon his thinking, Conrad mentions in his Malaysian fiction just three racial types—Papuan, Malay and Alfuro; the first two of which Wallace considered individually developed stocks, and the third, a mixture of them.  

How true to fact are Conrad's Papuans? A comparison of Wallace's and Conrad's descriptions of Papuans has already been made in the explanation of how Conrad used Wallace's Malay Archipelago. Wallace's description of Papuans is naturally much more detailed and exact than is Conrad's, for he was vitally interested in Malayan and Papuan racial differences; while Conrad's Papuans appear in his fiction for but a moment. Wallace not only recorded the Papuan's "sooty blackness of skin and mop-like head of frizzly hair", but

1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 323.
2. Ibid., p. 421.
also his "compressed and projecting" face, "protuberant and overhanging" brow, "large and prominent" mouth, and "very large" nose with "the apex elongated downward, the ridge thick, and the nostrils large." New Guinea is the chief island inhabited by Papuans.

Conrad's Papuans are a "mop-headed, sooty crowd . . . a wild naked crowd" with "black bodies and frizzly heads". Although this leaves as fleeting an impression on us as the vision of the quickly disappearing Papuans did on Lindgard and Pata Hassim, it is true to what a fleeting impression of Papuans would be. Conrad places his Papuans, correctly, in New Guinea. What little Conrad mentions about Papuans is true to the facts about that race.

In the next place, how true are Conrad's Malays to the Malay racial type? According to Wallace, "the Malay face is of the Mongolian type, broad and somewhat flat. The brows are depressed, the mouth wide, but not projecting, and the nose small and well formed, but for the great dilation of the nostrils. The face is smooth, and rarely develops the trace of a beard; the hair black, coarse, and perfectly straight". The color of all these varied tribes of Malays

3. The Rescue, p. 70.
4. Ibid., p. 71.
5. Ibid., pp. 70, 71.
is a light reddish brown, with more or less of an olive
tint ... The stature ... is always considerably below
that of the average European; the body is robust, the breast
well developed, the feet small, thick and short, the hands
small and rather delicate ... the eyes, black and very
slightly oblique."\(^1\) Featherman\(^2\) designates Sumatra as the
original home of the Malays and their present home as Sumatra,
adjacent islands, the mainland, and the coasts of the various
islands of the Archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea.

Conrad's Malay type is true to the descriptions of the
average Malay recorded by students. Pata Hassim's "face was
hairless, the nose short with mobile nostrils". He had
"rather full lips" and an "upright figure".\(^3\) Mes Immada's
hair was black and heavy.\(^4\) She was small, "brown and alert",
with "olive face".\(^5\) Conrad's Malays inhabit Sumatra (Lord
Jim), the Peninsula ("End of the Tether"), Java ("Youth"),
Borneo (Almayer's Folly, An Outcast of the Islands, The Res-
cue) and Celebes (The Rescue, "Karein"). Conrad keeps his
Malays true in physical characteristics and in habitat to
the actual appearance and range of the Malay race.

Conrad mentions a third native people--the Alfuros,

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1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 585. See also Oceanica, p. 78,
   79; Featherman, Papuo and Malay Melenesians, p. 421.
2. Papuo and Malay Melenesians, p. 420, 421.
3. The Rescue, p. 65.
4. Ibid., p. 65.
5. Ibid., p. 140.
6. Ibid.
who in some ways differ from and in some ways resemble both Papuans and Malays. The term "Alfuro", according to Reclus, has no real racial significance, being broadly applied to non-Mohammedan people and specifically applied to wild tribes of Celebes and neighboring islands.\(^1\) Wallace considered them in the latter sense only, and decided that they were the result of mingled Malay and Papuan blood.\(^2\) Their mixed features are left unmentioned by Conrad, for we never actually see his timid, primitive Alfuros.\(^3\) When he places them in Samburen, however, he reveals his knowledge of the true inhabitants of the islands off the south shore of Celebes.

Conrad, then, recognizes the main racial differences in the Archipelago, and his background reflects them correctly. Of the three—Papuan, Alfuro, and Malay—only the Malay race, as the important element in Conrad's fiction, needs careful consideration here.

In general, Conrad's Malays conform to the race pattern described by Wallace, Reclus, Featherman and other students. Dain Maroole, like Pata Hassim, keeps close to type:

An erect figure of medium height with a breadth of shoulder suggesting great power . . . the squareness of the lower jaw, the full red lips, the mobile

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1. Reclus, Geenica, p. 77.
2. The Malay Archipelago, p. 323.
nostrils, the proud carriage of the head that gave an impression of being half-savage, untamed, perhaps cruel, and corrected the liquid softness of the almost feminine eyes, that general characteristic of the race.1

Conrad introduces, however, many features peculiar to individuals, and these variations are the fruit of his own experience. Jean-Aubry informs us that "Babalatchi and Lekamba, whom we also meet in Conrad's Malayean books, were two natives of the Celebes established as merchants in Broew. They were much respected by the inhabitants, and their remarkable appearance attracted Conrad's attention."2 Babalatchi is described as very ugly--thin, one-eyed, with broad, dark and pock-marked face, where the big lips, stained with betel-juice, looked like a deep and bleeding gash of a fresh wound,3 and behind this mask is a very active mind. Lekamba, on the other hand, has more ordinary Malay looks made unattractive by his vacant, stupid expression and sulky, sleepy manner.4

From observation, too, must have come other definitely portrayed Malays. Dormain's old wife, for one, is an individual whose appearance is seen in contrast with the young women of her household, described as a group.

1. Almeyer's Folly, p. 55.
3. An Outcast of the Islands, p. 47.
4. Ibid., pp. 49, 96.
She had a round, nut-brown, soft face, all fine wrinkles, large, bright red lips (she chewed betel assiduously), and screwed-up, winking, benevolent eyes. She was constantly in movement, scolding busily and ordering unceasingly a troop of young women with clear brown faces and big grave eyes.¹

The most unusual looking of Conrad's Malays is Doremin.

Doremin was one of the most remarkable men of his race I had ever seen. His bulk for a Malay was immense, but he did not look merely fat; he looked imposing, monumental. This motionless body, clad in rich stuffs, coloured silks, gold embroideries; this huge head, enfolded in a red-and-gold head-kerchief; the flat, big, round face, wrinkled, furrowed with two semicircular heavy folds starting on each side of wide, fierce nostrils, and enclosing a thick-lipped mouth; the throat of a bull; the vast corrugated brow overhanging the staring proud eyes--made a whole that, once seen, can never be forgotten. His impassive repose (he seldom stirred a limb when once he sat down) was like a display of dignity. He was never known to raise his voice. It was a hoarse and powerful murmur, slightly veiled as if heard from a distance.

Conrad notes that Sumatrans have an appearance which differentiates them from other Malays. Featherman describes the typical Malay in Sumatra as darker than other Sumatran peoples and as having homely, pronounced features—round faces, projecting cheek bones, broad lower jaws, expanded nostrils, large mouths, and black, coarse, thick hair. They are particularly proud, courageous, truculent and vindictive. "They look death in the face with the most aston-

¹ Lord Jim, pp. 255-256.
² Ibid., p. 259.
ishing composure. ¹

The commander of Dein Maroola's brig is "a thickset, savage-looking Sumatrese". ² Jim's servant, Tamb' Itam, is from north Sumatra. "His complexion was very dark, his face flat, his eyes prominent and injected with bile. There was something excessive, almost fanatical, in his devotion to his "white lord"."³ The quartermaster in "The End of the Tether" is a "middle-aged, pock-marked Sumatran Malay, almost as dark as a negro".⁴ In the Outcast Almeyer tells Lingard of the crew on Abdullah's ship: "desperate beggars, Sumatre men, from Delli and Acheen. Fight all day and ask for more in the evening".⁵

There can be no doubt that in his descriptions of Malay physical appearance Conrad is presenting a true picture. His Pata Hassim and Dein Maroola, for instance, conform to the standard descriptions of Malay appearance. Variations from this standard in individuals, such as Doramin and Babelatchi, are no more than what would be expected in any race. He recognizes the peculiarities of the Sumatran.

The next subject for investigation is the manner in which Conrad clothes his Malays. Are his costumes authentic?

¹ Papu and Malevo Melanesiens, p. 289.
² Almeyer's Folly, p. 56.
³ Lord Jim, p. 270.
⁴ "The End of the Tether", Selected Stories, p. 326.
⁵ An Outcast of the Islands, p. 166.
Dress plays an important part in Malay life. The Malay student R.O. Winstedt explains the Malay attitude toward it.

The Malay Annals relate how one of the bendahar-ees of old Malacca would change his garment four or five times a day; how he had coats and turbans of all colours and such a number of each colour that they could be counted by tens, some of his turbans kept always ready rolled; his coats some half-sewed, others nearly finished, others just cut out; and how he had a tall mirror by which he dressed himself daily, asking his wife if this coat suited that turban and following her advice exactly. It is a story that goes to the root of the matter, because the Malay has been a fop for centuries and is a fop still. Turning over his wardrobe, one is only astonished that head or tail can be made of such admired disorder. For centuries the fashions and stuffs of India, China, Persia, Arabia, Europe have been pouring into it. The Chinese records tell how this king and that throughout the Archipelago sent envoys to the Celestial Kingdom and got in return "suits of clothes embroidered with golden dragons", "a girdle with precious stones, pieces of silk with golden flowers". The early voyagers narrate how Cambay, Coromandel and Bengal trafficked with Java and Malacca in "cotton lyme serampures, casses, sateposas, black staapese, black cannequums, red tories, red beybaman", names that make the eye dizzy; and how "the heathenish Indians that dwell in Coa not only sold all kinds of silkes, sattins, damasks, and curious works of porselyne from China and other places, but all manner of wares of velvet, silke, sattin and such like, brought out of Portingall". The Malay welcomed all with the avidity of the born wanderer that his Archipelago had made him, and took such an Elizabethan gusto in things foreign that the remoter its origin the finer the object in his eyes.

With marvellous dexterity he contrived to adjust his barbaric plenty to a fair standard of good taste... All the time he is busy peering over his acquisitions with the curious eyes of a naive child, inventing
labels for them drawn from aboriginal intimacy with nature. The gold spots on his coat are labelled "the scattered rice grains", or "bees on the wing"; the patterns on his skirt "the chequer board", "the bamboo spikes", "the jump three stripe"; if his skirt be heavy with gold thread, it is dubbed "the cloth that would sink a junk". His bracelet is oval without and flat within, and he names it "the split reed" bangle. He welcomes foreign skill, but he insists on having goods conform to his taste; there is a story that Sultan Muhammad of Malacca, sent a messenger to the land of the Khings to order forty lengths of forty different kinds of flowered cloth, and that none of the designs brought suited the messenger's fancy till, at last, he drew designs himself, so beautiful and intricate as to amaze the craftsmen. The Malay has the faculty of criticizing as well as the generous faculty of admiration. In "Anggun Che Tungal" the young hero dresses all in black, but his mother tells him he looks like a flock of crows; changes into complete white, whereupon she likens him to a flock of storks; changes into red, when she compares him with the hibiscus aflame at daybreak; and he only satisfies her by donning garments of contrasted colour.

But though he asserts, the Malay never discards. He adopts the jacket, and the old shoulder scarf becomes a head shawl for his women, a waist-band for himself, a stole at court, a cordon at wedding ceremonies; he adopts trousers, and the skirt is a useful receptacle of baggage, a handy change at the journey's end, a decent tribute to the dictates of his religion. He has an accumulation of centuries and civilizations in the way of jewellery, the greater part sacred from immemorial superstition; good taste forbids him to flaunt it all, but apportions this to his tiny children, that to his unmarried daughters. Moreover, not all the gold of the Indies has ousted the wrist-string as an amulet, nor till recently the ancient vanity of blackened teeth . . . .

Criticism has assailed the originality of every Malay garment except the chequer skirt . . . It has depended for its continual vogue on an infinite adaptability: it can serve as a mether garment, a bathing cloth, a night-shirt, a turban, a wallet, a cradle, a shroud; it was retained and respected as a shibboleth of Islam when the use of trousers became almost universal. There were several ways of fastening it about the
waist, from loosely bundling it so as to hold
a dagger or perang, to folding it so neatly that
a long pleat will open down either leg as the
wearer strides: the country mouse can be distinguished
from the town mouse by the hang of his skirt. There
were modes fashionable at court: for chiefs "skirt
in puffs", for ladies the "billowy"tempestuous swell.

The most characteristic article of Malay clothing is
the sarong. Rounsevelle Wildman writes that the early
European explorers in the Malay Archipelago found "its in-
habitants wearing the sarong. After a lapse of three cen-
turies they still wear it,--neither Hindu invasion, Moham-
medan conversion, Chinese immigration, nor European con-
quest, has ever taken from them their national dress. Civil-
ization has introduced many articles of clothing; but no
matter how many of these are adopted, the Malay from his
Highness the Sultan of Johore, to the poorest fisherman of
a squalid Kampong on the muddy banks of a mangrove-hidden
stream, religiously wears the sarong. It is only an ob-
long cloth, this fashion-surviving garb, from two to four
feet in width and some two yards long, sewn together at
the ends. It looks like a gingham bag with the bottom out.
The wearer steps into it, and with two or three ingenious
twists tightens it round the waist, thus forming a shirt

1. "The Circumstances of Malay Life", Part II, division on
"Dress", pp. 32-36, Papers on Malay Subjects, Series I,
The Papers on Malay Subjects are all written by ex-
erts in Malay affairs. They are published by the
British government in Malaya and are considered author-
ative. Richard Ular Winstedt is general adviser to
the Malay State of Johore, F.M.S.
and, at the same time, a belt in which he carries the kris or snake-like dagger, the inevitable pouch of areca nut for chewing, and the few copper cents that he dares not trust in his unlocked hut. The man's skirt falls to his knees, and among the poor class forms his only article of dress, while the woman's reaches to her ankles and is worn in connection with another sarong that is thrown over her head as a veil, so that when she is abroad and meets one of the opposite sex she can, Moslem-like, draw it about her face in the form of a long, narrow slit, showing only her coal-black eyes and thinly pencilled eyebrows.¹

According to Winstedt:

There are two kinds of sarong, the chequer skirt of geometrical design, and the flowered Javanese skirt on which figure birds and warriers . . . manufactured in vegetable fiber . . . or in silk and cloth of gold, the silk background almost always a rich red . . . dependent for beauty on small geometrical and floral patterns interwoven in gold thread decoration.

The Javanese sarong is considered effeminate by other Malays. European cottons are used now ordinarily. The common sarong was formerly "either coarse homespun or, for the higher classes, calendered Bugis tartan cloth". The colors of the typical Wajo sarong are grey and red in a check.

¹. Tales of the Malayan Coast, pp. 66-68.
². See Winstedt's "The Circumstances of Malay Life, op. cit.

pp. 36-38.
Conrad recognizes the sarong as belonging to Malay dress. Among references made by him to sarongs are: "the variegated colours of checkered sarongs"\(^1\) worn by Karain's Wajo followers, Dain Maroola wore "a red sarong gathered into a sash round his waist".\(^2\) Babalatchi's "unofficial costume" was "composed of a piece of pink calico round his waist",\(^3\) but when he was dressed for an especial occasion, "a loudly checkered sarong encircled his waist".\(^4\) Immada's "sarong, the kilt-like garment which both sexes wear, had the national [Wajo] check of grey and red".\(^5\)

Besides the sarong, the other important piece of Malay dress is the baju. The baju is a short jacket which is "the ordinary outdoor" coat of Malay men. Winsteadt mentions that the women wear a baju fastened in front with brooches, when they are indoors.\(^7\) Featherman writes of buttons (gold filigree buttons are popular) or clasps being used.\(^8\)

Conrad proves his knowledge of the Malay baju. Some

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1. Tales of Unrest, p. 4.
3. Ibid., p. 38.
4. Ibid., p. 93.
5. The Rescue, p. 65.
8. Papuo and Malay Melanesians, p. 422.
of Karain's people wore "white jackets". Dein Maroole's baju was of black silk embroidered in gold. Hassim had "a jacket of coarse blue cotton, of the kind a poor fisherman might own". The baju worn by Mas Immada is described in detail.

A black silk jacket, like that of a man of rank, was buttoned over her bust and fitted closely to her slender waist. The edge of a stand-up collar, stiff with gold embroidery, rubbed her cheek... Her arms hung down in exceedingly tight sleeves slit a little way up from the wrist, gold-braided and with a row of small gold buttons.

That Conrad knew of the garment called "kebaya" is evident from a word he used in connection with the costume of Doremin's wife. Winstedt writes that the "long shapeless kebaya of Portuguese name... is now universally worn by women". Conrad is referring to the kebaya when he describes the dress of Doremin's wife. "She was very spare, and even her ample outer garment, fastened in front with jewelled clasps, had somehow a skimpy effect." The world "ample" could be applied only to the kebaya, not to the baju.

We pass now to the Malay head wear. In giving the

1. Tales of Unrest, p. 4.
2. Almeyer's Folly, p. 54.
3. The Rescue, p. 65.
4. Ibid., p. 66.
typical Malay dress for men, Featherman states that
"their head is entwined in turban fashion by a gaily
coloured cotton handkerchief". 1 Winstedt believes that
the head-kerchief is native Malayan and adds that it has
been nearly supplanted "by a succession of cylindrical caps,
all ultimately, it would appear, of Arab origin". 2

Both the head-kerchief and the cylindrical cap appear
in Conrad's descriptions. Daman's followers had "their
heads enfolded in crimson and gold handkerchiefs". 3 "Even
the eyes of Jelarab's people were still under the varie-
gated mass of coloured headkerchiefs." 4 Dain Maroole wore
a "blue turban whose fringed ends hung gracefully over the
left shoulder". 5 As to Hassim's head dress, "The red and
gold handkerchief folded round his head was of costly stuff,
such as is woven by high-born women in the households of
chiefs, only the gold threads were tarnished and the silk
freayed in the folds." 6 Abdulle, being an Arab, wore the
"small skull-cap of pleated grass" 7 which became popular with
the Malays.

It is evident that Conrad understood the typical pieces
of Malay dress—the sarong, baju, kebaya, and headkerchiefs

1. Papuo and Malayo Melanesiens, p. 422.
4. Ibid., p. 290.
5. Almayer's Folly, p. 55.
and caps, and used them properly. He makes some mention of Malay ornaments as well.

In his paper on "The Circumstances of Malay Life", Ninstedt devotes several pages to Malay ornaments—bracelets, jewelled rings, hair pins and elaborate crowns used at weddings, ear-rings, necklaces, clasps, and pins.

Conrad has occasion to mention the "splendor" of the "costly metals" and "flawed jewels"¹ worn by high born Malays. The "ornamented and barbarous crowd" of Kerain’s people were bright "with the gleam of scabbards, gold rings, charms, armlets, lance blades, and jewelled handles of their weapons".² "The crude light of the lamp... broke in a thousand sparkles on the jeweled hilt of his kris... and played on the precious stones of many rings on his dark fingers."³ Although he does not go into the detail about Malay ornaments to the extent that he does with Malay physical appearance and dress, Conrad indicates that he was aware of the Malay love of it.

Conrad displays a knowledge of Malay weapons. Until forbidden to carry arms by their European masters, Malays habitually carried weapons not only for protection but for ornament. Of Malay weapons Featherman states:

1. The Rescue, p. 74.
2. Tales of Unrest, p. 4.
3. Almayer’s Folly, p. 54-55.
The rude weapons of ancient warfare, which have been almost entirely superseded by the use of firearms, were the sumpitan or blow-pipe . . . the bow and arrow and the club. The chain jacket (baju renti) and a shield constitute their defensive armour . . . the lances of state which are carried before the chief as a badge of authority, have their shafts ornamented with bunches of hair generally dyed crimson.1

Long shields were in common use in ancient times, but they have been entirely abandoned, [by Javanese Malays] though round shields are still occasionally employed.

Malays use "square" or "pointed oval" shields. 3

"The lances are of various kinds and are used like a poniard for thrusting. The swords vary much in form . . . The helmets are either of iron or wicker-work." 4

But their kris or poniard is most highly prized. The blade is about fourteen inches in length with waving edges, and is produced by beating steel and iron wire together while in a state of half fusion; the softest parts being eaten out by means of an acid leaving the cutting edge pure steel. The greatest artistic skill is expended upon the haft which is either of ivory, of the tooth of the sea-cow, of an hippocampus tooth, of black coral or of fine-grained wood. It is inlaid with gold mixed with copper, is highly polished and curiously carved. The sheath is of some precious wood . . . or it is plaited with gold.

That Conrad has the correct impression of Malay arms

2. Ibid., p. 364.
3. Ibid., p. 358.
4. Ibid., p. 358.
5. Ibid., p. 297.
is seen from the weapons which he places in the hands of his Malays. They include Hassim's kris with its "ivory hilt, ringed with six bands of gold ... a weapon that would not have disgraced a ruler", 1 Don Maroole's kris with its "jewelled hilt", 2 "straight swords", 3 and "broad blades of spears decorated with crimson tufts of horse-hair". 4 Two of Belareb's guards wore "armour of chain mail with pointed steel helmets". 5

The kris, the most important Malay weapon, receives special treatment from Conrad. Wildman explains that the kris "has its etiquette".

It is always worn on the left side stuck into the fold of the sarong, or skirt, the national dress of the Malay. During an interview it is considered respectful to conceal it; and its handle is turned with its point close to the body of the wearer, if the wearer be friendly. If, however, there is ill blood existing, and the wearer is angry, the kris is exposed, and the point of the handle turned the reverse way. 6

This etiquette Conrad understands. His Hassim wears his kris correctly on the left side. 7 Kerain, when he visited the British boat, carried "a kris with a plain buffal-

1. The Rescue, p. 65.
2. Almayer's Folly, p. 54.
3. The Rescue, p. 290.
4. Ibid., p. 235.
5. Ibid.
6. Tales of the Malayan Coast, p. 80.
7. The Rescue, p. 65.
horn handle, which he would politely conceal within a fold of his sarong before stepping over the threshold. He "covered the handle of his kris in a sign of respect" when he looked at a coin bearing the likeness of Queen Victoria. On the other hand, Daman's kris was used to show his enmity.

Four Illunun chiefs sat in a row. Their ample robes fell from their shoulders, and lay behind them on the sand in which their four long lances were planted upright, each supporting a small oblong shield of wood, carved on the edges and stained a dull purple. Daman stretched out his arm and pointed at the prisoner... The Koran, in a silk cover, hung on his breast by a crimson cord. It rested over his heart and, just below, the plain buffalo horn handle of a kris stuck into the twist of his sarong, protruded to his hand... "There is blood between me and the whites," he pronounced violently.

"Allace gives a full account of how the fine hand-wrought Malay guns were made at Mataram. Conrad's Babalatchi was very proud of his gun "Mataram make"5 that he had taken from the Aru trader whom he had killed when on a piratical raid with forty men in a Sulu prau.

Conrad's references to the kris and its use, to spears decorated with crimson horsehair, to helmets and chain armor, and to guns made at Mataram reveal his correct

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1. Tales of Unrest, p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 49.
3. The Rescue, p. 222.
knowledge of the subject of Malay weapons.

It must be acknowledged that Conrad's Malays in their appearance, dress, ornaments, and arms do not deviate from actuality. Is his Malaysian background as true when it concerns Malay homes?

The Malays have developed an architecture suited to their environment. Malays prefer to build their houses so near the water that they are often surrounded by it at high tide. On page 166 of the February, 1919, National Geographic Magazine, there is an excellent picture of a Malay village built along the shore of the Sarawak River in Borneo. The houses have the appearance of being on the water rather than on the land. A true Malay house, whether placed near water or further inland, is always lifted well off the ground on piles. R. O. Winstedt, in one of his contributions to the Papers on Malay Subjects, explains its construction.

House building, the alpha of Malay carpentry, is still of so primitive a kind that migration is easy. Does a peasant plant padi on the hills or in a swamp he moves from his riverside clearing and builds a fresh hut on the spot for the season. It will be of the simplest type. Posts and crossbeams are of round untrimmed timbers, natural knots or forks being picked to form crutches, and the whole frame is lashed with rattan. For flooring there are round bamboo joints and cross and above them are mid bamboo opened and flattened by notch- ing the joints and by being put to dry in the sun under the pressure of weights; or in more substantial dwellings nibong trunks split into four are employed. For walls and roof, broad palm-leaves are dried and
stitched with split rattan one above the other like feathers on a bird's wing, or thatching is made by stripping the leaves of the nipah palm from the mid-riп, doubling them over a stick rather more than a yard long and sewing them into that position with rattan, the prepared atap being sewn on to roof or wall so as to overlap one another close together if the hut is to be permanent, some inches apart if it is to be merely temporary. The wailing may be constructed of bamboo treated like the flooring laths and then threaded in and out, one strip vertical one transverse interlaced as for fencing; or it may be made of sheets of bark such as are twisted into rice-bin and howdah; or of pandan leaves trimmed and stitched into the smooth ribbed matting that forms a covering for native boats. Types of the most primitive house-ladder, as it is found also in Dyak houses, survive in notched nibong trunks that lead up to jungle huts.  

But the finer houses have great curved, decorated, even tiered roofs, and fine wicker work walls plaited in various patterns—the "cross", "diamond", "bat's elbow", "sandpiper's foot", "pumpkin", or "folded blossom", and may be woven in various shades of brown or in colors. The gable ends may boast patterns called "the sun's reys" or "the star-fenced moon".

Conrad, of course, gives us frequent glimpses of these houses and their surroundings.

The sun had not yet cleared the forests of the interior, but a sky already full of light arched over a dark oval lagoon, over wide fields as yet full of shadows, that seemed slowly changing into

2. Ibid.
the whiteness of the morning mist. There were huts, fences, palisades, big houses that, erected on lofty piles, were seen above the tops of clustered fruit trees, as if suspended in air.

Conrad's Sambir is a typical village.

The afterwards flourishing Sambir was born in a swamp and passed its youth in malodorous mud. The houses crowded the bank, and, as if to get away from the unhealthy shore, stepped boldly into the water, shooting over it in a close row of bamboo platforms elevated on high piles, amongst which the current below spoke in a soft and unceasing plaint of murmuring eddies. There was only one path in the whole town and it ran at the back of the houses along the succession of blackened circular patches that marked places of the household fires. On the other side the virgin forest bordered the path, coming close to it, as if to provoke impudently any passer-by to the solution of the gloomy problem of its depths.

Conrad's Lord Jim offers a similar scene in moonlight.

All was silent, all was still; even on the river the moonlight slept as on a pool. It was the moment of high water, a moment of immobility that accentuated the utter isolation of this lost corner of the earth. The houses crowding along the wide shining sweep without ripple or glitter, stepping into the water in a line of jostling, vague, grey, silvery forms mingled with black masses of shadow, were like a spectral herd of shapeless creatures pressing forward to drink in a spectral and lifeless stream. Here and there a red gleam twinkled within the bamboo walls, warm, like a living spark, significant of human affections, of shelter, of repose.

3. Lord Jim, p. 246.
Of the groves about and the paths connecting the houses Conrad writes:

The bright sunshine of the clear mistless morning, after the stormy night, flooded the main path of the settlement leading from the low shore of the Pentai branch of the river to the gate of Abdulle's compound. The path was deserted this morning; it stretched its dark yellow surface, hard beaten by the tramp of many bare feet, between the clusters of palm trees, whose tall trunks barred it with strong black lines at irregular intervals, while the newly risen sun threw the shadows of their leafy heads far away over the roofs of the buildings lining the river, even over the river itself as it flowed swiftly and silently past the deserted houses.

With Conrad's scene livened by people, the compound presents a new aspect.

In his council hall he was surrounded by the gravity of armed chiefs, while two long rows of old headmen dressed in cotton stuffs squatted on their heels, with idle arms hanging over their knees. Under the thatch roof supported by smooth columns, of which each one had cost the life of a straight-stemmed young palm, the scent of flowering hedges drifted in warm waves. The sun was sinking. In the open courtyard suppliants walked through the gate, raising, when yet far off, their joined hands above bowed heads, and bending low in the bright stream of sunlight. Young girls, with flowers in their laps, set under the wide-spread boughs of a big tree. The blue smoke of wood fires spread in a thin mist above the high-pitched roofs of houses that had glistening walls of woven reeds, and all round them rough wooden pillars under the sloping eaves.

1. Almayer's Folly, p. 90.
2. Tales of Unrest, pp. 15, 16.
For a reliable account of a house interior, we turn to Winstedt again in his "Circumstances of Malay Life", Part II, division on "The House", Papers on Malay Subjects, Series I.

The elementary ground-plan of a house is extremely simple. It must contain a place for the reception of visitors, a sleeping place and a place for cooking. In the houses of the poorest type these may be all under one roof; the sleeping apartment curtained off perhaps merely by a mosquito curtain, the cooking place at the back of the one room... or under an extension of the eaves -- that is, in the back veranda. Out of this plan, apparently, the more elaborate types have been evolved. The place for the reception of visitors becomes a long closed front verandah, a short balcony closed or open projecting at right angles to the center building on the same or a lower level, or in the house of prince and chief becomes the audience hall. The main building constitutes the sleeping apartments, and may or may not be cut up into rooms. A closed back verandah may be added and becomes the woman's gallery. The kitchen is separated behind the house, or if close to the river, and by association of ideas if away from it even, on the down-stream side from simple sanitary logic; a raised outside platform tacked directly on the house at a slightly lower level, open or covered under a sloping pent-roof... or built at right-angles with a double-roof, when it is called "the suckling elephant"; yet again, in palace and larger houses a separate but jointed by a covered or uncovered way. If extra sleeping room is required the unmarried girls occupy an attic reached by a ladder, situated between ceiling and roof, lighted by a window in the gable end. Yet again, if a daughter marries and more commodious accommodation be required the "anjong" (closed balcony) may become an annex of the house, built on to it generally from the kitchen passage and forming another building of equal size. The house is lighted in front (and behind if at all) by a horizontal aperture running sometimes the whole length of the verandah, and level with the head of a squat on the floor; and there will be the same aperture or taller barred windows at the sides of the house...
Ascend the verandah, the part of the house proper to the mere male, his gatherings and his pursuits, and the visitor will find himself in a space empty, save for a few shelves or bamboo racks, for the plank or bamboo bed platform of an unmarried son at the further end, for the fisherman's net, the hunter's noose, and the bird-cage of rattan hanging from the roof; save, too, for the half-finished trap or basket that lies scattered on the floor to employ the indoor hours of men and boys. Look around at these things and at the household furniture, and he is in the midst of a prehistoric civilization. There is a fable telling how a fairy taught Malay women to copy the patterns of those remnants of nets and baskets which Seng Kelembei left behind when fear of the human race drove him away to the sky's edge. Here is every variety of article plaited of dried palm-leaf; mats spread over part of the floor; mats piled aside to be unrolled for the accommodation of visitors; a small prayer mat of Arabic name but home workmanship; the plaited tobacco pouch or box, or the beg receptacle for betel utensils handy for daily use; plaited sacks stacked in a corner, full of rice.

Conrad describes the simplest form of Malay house in Babalatchi's home.

He climbed with sudden agility the last few steps and stood on the platform waving his hand invitingly to Lingard, who followed after a short moment of hesitation. The elastic floor of the hut bent under the weight of the old seaman, who, standing within the threshold, tried to look into the smoky gloom of the low dwelling. Under the torch, thrust with the cleft of a stick, fastened at a right angle to the middle stay of the ridge pole, lay a red patch of light, showing a few shabby mats and a corner of a big wooden chest . . . In the obscurity of the more remote parts of the house a lance-head, a brass tray hung on the wall, the long barrel of a gun leaning against the chest, caught the stray rays of the smoky illumination in trembling gleams that wavered, disappeared, reappeared, went out, came back—as if en-
gaged in a doubtful struggle with the darkness that, lying in wait in distant corners, seemed to dart out viciously towards its feeble enemy. The vast space under the high pitch of the roof was filled with a thick cloud of smoke, whose under-side-level like a ceiling—reflected the light of the swaying dull flame, while at the top it ooze through the imperfect thatch of dried palm leaves.

In Lekambe's house Conrad presents a much more pretentious "baley dwelling.

Lekambe's own house was a strong structure of solid planks, raised on high piles, with a verandah of split bamboos surrounding it on all sides; the whole was covered in by an immensely high-pitched roof of palm leaves, resting on beams blackened by the smoke of many torches. The building stood parallel to the river, one of its long sides facing the water-gate of the stockade. There was a door in the short side looking up the river, and the inclined plank-way led straight from the gate to that door... Bobalatchi stepped forward to open the door, and Dain entered the audience chamber of the Rajah's residence. About one-third of the house was curtained off, by heavy stuff of European manufacture, for that purpose; close to the curtain there was a big arm-chair of some black wood, much carved, and before it a rough deal table. Otherwise the room was only furnished with mats in great profusion. To the left of the entrance stood a rude arm-rack, with three rifles with fixed bayonets in it.

Lekambe's men spend much time on the veranda.

Lekambe came out on the platform before his own house and sat down --perspiring, half asleep, and sulky--in a wooden arm-chair under the shade of the

3. Almayer's Folly, pp. 75-76.
overhanging eaves. Through the darkness of the doorway he could hear the soft warbling of his womankind, busy round the looms where they were weaving the checkered pattern of his galasarongs. Right and left of him on the flexible bamboo floor those of his followers to whom their distinguished birth, long devotion, or faithful service had given the privilege of using the chief's house, were sleeping on mats or just sat rubbing their eyes.

As has been quoted from Winsteadt, the chief furnishings of Malay houses consist of woven mats, and Conrad makes frequent reference to them. Nina Almayer's bed consists of "a pile of soft mats". 2 Aissa balances "a roll of fine mats on her head" 3 as she prepares to make a bed in the courtyard. Babaletchi sits on a "rolled up bundle of mats". 4 Doremin's formal room where he and his wife "sat in state" was "lined and carpeted with fine mats". 5

Conrad's Malay housing proves correct in its situation near water, its platform on piers, its bamboo, palm-leaf, and matting materials, its high roofing, its separate quarters for men and women, and its furnishing of mats.

From the single house we proceed to the group. Wallace describes the typical Malay village as surrounded by a high fence. In the enclosed area "the houses are thickly

4. Ibid., p. 220.
5. Lord Jim, p. 260.
strewn without the least attempt at regularity. Tall coco-
nut trees grow abundantly between them and the ground is bare
and smooth with the trampling of many feet". He writes of
"native villages scattered about, so embosomed in fruit trees
that at a distance they look like clumps or patches of for-
est". He mentions fields of maize, rice, and sweet pota-
toes.

The impression of the village and its surroundings gained
ed from Conrad's fiction is much the same. From the vessel
which visited Karain's country of Conrad's "Karain", the
rice fields could be seen at the foot of the hills. "Clumps
of fruit-trees marked the villages; slim palms put their
heads together over low houses... bamboo fences glittered,
running away in broken lines between the fields". Bel-
arab's village was surrounded by "wide fields". Jim ran
across a maize patch and climbed over the kampong fence in
his flight to Doremin's house. Abdulla's compound had
paths "herd beaten by the tramp of many bare feet, between
the clusters of palm trees".

It is evident that Conrad's description of Malay

1. The Malay Archipelago, p. 135.
2. Ibid., p. 221.
3. Ibid., pp. 174, 221, 224.
4. Tales of Unrest, p. 6.
houses grouped under palms in compound enclosures which are threaded with paths and of their surrounding orchards and fields may be trusted as authentic. Since the Malays are a seafaring race, their boats are almost as important to them as their houses. Conrad writes of the long dug-out canoes such as were used on his Pantai, of the Chinese junks and sampans, and particularly of the Malay praus.

For authoritative descriptions of Malay water-craft, we turn to Wallace, Featherman, and the Marine Research Society. Wallace made a trip from Macassar to the Aru Islands in a Bugis prau.

It was a vessel of about seventy tons burthen, and shaped somewhat like a Chinese junk. The deck sloped considerably downward to the bows, which were thus the lowest part of the ship. There were two large rudders, but instead of being placed astern they were hung on the quarters from strong cross beams, which projected out two or three feet on each side, and to which extent the deck overhung the sides of the vessel amidships. The rudders were not hinged but hung with slings of rattan, the friction of which keeps them in any position in which they are placed, and thus perhaps facilitates steering. The tillers were not on deck, but entered the vessel through two square openings into a lower or half deck about three feet high, in which sit the two steersmen. In the after part of the vessel was a low poop, about three and a half feet high, which forms the captain's cabin, its furniture consisting of boxes, mats, and pillows. In front of the poop and main mast was a little thatched house on deck, about four feet high to the ridge; and one compartment of this, forming a cabin six and a half feet long by five and a half wide, I had all to myself.

Wallace wrote that the Ke' boats are in great demand throughout the Archipelago.

The art in which the natives of Ke' preeminently excel is that of boat-making. Their forests supply abundance of fine timber. . . . Their small canoes are beautifully formed, broad and low in the center, but rising at each end, where they terminate in high-pointed beaks more or less carved, adorned with a plume of feathers. They are not hollowed out of a tree, but are regularly built of planks running from end to end, and so accurately fitted that it is often difficult to find a place where a knife-blade can be inserted between the joints. The larger ones are from twenty to thirty tons burden, and are finished ready for sea without a nail or particle of iron being used, and with no other tools than axe, adze, and auger. These vessels are handsome to look at, good sailors, and admirable sea-boats, and will make long voyages with perfect safety.1

Other types of native craft are described by Feathermen.

The corocore is composed of a keel made of a tree-trunk properly hollowed out, with a superstructure of planks fastened by means of wooden pegs, or sewn together with strong cords of coconut fibre; and the bow and stern are usually of the same form. . . . The champions, which is of Chinese origin, has several masts, and is equally navigable by oars and sails, and for greater security it is sometimes fitted out with an outrigger, which is an indispensable accessory to all small sailing-boats. The bamboo masts are generally placed in a vertical position. . . . The sails are rectangular and are ordinarily made of palm-leaf matting.

In The Pirates' Own Book is an account of

2. Fapuo and Malayo Melanesians, p. 460.
... the Maley piratical praus which are from six to eight tons burden, and run from six to eight fathoms in length. They carry from one to two small guns, with commonly four swivels or rantoas to each side, and a crew of from twenty to thirty men. When they engage, they put up a strong bulwark of thick plank. The Illanoon proes are much larger and more formidable, and commonly carry from four to six guns, and a proportionable number of swivels.

Although Conrad must have examined all native craft with the curious and intelligent eyes of a seaman, he gives us no detailed description of them. He treats them suggestively in such a way as to convey to us an impression of their variety and strangeness. They enter the stories as "swift piratical praus", "a cranky dug-out", "little nutshells". The heaviness of the praus is suggested when he mentions that "each prau had, according to the customs of the Illanun rovers when on a raiding expedition, a smaller war boat". He writes of boats "outlandish and high-sterned". In "The End of the Tether", Capt. in Whalley, saddened by the loss of his boat is attracted to a prau.

Moored between the square blocks a seafaring Maley prau floated half hidden under the arch of masonry, with her spers lowered down, without a sound of life on board, and covered from stern

2. Almeyer's Folly, p. 41.
3. Lord Jim, p. 240
5. The Rescue, p. 220.
Jørgenson of The Rescue knew all the owners of "the mass of praus, coasting boats and sampans that, jammed together in the canal, lay covered with mats and flooded by the cold moonlight with here and there a dim lantern burning amongst the confusion of high sterns, spats, masts and lowered sails... the queer shaped vessels that carry the fortunes of brown men upon a shallow sea."2

These brief glimpses through Conrad's eyes prove his knowledge of Malay craft from the dug-out canoe to the prau with its high stern and palm leaf furnishings.

In his Malayan fiction, Conrad refers to various Malay customs and habits. Examples are to be found in his recognition of the Malay manner of eating, of the betel-chewing habit, and of the Malay love of chess. In discussing Malay food, Feathermen states that

... rice, which is the standing dish, is eaten with several kinds of relishes or curries... The dishes are served up in saucers placed upon a salver which rests upon a low stand or directly upon the ground. They use neither forks nor knives, but help themselves with their fingers.

2. The Rescue, pp. 99, 100.
3. Papuo and Malayo Malenesians, p. 446.
Conrad's Kerain "feasted like a king".

The fiery blaze . . . flickered over faces . . . kindled bright sparks on the rims of metal dishes standing on fine floor-mats . . . Small groups of men crouched in tight circles round the wooden platters; brown hands hovered over snowy heaps of rice.

Conrad frequently introduces the custom of betel-chewing among his Malays. According to C.I. Johnston:

. . . the betel nut . . . grew here on a tree like the cabbage tree, but smaller. At the top of these trees the nuts grow on a tough stem, as thick as a man's finger, in clusters of forty or fifty. The fruit resembles the nutmeg, but is rather larger and rounder. When to be chewed, the nut was cut into four bits, one of which was wrapped up in an areca-leaf, spread with a soft paste made of lime. Every native carried his lime-box by his side, into which he dipped his finger, spread his betel-leaf, wrapped his nut, and proceeded to chew. When there are no betel-vines, the leaves are imported for this purpose. The nut is most admired when young, and while it is green and juicy. It tastes rough in the mouth, dyes the lips red and the teeth black, but at the same time, preserves them.

In "The Circumstances of Malay Life", Winstedt describes the gold, silver, and brass siri boxes for containing chewing materials and adds that betel-chewing "to the old-fashioned Malay takes the place of the pipe and pipe, afternoon tea, coffee and liqueur, febrifuge and tonic: the habitue appreciates its quality with the same nicety that a connois-

1. Tales of Unrest, p. 17.
seur appreciates a tobacco or a vintage."¹

Examples of Conrad's many references to betel-chewing are as follows:

A boy of about twelve—the personal attendant of Lakemba—squatting at his master's feet and held up towards him a silver siri box. Slowly Lakemba took the box, opened it, and tearing off a piece of green leaf deposited in it a pinch of lime, a morsel of gambier, a small bit of areca nut, and wrapped up the whole with a dexterous twist.

Dein did not seem greatly discomposed by the Rajah's threatening words. While Lakemba was speaking he had glanced once rapidly over his shoulder, just to make sure there was nobody behind him, and tranquillized in that respect, he had extracted a siri-box out of the folds of his waist-cloth, and was wrapping carefully the little bit of betel-nut and a small pinch of lime in the green leaf, tendered him politely by the watchful Babalatchi.³

Even in the most minor details where Conrad mentions some aspect of Malayan external life, he is correct. For example, Featherman in his list of Malayan recreations, mentions that "the higher classes are skilful chess-players".⁴ Lakemba's nobles "draw a chessboard with red clay on a fine mat . . . and meditated silently over their moves".⁵

Let us summarize the facts which lead to the conclusion that Conrad's Malayan background reflects authentically the

¹ Papers on Malay Subjects, Series I, part on "Food".
² An Outcast of the Islands, p. 96-97.
³ Almayer's Folly, p. 81.
⁴ Papuo and Mabyo Melanesians, p. 302.
⁵ An Outcast of the Islands, p. 96.
appearance of Malay life.

Conrad proves his knowledge of the variety of peoples native to the Malay Archipelago by introducing Papuans with their proper physical qualities and placing them in New Guinea, their proper geographical realm. ¹ By designating Alfuros as the right inhabitants for his Samburen and making them a very primitive people; ² and by describing the physical appearance of his Malays in a manner which conforms to the consensus of observers' opinions and placing them in the parts of the Archipelago where Malays are commonly found: Sumatra (Lord Jim), the Peninsula ("The End of the Lather"), Java ("Youth"), Borneo (Almayer's Folly, An Outcast of the Islands, The Rescue), and Celebes ("Kersin", The Rescue). ³

Conrad's chief interest in native life centers on Malays. He proves his ability to reflect authentically the outward appearance of Malay life in the following ways:

In the first place, although he introduces individual physical peculiarities, as with Babeletchi and with Doremin,

2. Compare Victory, pp. 179 and 345 with Oceania, Reclus, p. 77.
5. Lord Jim, p. 259.
he does keep close to the Malay physical appearance as ex-
erts on Malay life have defined it. He agrees with ex-
erts on the peculiarities of the appearance of the Sumatran
Malay.2

Secondly, Conrad's background reflects the outward ap-
pearance of Malay life authentically by correctly reproducing
Malay costume and ornament. He recognizes the chief articles
of Malay dress—the serong,3 the baju,4 and the headkerchief
(as well as the cylindrical cap borrowed from the Arabs).5
He acknowledges the Malay fondness for ornaments such as
rings, armlets, and weapons decorated with jewels.6

1. See Almayer's Folly, p. 55, and compare the description
of Dain Maroole's appearance with the descriptions given
in the references above to Feetherman's, Reclus's, and
Wallace's standards for Malay appearance.
2. Compare Conrad's Sumatren Malay, Lord Jim, pp. 259,
270, the Outcast, p. 166, and Almayer's Folly, p. 56,
with Feetherman's description of Sumatran Malays, Papuo
and Malayo Melanesians, p. 289.
3. Compare Tales of Unrest, p. 4, Almayer's Folly, pp. 36,
93, and 155, and The Rescue, p. 65, with Tales of the
Malayan Coast, Rousevelle Wildman, pp. 66-68 and "The
Circumstances of Malay Life", part on "Dress", by R.O.
Winsteadt, pp. 32-38, for proof of the authenticity of
the serong as used by Conrad.
4. For like proof concerning the baju, compare The Rescue,
pp. 65-66, Almayer's Folly, p. 54, and Tales of Unrest,
p. 4, with part on "Dress" in R.O. Winsteadt's "Circum-
stances of Malay Life", p. 40.
5. For like proof concerning the headkerchief, compare The
Rescue, pp. 289, 290, Almayer's Folly, p. 55, and
Feetherman's Papuo and Malayo Melanesians, p. 422.
6. Likewise, compare the Outcast, p. 114, with Winsteadt's
"Circumstances of Malay Life", part on "Dress", p. 42.
7. Compare The Rescue, p. 76, Tales of Unrest, p. 4, and
Almayer's Folly, p. 54, 55, with Winsteadt's "Circum-
stances of Malay Life", part on "Dress".
Thirdly, Conrad correctly describes Malay weapons and protective garments—the kris and its meaning as signified by the manner in which it is worn, the spear decorated with dyed horse-hair, the sword, the shield, the chain jacket and helmet, and the gun.

In the fourth place, Malay houses built on piles and constructed of wood, matting and attap leaves are correctly described in Conrad's Malayan fiction. The interiors of Conrad's Malay houses are arranged and furnished in keeping with the arrangement and furnishing of actual Malay houses.

1. For proof of the authenticity of Conrad's kris and its use compare The Rescue, p. 65, 222, Almayer's Folly, p. 54, Tales of Unrest, pp. 11, 49, with Tales of the Malayman Coast, p. 80, by Wildman and Papuo and Malayo Melanesians, p. 297, by Featherman.
3. For like proof, compare The Rescue, p. 289, with Featherman's Papuo and Malayo Melanesians, p. 358.
4. For like proof, compare The Rescue, p. 222, with Featherman's Papuo and Malayo Melanesians, pp. 294-358.
Conrad properly surrounds his groups of Malay houses with camping fences, orchards, cocoanut groves, and fields. 1

Fifthly, Conrad's references to native watercraft prove his knowledge of small river craft and ladger trading and piratical praus, a knowledge which strengthens his picture of Malay life.

Finally, Conrad's references to various miscellaneous circumstances of Malay life prove that he has introduced only what is authentic into his background of Malay life. Examples are: his reference to the Malay method of eating, 2 his introduction of betel-nut chewing as a Malay habit, 3 and his use of the game of chess for his Malay nobles. 4

By constructing a composite picture through authentic description of Malays, their clothing, housing, surroundings, ships, and various possessions, Conrad formed a background for his Malay fiction which reflects the true appearance of Malay life.

3. Compare Tales of Unrest, p. 17, with Featherman's description of Malay food and manner of eating in Papuo and Malayo Melanesians, p. 448.
4. Compare the Outcast, pp. 96, 97, and Almayer's Folly, p. 81 with Winstedt's "Circumstances of Malay Life", part on "Food", p. 60.
5. Compare the Outcast, p. 96, with Featherman's Papuo and Malayo Melanesians, p. 302.
Malay Psychology

Although he by no means considered himself a Malay scholar, Conrad had as his purpose the creation for his readers of a true impression of the Malay and his life. He explained in the "Author's Note" to Almeyer's Kerry that "the critic and judge" is wrong in considering "that in those distant lands all joy is a yell and a war dance, all pathos is a howl and a ghastly grin of filed teeth". It was his purpose to convince us that the "picture of life, there as here, is drawn with the same elaboration of detail, coloured with the same tints, that "their land—like ours—lies under the inscrutable eyes of the Most High", and that "there is a bond between us and that humanity so far away".

The difficulty of grasping the thoughts of another race makes the degree of success Conrad achieved in his portrayal of Malay character the sharpest test of his knowledge. He has been proved able to reflect the geographical, historical, and external Malaysia with a truth which is not easily denied. How near does he come to as true a reflection of the Malay inner life?

No one realizes more clearly than did Conrad that penetration into the thoughts of a foreign people cannot be ac-

1. pp. ix and x.
complished either with ease or with swiftness. It was far from his nature to be one of those whom Sir Richard Temple terms "the butterflies of literature, who flutter through the country and write about it".\(^1\) He more than once expressed his dislike for the tourist who without sufficient knowledge is boresomely informative or who rushes in and out of a country as if the mere passage through it could bring understanding of its people. His Lord Jim and Marlow were annoyed by them.\(^2\) His Mr. Travers\(^3\) and his Professor Moorsem\(^4\) were not favorite characters with him. In "Travel", written first as a preface to Richard Curle's Into the East, and later published in his own Last Essays, he was perhaps expressing his own attitude toward watching the enigmatic features of Eastern life while speaking of the task of the curious traveller.

But after all a traveller is very much to be envied. He is much to be envied for the instinct that prompts him, for the courage that sustains him. He is to be admired for enduring a spectacle almost intolerably gorgeous and varied, but with only hints, here and there, of dramatic scenes with, practically, no star actors in it, with the knowledge that the curtain will not fall for months and months to come; and that he must play the expecting part of a spectator of those human characteristics and activities, in their picturesque, ugly,

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2. Lord Jim, p. 77.
3. The Rescue
4. "The Planter of Malata"
or savage settings, without, so to speak, the prospect of going home to bed presently.

"The hints here and there" and the secrets to the revelation of which they led must have constantly occupied Conrad's mind during his own travels in the East.

In the realm of Malay psychology, however, Conrad cannot claim unassailable accuracy. He himself confessed freely that his acquaintance with Malay peoples was not close enough to give him the knowledge which he needed. Yet this much can be proved: on the whole the impression he gives of the Malay mind agrees with the general impression of Malays expressed by authoritative writers.

Although Conrad was not in the East for the express purpose of studying foreign life, he was, to quote John Galsworthy, so "extraordinarily perceptive and receptive" that he was able to accumulate much more than could most Westerners from six years of commercial travel. His mind recorded with extraordinary accuracy the outward appearance of Malaysia. So acute an observer could not fail to detect the causes for many Malay reactions; Conrad never claimed more and repeatedly denied that he possessed profound knowledge of Malay character.

1. pp. 84, 85.
"I appreciate the more the kind things you say in your letter because I suspect my assumption of Malay colouring for my fiction must be exasperating to those who know", he wrote Hugh Clifford. In the "Author's Note" to *A Personal Record* he wrote of a conversation with Clifford in which he was told that he "didn't know anything about Malays" and he admitted, "I was perfectly aware of this. I have never pretended to any such knowledge."

The majority of critics of Conrad's work have, nevertheless, praised Conrad's Malays. Conrad's intimate friend and admiring critic, Richard Curle, has written:

The East Indies have, of course, yielded him [Conrad] the fierce Malays and warlike races of those half-savage islands. Such men as Babaletchi, Dein Maroole, Arsat, Kadian, Doremin and Dein "aris, are representative types of East Indian dwellers. In considering such men Conrad neither dehumanises nor Europeanises the Oriental mind. It is true that they are swayed, as are all men, by love and hatred, by happiness and misery, by success and failure, but with it all, they remain still in the twilight of certain pre-conceived ideas—their horizons seem to be bound by the things which are merely a part of our emotions. And they have a world of their own, hidden from our understanding—the world of savage fears and beliefs that, in excess of excitement, may swamp that other world in which they think and act so much like ourselves. It is this alien and yet human mind which, as the foundation to all Eastern personality, Conrad portraits.

2. p. vi.
with such curious fidelity and insight.

And Conrad understands the wild melancholy, the despairing resignation of the savage heart. In the overwhelming atmosphere of his tropical forests, the fatalistic spirit of the wilderness and the blind and patient silence of the woods seem to find their echo in the hearts of the aboriginal tribes. 1

J.W. Cunliffe even considers Conrad's Malays better characterized than some of his Westerners. To him they are "vividly imagined, and if the sophisticated Europeans are less completely realized, they are still living enough to be convincing and to carry the story". 2 Jean-Aubry in his account of Conrad's experience on the Vider reports that Captain C-- told him that he was amazed at the accuracy of Conrad's impressions of Orientals and Westerners in Malaysia. 3

The claims of Gustav Morf in his The Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad for Conrad's peculiar fitness to interpret Orientals because of his Polish blood is at least highly interesting.

But the great experience of the East contained yet another lesson for Conrad. In totally different surroundings, under a blazing sun, by an enchanting blue sea, he found men whose adaptation to life did not differ essentially from that which characterizes the Poles. Poland, indeed, is the borderland between East and West, and its inhab-

2. English Literature During the Last Half Century, Macmillen, New York, 1923, p. 194.
itents present a great many Eastern traits which foreign visitors can hardly fail to notice. Joseph Conrad was no exception in this respect. He distinctly possessed most of these characteristics. R. Cyril has noted his 'almost oriental lavishness', and Edward Garnett speaks of 'his Polish habit of paying everybody compliments'. Mrs. Conrad sees very rightly a Polish trait in his 'curious way of shrinking from actualities when it came to facing suffering'.

Morf believes not only that his Polish heritage gave Conrad insight into the Oriental mind but that his experience in the East was an 'important element in the formation of Conrad's personality. Had Joseph Conrad not become so intimate with Eastern countries and Eastern types, he would never have gained his deep insight into the unconscious or half-conscious motives of man. The reason for this is easy to see. There is in many ways a gulf between an Eastern and a Western mentality. To pass from one to the other at an age when impressions are vivid and expectations high, gives a shock which will be remembered during one's lifetime. This will be quite ineradicable if the traveller belongs (like Count Keyserling, to quote an extreme instance) to the intuitive type of man who is able to penetrate Eastern mentality better than is the usual kind of globe-trotter. The Eastern type of man is the very best subject a psychologist could wish to study. Just as Freud

and his followers discovered and analysed the working of
the unconscious in the neurotic type where it lies bare, so Conrad gained part of his psychological insight by
studying the Eastern men, or at least, the Western man
with Eastern morals. In these, instincts and impulses work
quite at the surface, masked only by the transparent veil
of make-believe, which is a characteristic of any Eastern
type. Not unlike a child, he has great difficulty in co-
ordinating his impulses and desires with reality, and make-
believe is the principal, because the easiest, means to
attain that end. It allows of co-ordinating both —without
having to modify either.

The qualities and defects of the Eastern man are
strongly pronounced. Nowhere are resentments deeper, memories stronger, traditions holier than in
the East . . . In the Eastern soul, the "all-human"
elements present themselves with a crudeness which
strikes even the inexperienced eye. To study them
is like observing the subdued potentialities of
the Western man under a strong magnifying glass.
It is true that most of us fail, at first, to recog-
nize our own nature in Eastern souls, and that some
never recognize it at all. The difference in size
is too great and the stress is put on details which
seem to us quite unimportant. Conrad passed through
these stages of bewilderment, indulgence, and com-
prehension, and part of this development can be
followed in "Kerain". In this story, Conrad re-
lates first his surprise at the discovery that an
intelligent fellow like Kerain could be tortured
by what could only be looked upon as a most stupid
superstition, but the surprise soon gives place
to the typically intuitive indulgence for the weak-
ness of those we love, culminating in the conclusion
that, after all, we, too, have our superstitions,
that some of us suffer and even die of remorse, of lost honour, of lack of faith in life, of unhappy temperamental dispositions, of imaginative wrongs, and that there may even be greatness in such a fate, a greatness, a pathos, and an inspiration for others. To the man who has reached this intuitive stage of perception, the differences of race and colour seem to vanish.

Critics inexperienced in the East have, then, believed Conrad's portrayal of Malay character is remarkably true to the facts of that character; and Gustav Morf has even declared that Conrad is peculiarly fitted to penetrate the Malay mind because of the Eastern element in his Polish blood, and that his correct perception of Oriental psychology taught him lessons in human nature which sharpened his ability to portray the more complex Westerner. Is this judgment correct or is Hugh Clifford, a man long and intimately experienced with Malay life, right in declaring that Conrad's Asiatics are not authentic?

It was at his first meeting with Conrad that Clifford expressed the attitude toward Conrad's work which he kept ever after. He was deeply impressed by Conrad's genius, but he made one reservation quoted above about the Malaysian fiction, that is, that Conrad did not understand Malay psychology.

Sir Hugh Clifford came to see me. Conrad recounted in the "Author's Note" to A Personal Record. He is, if not the first, then one of the first two friends I made for myself by my work, the other being Mr.

Cunningham Graham... These friendships which have endured to this day I count amongst my precious possessions. Mr. Hugh Clifford (he was not decorated then) had just published his first volume of Malay sketches. I was naturally delighted to see him and infinitely gratified by the kind things he found to say about my first books and some of my early short stories, the action of which is placed in the Malay Archipelago. I remember that after saying many things which ought to have made me blush to the roots of my hair with outraged modesty, he ended by telling me with the uncompromising yet kindly firmness of a man accustomed to speak unpalatable truths even to Oriental potentates (for their own good of course) that as a matter of fact I didn't know anything about Malays. I was perfectly aware of this. I have never pretended to any such knowledge, and I was moved—I wonder to this day at my impertinence—to retort: 'Of course I don't know anything about Malays. If I knew only one hundredth part of what you and Frank Swettenham know of Malays I would make everybody sit up.' He went on looking kindly (but firmly) at me and then we both burst out laughing.

Before going further into Clifford's adverse criticism of Conrad's portrayal of Malays, it is well to compare the experience of Clifford and Conrad, who were in Malaysia at the same time. Hugh Clifford was practically reared in the British Malay service. In 1883, at the age of seventeen he entered the Malay Civil Service, and immediately set about mastering the language. He passed his government examinations in Malay the following year. By 1887 he was intrusted with a special government mission to the Sultan of Paheng, at that time a purely native state. From then on until the end of the century he lived the Malay

1. p. vi.
life in Pehang, as Acting Resident and then as British Resident for the British government. After that he held various posts in India and Africa before he returned to Malaysia in 1927 as Governor of the Straits Settlements. Entering Malaya at an early, impressionable age, he developed a deep love for and appreciation of the Malay; and having formed intimate friendships with Malay families, he felt that he had entered the inner Malay mind.

Conrad's experience in the 1880's was very different. Travelling from island to island on trade routes, he was an observer of, not an actor in, Malay affairs. There is no indication either in his own writings or those of his biographers that he ever had the opportunity to meet a Malay on equal footing in his home and as a trusted friend. Conrad knew Malay sailors as seamen on his boats, he observed all native life keenly, and he drank in information which such men as Captain C-- had to offer; but of first hand intimate experience with Malays he apparently had little or nothing.

Of great importance for the judgment of Conrad's ability to portray Malay psychology is the fact that he, unlike Clifford, does not seem to have understood the Malay language beyond the ordinary trade Malay. It is well to recall Conrad's report of a conversation between the Hague of Dongola and Captain C-- about Almayer. Conrad anyway
supposed it was about Almayer. "At least I heard his name distinctly pronounced several times in a lot of talk in the Malay language."\(^1\) Apparently he could not follow the easy, ready conversation between the captain and the rajah. Without intimate knowledge of the language no one can enter a foreign life with complete understanding. It is especially necessary for students of Malaysia to know the language well because Malays pride themselves on their tongue when it is rightly spoken and more readily accept the friendship of the Westerner who masters it. The language is, moreover, closely allied with Malay etiquette. The correct speaker must know its variations appropriate for different occasions. Its form is also bound up with the animistic beliefs which permeate all Malay thought. To understand it means to understand the important system of speech tabus and their meanings. The man with small training is likely to use the language in a manner that shocks and repels Malays or renders him ridiculous in their eyes. The man, on the other hand, who knows it intimately is able to enter the Malay mind because of what the language in itself teaches him about Malays and because it enables him to speak to Malays as an equal.

According to Lay,

When a Malay hears his language mixed up

\(^1\) A Personal Record, p. 75.
with barbarous idioms, the ear is hurt and the mind confounded; but when it is uttered with idiomatic and native purity, his heart is delighted, and he cannot imagine that anything but wisdom and truth could be conveyed in a style so appropriate and so agreeable to his feelings; while the speaker is regarded with the highest respect and veneration, as if he were something above the ordinary level of human nature. I have had opportunities of seeing this remark verified, and feel great confidence in asserting, to use humble phraseology, that everything may be done with a perfect knowledge of the language, and nothing without it.

Leonard Wheeler explains that the "Malay language like the race is extremely mixed. It draws from the Sanskrit, Dutch, Portuguese, English, and divided into many dialects. All Malay except bazaar talk known to most foreigners is full of allusive secret tabu strains".  R.J. Wilkinson adds Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, and Chinese to the list of languages to which Malay is indebted. One of Wilkinson's contributions to the Papers on Malay Subjects contains an account of the Malay language which indicates its difficulties.

The Malay-Arabic word for dictionary—kamus, 'ocean', referring to the limitless ocean of encyclopaedic research—is enough to explain why the native investigator is apt to get out of his depth... How comes it that the Malay, who is by heredity a mere trapper or fisherman, perhaps even a pirate, displays such a passionate interest in the study of words? The reply is a simple one. According to

Malay theory, a proper command of language is essential to success even in hunting and fishing. Loose language on the sea may bring on a storm; a careless word in the jungle may expose the speaker to the attack of a tiger; the use of a wrong expression may drive out the tinh from a mine, or the camphor from the forest.

The use of choice diction enters into the Indonesian idea of true courtesy. An Englishman objects to slang in the presence of ladies; a Malay avoids expressions of undue familiarity in the presence of all superior powers, human or supernatural. Only in the case of the Indonesian the feeling goes much farther than with Europeans; the European shuns improper words, while the Malay tries to raise his whole conversation to a higher level of culture. The Malay has his 'court diction', his 'every-day speech', his 'business language', his special vocabulary for camphor collecting, his lists of tabooed words in mining, hunting and fishing, and, finally, his 'riddling' methods of conveying information by words that are only understood by initiates.

He avoids the use of 'vulgar' expressions in various simple ways. He can use a polite synonym and speak of a horse as a 'steed', or, if his command of words does not permit of this, he may employ a descriptive metaphor and call his teeth his 'ivories' and his mouth his 'chewing pot'. Again, if he speaks a local dialect differing in form from the courtly language of his princes, he may attempt to imitate the courtly form; if, for instance, he hears a prince say tebel when he himself would say tebei, he proceeds to use sungai as a polite equivalent of sungai. He creates 'riddling' language by some such simple expedient as the transportation of syllables—ngilite for langit, nanta for tanah. He even invents secret alphabets by modifying on some pre-arranged plan the forms of the Arabic letters. In the end he produces such extraordinary results that a European student is not always able to say whether such a thing as the 'camphor language' is really a form of Malay or whether it is made up of the wreckage of some old forgotten tongue.

The use of courtly equivalents for the words of everyday life has made the Malay language exceedingly rich in its vocabulary, but has not modified its structure to any appreciable extent. Malay has a
poor grammar. The language possesses a few prefixes and suffixes to give precision to the use of a word, and a few auxiliary particles to show the relationship between one word and another. It has very little else that can be called grammar. With such limited resources at his disposal a native writer cannot express his ideas with either subtlety or precision; he is forced to be an impressionist, and not a painter in detail.¹

Hugh Clifford writes:

As a race the Malays delight in obscure hints and darksome metaphors. An educated Malay will ask for his neighbor's daughter in marriage to his son in a letter which is simply a string of doubles entendres, and in familiar colloquial discourse a native will quote the first line of a verse . . . leaving his bewildered hearer to infer his meaning from a knowledge of the lines which form the rest of the verse, the first line of which has been given. In discussions among Malays, too, it is the man who can quote, and not the man who can reason, that bears away the palm. I need hardly add that a Proverb which is both ancient and obscurely metaphorical, is immensely popular with all classes of Malays.²

That without thorough knowledge of the Malay language Conrad could not hope to plumb the depths of Malay consciousness must be admitted. There is another side to the subject of the language in connection with Conrad's fiction. Unless he knew it well, the speech which Conrad put on the tongues of his Malay characters could not ring true.

¹ "Malay Literature", Papers on Malay Subjects, pp. 3-5.
in the ears of students of Malay. Had he known the language thoroughly, he probably would have first thought of this speech in Malay and then translated it as closely as was advisable into English for his fiction. To those such as Hugh Clifford who know Malays and their language Conrad's Malay talk probably reveals Malays who are not only not quite real but whose form of speech is untrue to the "Malay."

A language so involved and obscure and so far grammatically from English would puzzle the best Malay students when it comes to translating it into a comparable English form, but in one instance Conrad had an advantage over the usual Western observer with no more training than he himself had. The quotation above from an article by Hugh Clifford states that the proverb is very popular among all Malays. Conrad's Malay talk is full of pithy sayings. Gustav Morf in *The Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad* claims that the ability to speak in epigrams is native to the Pole and that Conrad's pages are full of peculiarly brilliant examples of this Polish gift.¹ Conrad's use of epigrammatic expressions which have the flavor of old proverbs does lend his Malay speech a certain cast of authenticity. Examples of these expressions are: "A writing may be lost; a lie may be written; but what the eye has seen is

¹. The *Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad*, pp. 208-209.
truth and remains in the mind', 1 "When the heart is full of love there is no room in it for justice", 2 "Even a big tree may be killed by a small axe", 3 "Death among friends is a festival", 4 and "Even a spider will give a fly time to say its prayers". 5

Conrad's incomplete knowledge of Malay, despite a certain air of authenticity radiated by the epigrammatic language which his fictitious Malays speak, must then be considered one of the obvious reasons for his Malays not appearing true to students of the Malay language. This and the lack of opportunity to know Malays intimately are the chief causes of his failure to satisfy Hugh Clifford and others who are better acquainted with Malays on the score of the native psychology which enters his fiction.

In 1904 in an article on "The Genius of Mr. Conrad", Hugh Clifford wrote:

Mr. Conrad's books, I say it without fear of contradiction, have no counterpart in the entire range of English literature. They are peculiarly, arresting original. That is their key-note, their greatest distinction, alike in their thought and in their manner. The matter is, in a sense, the common property of all the world or of that section of the world which has roamed widely; but, from the outset, the reader is made conscious of an intensely individual point of view, a special outlook upon

3. Ibid., p. 225.
4. The Rescue, p. 422.
5. Ibid., p. 446. For lists of Malay proverbs, see Hugh
life... a profound comprehension of the psychology of a certain class of character, and withal of a sombre force and a forthright sincerity that compel recognition of the essential truth revealed.

After full praise of Conrad's keen analysis of Westerners, Clifford adds:

The Orientals... however, are much less successful. To me they are interesting, not because they are really Asiatics, but because they represent the impression scored by Asiatics upon a sensitive, imaginative European mind. Mr. Conrad had seen them and known them, but he had seen as white men see—from the outside. He had never lived into the life of the brown people.

Twenty years later, Clifford wrote a further account of the first impression which Conrad's work left on him.

It was in November, 1895, that the 'new planet swam into my ken'. I was homeward bound from Malaya in company with Sir Frank Swettenham; and it was he who lent me a new book by an unknown author, called Almayer's Folly... Sir Frank Swettenham and I were agreed that its author's pictures of Malays were the result, as it were, of a series of flash-light impressions absorbed by a mind of strangely sensitive and imaginative quality, rather than of any deep understanding of the people we both knew so well; but that was a detail whereby the marvel of the miracle which he had wrought was no whit abated. For Almayer's Folly is surely the most mature work of art that has ever been given to the world as the first gleanings of its author's genius.


2. Ibid., pp. 848-849.
Clifford's specific criticisms of Conrad's Malays would be of great value if they were fuller. As they are, they merely indicate realms in which Conrad's portrayal is unsatisfactory. In the 1904 article, he mentioned "Kerain" and "The Lagoon" as "containing some marvellous descriptive passages. Both these stories, however, dealt with the psychology of Asiatics, and to the expert were interesting rather than satisfying." Why are "Kerain" and "The Lagoon" interesting rather than satisfying to the expert? It is highly probable that the chief reason Clifford found Kerain of "Kerain" and Arsat of "The Lagoon" unsatisfactory Malay characters is that Conrad has neglected to consider them as Malays with minds permeated by animistic beliefs. Both these stories concern death, but in neither case is the peculiar Malay point of view, closely associated with very primitive ideas, presented. Conrad realized that animism existed in Malay thought, for he referred to the belief in ghosts, in spirits which inhabit things, and in the powers of wizards. He was unable, however, to color the attitudes, motives, and reactions of his Malays properly with the inborn acceptance of primitive animism, the complicated "cult of spirits and the souls of the departed".

2. The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra, p. 32.
Gottfried Simon, who so defined animism, writes that "anyone who has tried to follow the psychology of the native peoples knows how difficult it is for a European to grasp their mode of thought". 1 How could Conrad without close contact with Malays accomplish the task considered hard by students? "To grasp the mode of thought" is particularly difficult owing to that trait of Malay character noted in connection with dress and vocabulary: Malays discard nothing but adopt all.

It is necessary to go further into the subject of Malay beliefs in order for us to realize why Clifford might consider Conrad's Malays --Kerain and Arset, for instance—unauthentic. R.J. Wilkinson begins his article, "The Incidents of Malay Life", 2 with an account of the mixed influences which converge on the early life of a Malay child. Despite the Mohammedan supposition that one's life is fully predestined and that no one can escape his fate, every effort is made to protect the child from evil before he is born. The pajang or wizard chooses an auspicious place for his birth by dropping a chopper and marking the place where it first strikes the ground. He surrounds the place with thorns and reys' tails (thought to be dangerous to the trailing entrails of the vampire, most dreaded of evil

1. The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra, p. 32.
spirits), bitter herbs, dolls which may be mistaken by bad spirits for the baby, and nets and bees' nest to puzzle the spirits and bewilder them with a number of entrances. As soon as the child is born, the mid-wife spits on him to protect him from the spirits of disease! Next he hears from his father the Moslem confession of faith, the adzan or final exhortation to prayer. The father hands him back to the mid-wife that she may imprint on his forehead the caste-mark of the Hindu. The grandmother is honored by the first introduction to the baby. Then the Imam and the other dignitaries come from the mosque. The Imam opens the baby's mouth ceremonially with a gold ring, uttering Moslem adjurations, really from the Rig-Veda. When the ring is tied to the baby's wrist, the biden or mid-wife (a person of such great importance that probably the commonest Malay proverb is "obey the biden", used to silence the fool who disputes the expert's word) has charge for forty days. The first weeks are full of precautions. The baby is spat on morning and evening, his cradle smeared with rice and cosmetics to keep off ghosts and fumigated with devil incense. On the seventh day he is given a name experimentally, but if it should prove unlucky, it is changed. The parents make vows to be fulfilled if the baby thrive. The seventh day is the time for the Mohammedan sacrificial ceremony--two goats for a boy, one for a girl--which is
most important from an orthodox point of view, but not most important to Malays. The Brahman custom of introducing the child to the sunlight is usually carried out. The fortieth day is one of much ceremony and gaiety. That day the child, having passed safely his most dangerous infant days, is presented to the Spirits of the River.

From the beginning, then, an intricate mass of Mohammedan, Brahman, and animistic beliefs fills the mind of the Malay to form the mental background from which he reasons; and the ancient animism is the controlling force, whether or not he realizes it. To quote Winstedt:

Becalmed at sea, he the Malay invokes the wind to let down her long hair and fill the sails of his boat. As an animist, too, he propitiates unseen maleficent powers of hill and forest, river and tree, beast and corpse, that bring sickness, epidemic and death. Before he plants house-pillars, he propitiates the spirits of sea and forest with conciliatory words, but declares to fish and beast that not he but his gun or his net will be guilty of molesting them. Seeing that animals have understanding, he will take care not to refer to them by their names. He will call the tiger 'grand sire', and the crocodile 'tree-log', snakes 'living creepers'. Sometimes he will use a speech that is not Malay so that the beasts may fail to comprehend its purport. With these ideas, he believes in sympathetic magic. The hunter who would hook a crocodile must gulp down his rice to help the bait's passage down the beast's gullet, and he must remove no bones from his food for fear the hook may not bite. If the traveller meet tiger tracks in his path, he may cover them with leaves and the beast will be unable to retrace his steps toward him. Rice-seed the Malay plants tenderly, pretending he is restoring a child to her mother. He reaps
his crop not with a rude sickle but ear by ear, with a tiny bird-shaped knife, so that the soul of the rice may not be scared away from his fields. Three days before the harvest may begin, he invokes that soul which comes with the sound of a breeze in the form of an insect or of a beautiful girl, and inhabits the seven bunches of grain cut from seven-pointed stalks by a medicine man, who closes his teeth and holds his breath for the delicate task. The stalks whence the ears have been cut he smears with clay, as a salve for their hurt from the knife, and hides them under neighboring stalks that are whole. Malay animistic ideas about trees and plants are derived neither from Hinduism nor Islam.\(^1\)

Wallace in his *Malay Archipelago* has recorded many of the curious ways of Malay thinking. On his trip from Macasser to the Aru Islands he happened to spit over the rail into the sea and was politely asked to spit on the deck because the "hantus" at that spot had sunk many a prau from which something had been thrown overboard.\(^2\) While hunting for insects, he and his Macasser boys would carry along their lunches. The boys, though nominally Mohammedans, would not eat until they had set out food for the deity of the place.\(^3\) Wallace would listen quietly to the conversation carried on by his Malay helpers led by Manuel, his chief assistant and supposedly a Christian.

2. p. 413.
While Manuel sat skinning his birds of an afternoon, generally surrounded by a little crowd of Malays and Sassaks, he often held forth to them with the air of a teacher, and was listened to with profound attention. He was very fond of discourse about the 'special providences' of which he believed he was daily the subject. 'Allah has been merciful today,' he would say—for although a Christian he adopted the Mohametan mode of speech—and has given us some very fine birds; we can do nothing without Him.' Then one of the Malays would reply, 'To be sure, birds are like mankind; they have their appointed time to die; when that time comes nothing can save them, and if it has not come you cannot kill them.' A murmur of assent follows this sentiment, and cries of 'Butul! Butul!' (Right, right). Then Manuel would tell a long story of one of his unsuccessful hunts:—how he saw some fine bird and followed it a long way, and then missed it, and again found it, and shot two or three times at it, but never hit it. 'Ah!' says an old Malay, 'it's time was not come, and so it was impossible for you to kill it.' A doctrine this which is very consoling to the bad marksman and which is yet somehow not altogether satisfactory . . . .

A Bornean Malay, who had been for many years resident here, said to Manuel, 'One thing is strange in this country Lombok—the scarcity of ghosts.' 'How so?' asked Manuel. 'Why, you know,' said the Malay, 'that in our countries westward, if a man dies or is killed, we dare not pass near the place at night, for all sorts of noises are heard which show that ghosts are about. But here there are numbers of men killed, and their bodies lie unburied in the fields and by the roadside, and yet you can walk by them at night and never hear or see anything at all, which is not the case in our country as you know very well.' 'Certainly I do,' said Manuel; and so it was settled that ghosts were very scarce if not altogether unknown in Lombok.'

From "Some Malay Studies" more may be learned of this ghost-minded people.

The ordinary Malay... has learned at his mother's knee that Malaya is swarming from end to end with fiends of all sorts, local devils, whose attention is undistracted by the sins of other natives and who prey exclusively upon him and his kin. He is aware also that no man can hope to escape them altogether, for all sickness and ills are the work of these local fiends. He has to defer to them; to be polite to them; almost to worship them. He knows them all by the common name of 'hantu'...

The Ogres are imported 'hantu', creatures of literature, best-known to the learned; while the peasant has a rich demonology of his own. He sees a devil in every huge tree, rock or weird shape or monstroucity of any kind. Most of these are really the souls of the objects they are said to haunt. He believes also in evil spirits of the soil, of the forest, of the mountain, of the rivers, and of the sea. He has to propitiate them all. When at sea he must not use bad language lest he bring on a storm. In certain places he has to use secret forms of speech so that his plans may not be overheard and brought to naught by malignant spirits. When descending rapids in a river he must make offerings or shout out prayers at every dangerous corner. Meteors, will-o'-the-wisps, St. Elmo's fires, -- all such phenomena are demons or the work of demons.

The jungle is full of evil spirits. At their head is a terrible being known to Malays as 'the great Hantu', 'the tall Hantu', 'the spectre Huntsmen'. He is pre-eminent among the 'Towers of Darkness'--whence his first name. He is of great height; and when you look at him he seems to grow taller and taller; whence his second name. He is always hunting, his face turned skyward, a spear in his hand, a pack of dogs behind him, and a swarm of night birds flying forever before him. What does he hunt? Tales differ; it is something that he can never hope to find; he is like the Phantom Ship, doomed to beat about for all eternity. All this sounds harmless enough; but he is a beneficent spirit of disease, and even to cross his path is enough to bring on cholera. So whenever the cry of one of his night birds is heard by a household its members draw closer together and sit still in terror till the dread visitation is over.

Almost any ghost is a spirit of disease, but some are specialists in evil and have a ghastly greatness thrown upon them. There is, for instance, the
Spirit of Smallpox. She is portrayed as a ragged old woman who wanders begging from door to door, taking the infection wherever she goes. Give her a wide berth; the holes in her garments foretell the sores that she will bring. Indeed one should have as little to do with such spirits as possible; merely to breathe the air where they have passed is illness though of a mild type; to cross their path is worse; to be accosted by them is worse still; to be attacked by them is madness or death. One spirit gives smallpox; another gives epilepsy; many give stomach-trouble; malaria is the special province of the gnomes of the soil. No house should be built, no colony should be founded without propitiating these gnomes; and it is on record in Malay chronicles that one State capital had to be given up because the Spirits of the soil were too much for its inhabitants.

All nature is teeming with invisible life. Take trees for instance. Every tree has its soul; exceptional trees have souls of exceptional power. Walk through the country and you will see small altars, strips of coloured cloth and other marks of veneration at the foot of any tree of unusual shape or size. Try to get Malays to fell such trees; they refuse at once. The tree is 'haunted', and to cut it down would mean sickness or worse. It need not be thought that all 'souls' are aggressive. Some are timid; others, fastidious. The soul of tin-ore objects to raw cotton, limes and earthenware, and to a man wearing another man's clothes or mimicking the behaviour of a sorcerer. All such things are strictly taboo at Malaya mines.

The most feared demons of all are the ghosts of the deeply wronged. There is a wide-spread belief in Indonesia that an untimely death creates a spirit of vengeance. It is countered indeed by Islam which promises Paradise to women who die in childbirth or men slain for their faith and country; but the belief is there and lends men to fear beyond all other things, the ghosts of women dead in labour and, above all, those of the murdered. The two first are pun-tiangak, etymologically 'child-killers'; they have a special hatred of childbirth. Sir Hugh Clifford speaks of 'that weird little animal, the mali-ansak, that makes beast-noises round the graves of children'. He is writing of what is known in Sumatra as the
kangkong ungeenengeeng, the frog-embodiment of a poor unwanted child who whines pitifully outside the homestead of its parents to remind them of the wrong that they have done it. Innumerable are the tales of the vampire-souls of women killed by child-birth. They become birds, harpies, screech-owls, what you will.

The ghosts of the murdered are in a class by themselves. They are undescribed, though the weird forms of certain sun-set clouds are thought to represent them. Of their malignancy there is no doubt. The chronicles of old Johor tell us that no child could play safely at the tomb of the murdered Sultan Mahmed II at Kota Tinggi. It is said also that when the fort at Kuala Selangor was shelled and made untenable by the British its defenders took a young girl, slew her, and sprinkled her blood over their guns, so that fort and guns should be a curse to the sailors who stormed and took the place.¹

A Malay priesthood has been formed to defend the people against malignant supernatural powers and to deal with the spirits which dwell in natural objects which are useful to men. The pawang, or professional wizard, used to be one of the important state figures and still has great influence locally. To quote further from "Some Malay Studies", he is "the lineal successor of the priest, wizard or wise men of the old animistic Proto-Malayan tribes".² He is not only indispensable at the great ceremonies of life and for his occult powers in the subjection of disease.

² Ibid., p. 102.
Villagers trust him to direct the planting of their rice and look to him to keep up the time-honoured ritual for 'luck', rewarding him with customary payments that represent his old official fees. Fishermen all along the coast work their large fish traps in gangs each under its own sorcerer. The weatherwise navigator of a native ship may be a pawang and in this connection it is noteworthy that the word pawang itself once meant 'shipmaster'.

Freake Swettenham has left us an absorbing account of a pawang wrestling with the spirits attacking a sick Rajah in the weird chapter of Malay Sketches entitled "Serbantu". That and another chapter of the same book, "Malay Superstitions", give us a clear idea of the intricacy of the magic which pawangs must conquer.

It is then obvious that under a coating of foreign ideas--Hindu, Mohammedan, or Christian--there exists in the Malay mind a firm foundation of animism which is responsible for the bulk of the reactions natural to Malay behaviour. This body of very primitive beliefs is far removed from the thought of the ordinary Westerner and is one of the chief causes of the difficulty with which brown and white races come to understand one another. Most of the material to which the Malay mind would hourly turn with profound confidence and trust, would be brushed aside in a moment by the Westerner as worthless. Yet to the Malay with his con-

ception of existence it is indispensable; and only by knowing it and considering it in a sympathetic attitude can a Westerner understand the Malay and then depict him with fidelity.

It is apparent from the preceding quotations that Malay animism is too complicated in its content and too permeating in its influence to be easily understood. Only through long and intimate acquaintance with the people could it and its consequences be fully realized by the Westerner. Joseph Conrad knew that animism flourished in Malay thought and that there existed pawangs, the officials who coped with the supernatural situation; but his experience supplied him with but a limited knowledge of these matters.

To return to "Anak" and "The Lagoon", Conrad's only stories which deal primarily with Malays, why did Conrad feel that they were interesting rather than satisfying because Conrad dealt with the psychology of Asiatics in them? Why were Conrad's Orientals not really Asiatics, according to Clifford, but only the impression scored by Asiatics upon a sensitive, imaginative European mind? Although Malays are true animists, animism does not permeate the thoughts of Conrad's Malays. The slight effect of Malay animism on their minds is very probably the chief reason they are unsatisfactory.

It will be remembered that the story of "Anak" A
Memory" concerns a Bugis chief, Karein, who for an un-stated reason left his Celebes home and founded a tiny kingdom on a bay of Tanao. A group of adventurous young Englishmen in the illicit firearms trade occasionally entered his hidden harbour and were received by him as honoured ambassadors from Queen Victoria. In the evenings Karein visited their boat informally, always accompanied by a man who was both haji and pawang—"sorcerer, servant and swordbearer"1 spoken of by Karein as his "father, mother, protection, refuge and peace"2—who constantly followed directly behind his master. The trade in war materials grew so dangerous that eventually the English boat made its final visit to Karein. On that occasion Karein appeared on board utterly changed from his former grandiose and commanding self into a timid, frightened man because of the death of his protector. He then narrated the story of how in his Bugis homeland a civil disturbance had attracted the Dutch who took advantage of the situation to gain a foothold on his mother's country, and of how a Dutch trader arrived to stay, and stole the affection of a high-born lady who fled with him to his house, although she had been "promised to another man".3 The Dutch ships were so close

1. Tales of Unrest, p. 42.
2. Ibid., p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 30.
that for a while nothing was done; and before the Malays
dared move toward revenge, the Dutchman took the woman and
went away. Then Matara, the lady's brother, and Kerain
began the long journey which was a search for revenge.

For years they wandered and they talked of none but
the runaway couple.

'Ve spoke of nothing else. No! Not of hunger,
thirst, weariness, and faltering hearts. No! We
spoke of him and her! Of her! And we thought of
them--of her! Matara brooded by the fire. I sat
and thought and thought, till suddenly I could
see again the image of a woman, beautiful, and
young, and great and proud, and tender, going
away from her land and her people. Matara said,
"When we find them we shall kill her first to
cleanse the dishonour--then the man must die."
I would say, "It shall be so; it is your venge-
ance."'

Gradually Kerain's imagination presented the girl to him
in a supplicating attitude, begging for his mercy. Her
image became an actual hallucination.

'I watched over Matara ... He was a fierce
men, and my friend. He spoke of her in health,
in sickness. I said nothing; but I saw her every
day--always! At first I saw only her head, as of
a woman walking in the low mist on a river bank.
Then she sat by our fire. I saw her! I looked
at her! She had tender eyes and a reviving face.
I murmured to her in the night. Matara said
sleepily sometimes, "To whom are you talking?
Who is there?" I answered quickly, "No one" ... It
was a lie! She never left me. She shared the
warmth of our fire, she sat on my couch of leaves

1. Tales of Unrest, p. 32.
she swam on the sea to follow me... I saw her! I tell you I saw her long black hair spread behind her upon the moonlit water as she struck out with bared arms by the side of a swift prau... In daylight she moved with a sauntering walk before me upon the weary paths... At night she looked into my face. And she was said! Her eyes were tender and frightened; her voice soft and pleading. Once I murmured to her, "'ou shall not die," and she smiled... ever after she smiled!" 

At length when the Dutchman and his Malay wife were discovered in Sumatra, Kerain killed Matara at the moment Matara raised his gun to shoot his sister. After that the girl "'came no more'" to Kerain---"'never! Never once.'"2

With the dispelling of one hallucination, another appeared.

"Then, one evening, as I sat by my fire after having eaten, I looked down on the ground and began to remember my wanderings. I lifted my head. I had heard no sound, no rustle, no footsteps—but I lifted my head. A man was coming towards me across the small clearing, I waited. He came up without greeting and squatted down into the firelight. Then he turned his face to me. It was Matara.'3

From then on wherever Kerain went, the ghostly figure of Matara was beside him, staring at him and whispering to him, but protecting him from all dangers. Man and ghost went to the Atjeh War, fought for the Sultan of Sulu and against the Spaniards. Then Kerain, worn out by the

1. Tales of Unrest, pp. 34-35.
2. Ibid., p. 39.
3. Ibid., p. 41.
presence of his fearful companion, met the old man who was able to ward off the ghost of Matera and Kerain attained peace until the sorcerer's death immediately after which the ghost of Matera reappeared. It waited on the shore for him while he talked to his English friends. Hollis' inspiration, to give Kerain the 'jubilee sixpence stamped with the image of the queen so much respected by Kerain, proved a successful charm and the ghost of Matera vanished from before Kerain's eyes.

There is nothing peculiarly Malay in Kerain's mental suffering. The Westerner under similar conditions may see like imagined figures. Conrad's own Almayer, dying from loneliness and hopelessness, found himself tormented by images of the child Kina. On the other hand a Malay quite sane, let alone one somewhat unbalanced, might have been much more horribly haunted than was Kerain because of an undoubting belief inbred since birth that the demoniac spirits of the murdered in no kindly human shape would waylay him in some ghastly fashion. The group of young Englishmen listened to Conrad's Kerain with incredulity.

We looked at him, then looked at one another with suspicious awe in our eyes, like men who come unexpectedly upon the scene of some mysterious disaster . . . We three white men, looking at the Malay, could not find one word to the purpose amongst us -- if indeed there existed a word that could solve that problem.

1. Tales of Unrest, p. 49.
Their consternation would have been greater if they had been confronted with the problem of dispelling a typical Malay conception of the ghost of a murdered man. If, instead of a ghost which had a likeness to the live Matarita (a likeness which those three white men could understand), Karain had portrayed to them a terrifyingly wicked hantu with horrible unearthly face and perhaps nothing beyond the waist but a trail of flying entrails, or a great oppressive presence, vague as a storm cloud in shape, ominous and malignant, Hollis would have had even less confidence in the efficacy of the Jubilee sixpence. Interesting as the story of "Karain" is and true as it is in its wealth of descriptive detail, it is neither a ghost story nor a psychological analysis which has anything particularly Malay about it.

Conrad was aware of the importance of the pawang or wizard in Malay life. In "Karain" there is an authentic touch in the use of the old sorcerer as the source of Karain's feeling of safety. Conrad's Sura of Lord Jim is his other example of the Malay pawang. Sura's duties included those mentioned in "Some Malay Studies" which had to do with crops.

'There is a rebellious soul in things which must be overcome by powerful charms and incantations. Thus old Sura--a very respectable
householder of Patusan—with whom I had a quiet chat one evening. However, Sura was a professional sorcerer also, who attended all the rice sowings and reapings for miles around for the purpose of subduing the stubborn soul of things.1

Whatever fault Clifford found with the psychology of "The Lagoon" is probably much like the fault he found with "Kerain", and concerns the attitude of the main characters rather than the plot. In his "Author's Note" to Tales of Unrest, Conrod writes that at the time he wrote "Kerain" he was so absorbed in recatching the vision of Malaysia that he "didn't notice that the motif of the story is almost identical with the motif of "The Lagoon" and adds "However, the idea at the back is very different". 2 "Kerain" and "The Lagoon" each has to do with a runaway couple and with a death that comes as a result. The theme with variations is common to Malay life. "A Malay Romance" and "The Story of Mat Aris" of Frank Swettenham's Malay Sketches, "At a Malayen Court" and "The Flight of Chep, the Bird" of Hugh Clifford's The Further Side of Silence, and "Mat Arif the Elemental", "In the Half Light", and "The Appointed Hour" of Clifford's Malayan Monochromes are all stories of stolen wives, out of real Malay life. The

1. p. 266.
2. Tales of Unrest, p. ix, x.
theme then could not be considered un-Malay by Clifford. The idea back of each is very different, as Conrad points out. That Malays are haunted by ghosts that may be dispelled by charms is the idea of "Kerain". The idea that revenge, no matter how long postponed, is eventually accomplished by the Malay who considers his honor besmirched is the chief thought of "The Lagoon", but it is important in "Kerain" also. "It will be remembered that in "The Lagoon" Arsat, after years of solitary life with Diamelon, who had been the wife of his Rajah, decided at her death to return to his own country and avenge the death of his brother who had been killed while aiding the runaway couple to escape. A common Malay ideal is that family dishonor must be cleared at all costs. Featherman writes of Malays:

Family pride is one of the most striking features of their character. They are capable of enduring pain without the least repining, and meet death whenever it becomes inevitable with Stoic heroism. They have a high sense of personal honour, and are mortally sensitive to insults which they are always ready to avenge, and to accomplish the object, assassination is not considered disgraceful.

According to Frank Swettenham,

A Malay is intolerant of insult or slight; it is something that to him should be wiped out.

in blood. He will brood over a real or fancied
stain on his honour until he is possessed by the
desire for revenge . . . The spirit of the clan
is strong in him . . . he will protect his rela-
tives at all costs and make their quarrel his own.

The incidents and stories of Malay revenge which have been
recorded are very numerous. Neither the elopement nor the
revenge themes in "Araun" and "The Lagoon" can be consid-
ered un-Malay. Because of them, in fact, these two stories
draw on material which is typically Malay. The cause of
Clifford's unsatisfied feeling about "The Lagoon" lies
elsewhere, and it probably lies in the absence of the per-
meating influence of Malay animism.

Conrad's description of the background of "The Lagoon"
is one of the finest in all his Malay fiction. The chief
value of the story lies in the truth of that description.
Conrad realizes that the loneliness of the place would grip
the Malay mind for other reasons than for its beauty; but
the shadow of Malay animism should probably fall much more
heavily across the minds of the Malays of this story than
it does. Conrad does make his Arsat an unusual Malay and
has the rowers of the white man's boat look on him and
his home with suspicion and distrust.

They would have preferred to spend the night
somewhere else than on this lagoon of weird as-

pect and ghostly reputation. Moreover they dis-
liked Arsat, first as a stranger, and also be-
cause he who repairs a ruined house and dwells in it, proclaims that he is not afraid to live amongst the spirits that haunt the place aban-
doned by mankind. Such a man can disturb the
course of fate by glances or words; while his
familiar ghosts are not easy to propitiate by
casual wayfarers upon whom they long to wreak
the malice of their human master.

Their attitude is the correct Malayen one. An old Malay
proverb runs, "The empty house is a roost of ghosts; the
unmarried, a roost of slanders."² Arsat and Dismelon have
lived in that place for years and not been haunted. After
Dismelon dies, Arsat declares, "'I shall not eat or sleep
in this house.'"³ but he remains alone after sending the
boat away.

J.E. Nathan has translated an "experience" told him
by a Negri Sembilan Malay which gives us an idea of how
many a Malay in like position might have felt. A Malay
family lived rather far from a village in a jungle clearing.
The husband became ill, and, although she was loath to
let him go through the darkening jungle alone, the wife
went her son to fetch her mother from the village. The man
died.

There she was left alone, husking betel nuts
with the betel scissors and ever she kept peering

1. Tales of Unrest, p. 189-190.
2. J.L. Humphreys, "A Collection of Malay Proverbs", Royal
3. Tales of Unrest, p. 203.
into the darkness for her mother's coming. Now all at once she heard the sound of feet climbing the house ladder and she called out, 'Who is there? Come in.' 'It is I,' came the answer and there entered an ancient crone, hump-backed and gap-toothed with long skinny fingers and nails like talons. 'When did your man die?' asked she. 'About dusk this evening; and glad I am that you have come, left alone as I am in the middle of the jungle.' Then the old hag went up to the body and lifted the cloth that covered it; she sniffed at the body and licked it, with furtive glances around her. And when Debus saw her acting thus she was sore afraid for she knew that the old hag was an evil spirit. She took her scissors and pretended to be husking nuts; but while she did so, she glanced above and there along the beams and joists she saw a row of ghosts, dangling their feet, dressed like Hajis with long tasselled turbans; and then she shivered and her knees shook with fear of them.

She managed to make her escape and met the villagers coming to her aid.

When we gather together the fragmentary references in Conrad's fiction to the influence of animism on Malay minds, we find they are very few beyond that quoted above from "The Lagoon". In the Outcast Babaatchi, sitting by the river for a moment, mistakes the approach of Lingard for something less natural.

The night, no matter how quiet, is never perfectly silent or attentive, and now Babaatchi fancied he could detect in it other noises than those caused by the ripples and eddies of the river. He turned his head sharply to the right.

and to the left in succession, and then spun round quickly in a startled and watchful manner, as if he had expected to see the blind ghost of his departed leader wandering in the obscurity of the empty courtyard behind his back. Nothing there. Yet he had heard a noise; a strange noise! No doubt a ghostly voice of a complaining and angry spirit. He listened. Not a sound. Reassured, Babalachi made a few paces towards his house, when a very human noise, that of a horse coughing, reached him from the river.

He speaks to Lingard of hearing sounds near Omer’s grave.

"We Malays hear many sounds near the places where men are buried." 2 Ali of Almayer’s Folly interprets Almayer’s half-mad talk with Nina as he imagines her after she leaves him as communion with the spirits.

In his long talks by the evening fires of the settlement he used to tell his intimate friends of Almayer’s strange doings. His master had turned sorcerer in his old age. Ali said that often when Tuan Putih had retired for the night he could hear him talking to something in his room. Ali thought that it was a spirit in the shape of a child. . . .

Master spoke to the child at times tenderly, then he would weep over it, laugh at it, scold it, beg of it to go away; curse it. It was a bad and stubborn spirit.

Kassab of The Rescue believes his master has “magic words”, to protect the ship. Jaffir fears the jungle as he hurries through it with a message from Hassim to Lingard.

1. p. 215.
2. ibid., p. 231.
4. p. 47.
He ran at a springly half-trot, his eyes watchful, his broad chest heaving, and carrying the emerald ring on the forefinger of a clenched hand as though he were afraid it should slip off, fly off, be torn from him by an invisible force, or spirited away by some enchantment. Who could tell what might happen? There were evil forces at work in the world, powerful incantations, horrible apparitions. The messenger of princes and of great men, charged with the supreme appeal of his master, was afraid in the deepening shade of the forest. Evil presences might have been lurking in that gloom.

Scattered as these references to Malay animistic thought are through several books, their effect is so weakened that the reader who should rely on Conrad for his information about Malays would be led to consider animism as one of the least important influences on Malay thought.

Thoughts bred of animistic training must slip into the Malay's mind many times a day and resulting tabus must continually control his action. Malays of large cities, such as Singapore and Batavia where all races gather, may be less influenced by the ancient beliefs, but Conrad's Malays live in secluded districts. In the light of the facts that very little of this thoroughly Malay phase of thought is mentioned by Conrad and that his plot material concerning elopements and revenge are not un-Malay, it is very possible that Clifford's criticism of Conrad's Malays, es-

1. p. 47.
especially of those in "Arain" and "The Lagoon", is based on the small influence of animism on their thoughts and behaviour.

In Hugh Clifford's article on "The Genius of Mr. Conrad" there is another accusation against Conrad's understanding of race differences. This one is definite and concerns the attitude of the person who has a mixture of Malay and European blood.

The whole motif of Almayer's Folly--the attraction which a Bugis chief has for the Dutchman's half-caste daughter--is based upon a misunderstanding. It is in the Eurasian that colour-prejudice and contemptuous hatred of the native have their culmination. Almayer's life might well have held a tragedy for him and for his children, but it would have come to them by no such channel as that here imagined by Mr. Conrad.¹

Although Conrad has created a situation far from typical in the love of Nina Almayer for Dain Maroola, he knew how the Eurasian usually is rated in Malaysia. In Singapore Nina was made miserable because of her mixed blood. Captain Ford brought her home to Sambir without Almayer's orders, and his explanation of why he did so reflects the inferior position of Eurasians.

'You know, Kasper,' he said, in conclusion, to the excited Almayer, 'it is deceively awkward to

have a half-caste girl in the house. There's such a lot of fools about. There was that young fellow from the bank who used to ride to the Vinck bungalow early and late. That old woman thought it was for that Emma of hers. When she found out what he wanted exactly, there was a row, I can tell you. She would not have Nine—not an hour longer—in the house. Fact is, I heard of this affair and took the girl to my wife. My wife is a pretty good woman—no women go—and upon my word we would have kept the girl for you, only she would not stay. Now, then! Don't flare up, Kasper. Sit still. What can you do? It is better so. Let her stay with you. She was never happy over there. Those two Vinck girls are no better than dressed-up monkeys. They slighted her. You can't make her white. It's no use you swearing at me. You can't.

Since the first white men entered the East, the Eurasian population has been growing. All the larger communities in Malaysia have Eurasian colonies. No matter how superior the parties to the original marriages between brown and white people (for the most part they are not superior) their descendants tend to degrade quickly into a servile and characterless people. The most typical ambition of the Eurasian is a racial one—to marry into a European family and to be considered white. Laughed at by the Europeans whom they admire and emulate, and scoffed at by Malays who treat their superior airs with scorn, Eurasians have become an

2. Conrad's example of such a superior marriage is Stein's union with his Bugis princess, Lord Jim.
outcaste people, miserable and weak physically and mentally. For years because of their claim to be white they have rejected the work which white conquerors relegate to natives. They have meagerly existed on the poorest positions open to Europeans. Vandenberghe writes, however, that recently the Eurasians of the Dutch East Indies have begun to develop a new attitude. The worm is at length turning. Eurasians of the East Indies are actually uniting for a common cause and agreeing to being rated by the government as a native people in order to raise their social and financial position. A new freedom is stirring. There was no sign of this, however, during Conrad's time.

"allace wrote of "the descendants of the Portuguese—a mixed, degraded, and degenerate race". He explained that "Orang Sirani, or Nazarenos, is the name given by Malays to the Christian descendants of the Portuguese". Conrad's Ali thinks of Joanna as "that Sirani woman". With surprised contempt, his Aissa uncovers Joanna's face and exclaims, "A Sirani woman. A woman despised by all." His Tambi Tiam of Lord Jim calls Cornelius by the other Eurasian name of "Nazarene".

1. The Dutch East Indies, p. 31, 358.
2. The Malay Archipelago, p. 38.
3. Ibid., p. 318.
5. Ibid., p. 355.
Nina Almayer of Almayer's Folly, Joanna De Souza of the Outcast, and Jewel of Lord Jim are all three Eurasian women, daughters of white men. Nina and Jewel are admirable characters, independent and self-respecting. Nina has no Eurasian complexes. She has no feeling of inferiority. Even aside from her love for a Malay man, which love Clifford notes as very contrary to Eurasian nature, there is nothing about her to denote her half-caste blood. Jewel has a trace more of the Eurasian inheritance in her. She constantly fears that Jim will leave her. Her own father had deserted her mother, a Dutch-Malay woman, the remainder of whose life was extremely miserable. Jewel is proud to be Jim's wife, but the dread of his deserting her mars her happiness. Her marriage, however, is exactly what a Eurasian girl would desire. There is a gulf between Conrad's Nina and Jewel and his Joanna De Souza. Joanna has many typical Eurasian qualities—a poor body, a weak will and feeble mind, a servile attitude, and an air of complete inability to be anything but slovenly and incompetent. Her father was also a white man—Hudig, the wealthy trader. Almayer took immense pride in Nina. Jewel's father had acknowledged her. Joanna's father denies his whole family, inventing an imaginary father from the Moluccas for them. Joanna's mother was not a Malay, nor even a Dutch-Malay,
but an Eurasian of long standing, with a distent Portu-
guese ancestor. The entire Da Souza family lived a far-
cical life built on a pretended heredity. Joanna had been
reared in deceit.

Joanna's brother, the utterly worthless Leonard Da
Souza, is one of Conrad's sad specimens of Eurasian manhood.
His pretence to white blood is expressed in his excited
speech to Willems, who is moved to knock him down. "Do
not be brutal, Mr. Willems . . . It is unbecoming between
white men with all those natives looking on . . . Restrain
your improper violence."

In Cornelius, who manages to keep Jewel and her mother
wretched for years and who is the traitor ready to assist
Brown, Conrad puts the most despicable Eurasian qualities.

He reminded one of everything that is unsavoury.
His slow labourous walk resembled the creeping of a
repulsive beetle, the legs alone moving with horrid
industry while the body glided evenly . . . His con-
duct, whatever line he was forced to take, was
marked by that abjectness which was like the stamp
of the men . . . and his loathsome of, too, was ab-
ject, so that a simply disgusting person would have
appeared noble by his side.

The Eurasian population was at the beginning mainly
Portuguese-Malay. Wallace wrote that they "

. . . still keep up the use of their mother tongue,
though ruefully mutilated in grammar . . . The Por-

1. An Outcast of the Islands, p. 29.
tuguese spoken at Malacca is a philological phenomenon. The verbs have mostly lost their inflections, and one form does for all moods, tenses, numbers, and persons... Adjectives, too, have been deprived of their feminine and plural terminations; so that the language is reduced to a marvellous simplicity, and, with the admixture of a few Malay words, becomes rather puzzling to one who has heard only the pure Lusitanian.¹

This curious mixed language recently has begun to die out.² The corrupt Portuguese has been used so long, however, that it influences the Eurasian's use of English or Dutch. This tendency and the Eurasian's desire to use impressive words produces an amusing result.

Conrad gives us an excellent example of Eurasian English in the speech of the half-caste captain on whose boat Jim went to Patusan. He was

... a dapper little half-caste of forty or so, in a blue flannel suit, with lively eyes, his round face the colour of lemon-peel, and with a thin little black moustache drooping on each side of his thick, dark lips... He turned out, notwithstanding his self-satisfied and cheery exterior, to be of a careworn temperament. In answer to a remark of mine... he said, 'Oh, yes, Patusan'. He was going to carry the gentleman to the mouth of the river, but would 'never ascend'. His flowing English seemed to be derived from a dictionary compiled by a lunatic. Had Mr. Stein desired him to 'ascend', he would have 'reverentially' 'made objects for the safety of properties'. If

¹. The Malay Archipelago, p. 39.
². See Dr. C.W.J. Drewè's "The Influence of Western Civilization on the Language of the East Indian Archipelago", The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilizations in the Malay Archipelago, edited by Dr. J. Schrieke, Batavia, 1929, p. 137.
disregarded, he would have presented 'resignation to quit'. Twelve months ago he had made his last voyage there, and though Mr. Cornelius 'propitiated many offertories' to Mr. Rajah Allang, and the 'principal populations', on conditions which made the trade 'a snare and ashes in the mouth', yet his ship had been fired upon from the woods by 'irresponsible parties' all the way down the river, which causing his crew 'from exposure to limb to remain silent in hidings', the brigantine was nearly stranded on a sandbank at the bar, where she 'would have been perishable beyond the act of man'...

He scowled and beamed at me, and searched with satisfaction the undeniable effect of his phraseology...

He told me further, gnashing his teeth, that the Rajah was a 'laughable hyaena'... while somebody else was many times falser than the 'weapons of a crocodile'. Keeping one eye on the movements of his crew forward, he let loose his volubility—comparing the place to a 'cage of beasts made ravenous by long impatience'... He had no intention, he cried, to 'exhibit himself to be made attached purposefully to robbery', the long-drawn wails, giving the time for the pull of the men casting the anchor, came to an end, and he lowered his voice.

"Plenty too much enough of Patusan," he concluded with energy...

He would take the gentleman to the mouth of the river at Batu Kring (Patusan town 'being situated internally', he remarked, 'thirty miles'). But in his eyes, he continued—a tone of bored, weary conviction replacing his previous voluble delivery—the gentleman was already 'in similitude of a corpse'... 'already like the body of one deposed', he explained with the insufferably conceited air of his kind after what they imagine a display of cleverness.

It must be admitted, then, that although Nino Almayer is justly criticized as un-Eurasian by Hugh Clifford, Conrad has given us some very good specimens of the Eurasian population of Malaysia. His Jewel of Lord Jim has the desires and fears proper to the child of one European and

1. Lord Jim, pp. 238-240.
one Malay parent when the European parent has not taken his alliance with a Malay wife seriously. The Da Souzas of the Outcast and Cornelius of Lord Jim are typical unfortunate products of a long Eurasian past. The captain of the brigantine to Patusan expresses the silly conceit which is frequently intermingled with abjectness in the nature of the Eurasian while, at the same time, his speech illustrates the corrupt Eurasian manner of speaking. Aside from the character of Nina Almayer, Conred has reflected certain phases of Eurasian life correctly.

In reviewing Clifford's criticism, we perceive that he was just: first, in his estimates of Conrad's Malays as drawn from the outside, exact reproductions of what an observant white man would see in the brown man, but faulty because of incomplete knowledge of intimate Malay thought; second, in his estimate of Nina Almayer as a character fundamentally out of tune with what is known as Eurasian nature. The study of Conrad's work necessary to corroborate Clifford's criticism, however, reveals the fact that beside his omissions or failures, Conred has placed a great deal of authentic material--his themes for "Aarain" and "The Lagoon" involving contested marriages and revenge from family pride are not un-Malay and his Eurasians aside from Nina Almayer are typical half-caste people.

We must admit, then, that Conred's portraiture of
native character is not altogether satisfactory because his own knowledge of the Malay manner of thought was limited to what "a sensitive, imaginative European mind" could conclude from close observation "from the outside" without living into the life of the brown people. So limited, his knowledge could not reconstruct Malay life in his fiction so as to offer an explanation of Malay nature which may be considered sufficiently authentic to be a reliable general description of the Malay race. In other words, although we conclude with Clifford that from Conrad the last word about Malays is not to be learned, is it not possible that nevertheless Conrad has presented us an analysis of Malay temperament which has value because it is true to the main general qualities apparent in the nature of the brown men? The answer to this question may be found by judging Conrad's Malays in the light of the scientist's conclusions as to the outstanding racial qualities characteristic of the standard Malay. How do Conrad's Malays measure up to the Malay characteristics listed by Alfred Wallace, for instance?

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. For additional summaries of Malay character (they do not vary greatly) see:
   (1) Frank Swettenham, Malay Sketches, chapter 1, "The Real Malay".
   (2) J.C. Ridpath, Great Races of Mankind, vol. 3, pp. 731-732.
Wallace's final analysis of Malay nature runs thus:

In character the Malay is impassive. He exhibits a reserve, diffidence, and even bashfulness, which is in some degree attractive, and leads the observer to think that the ferocious and bloodthirsty character imputed to the race must be grossly exaggerated. He is not demonstrative. His feelings of surprise, admiration, or fear, are never openly manifested, and are probably not strongly felt. He is slow and deliberate in speech, and circuitous in introducing the subject he has come expressly to discuss. These are the main features of his moral nature, and exhibit themselves in every action of his life.

Wallace begins with the words, "In character the Malay is impassive". We pause to consider the various Malays who live in Conrad's pages. We recall Lakamba of Almeyer's Folly and the Outcast, impatient within over the delays that long prevent him from becoming ruler of Sembir or the dangers brought by Dain and his illicit trade, but outwardly stolid.

(3) Ivor Evans, "Native Life in the Malay Peninsula", Inter-ocean, August, 1925, pp. 507-508.
(4) A. Featherman, Social History of the Races of Mankind, Second Division, Papu and Maleo Malanesians, pp. 289, 313, 421, 422.
and inexpressive, his feelings covered with an expression which is perpetually sullen and sleepy.\(^1\) Babalatchi of the same books, whose scheming mind is forever busy with intrigue, presents a patient and humble figure to the world.\(^2\) Fate Hassim of The Rescue is so impassive that he is shadowy. He is the central figure of the native situation, the man for whom an old kingdom is to be regained or a new one created. Lingard promotes Hassim's interests with all his resources because he owes his life to the intervention Hassim makes on his behalf in a fight with Papuans in New Guinea. Although he proves himself a man of action on that occasion, Hassim elsewhere throughout The Rescue seems no more than a quiet observer, never once losing his temper or becoming excited to the very moment of his death when without a trace of emotion he agrees to the exploding of the Emme. Conrad describes him as "a native of Wajo where men are more daring and quicker of mind than other Malays. More energetic, too, and energy does not go without an inner fire".\(^4\) This fire is, however, so concealed in Hassim by a contradictory quality of polite impassiveness that it does not seem real. "Hassim looked on calm and intelligent

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1. See, for example, Almayer's Folly, p. 78 and the Outcast pp. 96, 97.
2. See, for example, Almayer's Folly, pp. 58, 76, and the Outcast, pp. 59, 121, 124.
3. See, for example, The Rescue, pp. 64, 67, 93, 144, 219.
with inexhaustible patience"¹ while all the time the complications which ruined his plans grow. His one movement of impatience, his journey to consult Belarub at the tomb, ended in his capture by opposing forces, and when he sees that he is unexpectedly ambushed he resumes "quietly his seat on the trunk of a fallen tree"² and waits. One of the best examples of Malay impassiveness to be found in Conrad’s work is to be seen in the nature of his Doramin of Lord Jim, who in public never allows himself to show interest in the son who is dearer to him than anyone else on earth, who motionless from an arm chair watched the battle Jim and Dein wage against the Arabs and afterward lies calmly down on the ground to sleep. Doramin never betrays excitement until Dein Waris’ body is brought to him; and, when the moment comes for him to shoot Jim, he does even that with deliberation.³

The quality of impassiveness, then, is possessed by Conrad’s Malays. Wallace’s summary continues: “He [the Malay] exhibits a reserve, diffidence, and even boshfulness, which is in some degree attractive, and leads the observer to think that the ferocious and bloodthirsty character imputed to the race must be grossly exaggerated.” In connection

¹. The Rescue, p. 227.
². Ibid., p. 275.
³. See, for instance, Lord Jim, pp. 260, 271, 416.
with the idea of Malay diffidence associated with ferocity there is an interesting paragraph in The Pirates' Own Book.

It is utterly impossible for Europeans who have seen these pirates at such places as Singapore and Batavia to form any conception of their true character. There they are under immediate control, and every part of their behaviour is a tissue of falsehood and deception. They constantly carry about with them a smooth tongue, cringing demeanour, a complying disposition which appears to anticipate the very wish of the Europeans, and which so generally imposes upon his understanding that he at once concludes them to be the best and gentlest of human beings.

Damen of The Rescue, who "trusts no man on earth", has this outward appearance of reserve and diffidence combined with inner ferocity. He makes the white men his prisoners and advocates the looting of their yacht, but, when he appears at the conference held by the various factions at the settlement and is forced to surrender his prisoners, he is perfectly controlled. '"Great is your power,' he said in a pleasant voice [to Lingard], 'The white men are going to be delivered to you.'" He keeps his voice pleasant and he bears himself with "a sort of solemn modesty" while he inwardly rages.

After the Malay's impassiveness and a reserve which is difficult to fathom, Wallace mentions his undemonstr-
tiveness. "He is not demonstrative. His feelings of surprise, admiration, or fear, are never openly manifested and are probably not strongly felt." Conrad's Malays are generally undemonstrative, but their emotions are not weak. Conrad's theory seems not to have been that Malays do not feel surprise, admiration, or fear strongly, but that they instinctively control their feeling and hide it behind an air of indifference. Babalatchi and Lakamba are astonished and made uneasy when Dain Marcoola suddenly appears after the Dutch destroy his boat. Babalatchi, burning with curiosity, covers his emotion with a friendly air and polite small talk about matters that interest neither Dain nor himself. Lakamba is quite stolid.1 Babalatchi is utterly amazed when Lingard's boat lands near his cottage in the dark, but Lingard is greeted by him almost as calmly as an expected guest would have been.2 Fata Hassim and Mas Immade visit Damen at the Illenun camp. The situation is dangerous, but Hassim is perfectly controlled and Immade, although "her heart was beating rapidly", listens "with outward calm".3 Wasub is surprised to hear Shaw say that there are no boats in sight, for he has been watching distant Malay canoes, but he shows no feeling and it does

1. See for example, Almayer's Folly, pp. 76-78.
2. See the Cutest, pp. 217, 218.
3. The Rescue, p. 222.
not occur to him to correct the white man. 1 Conrad makes it clear to us that Selarab's polite calmness covers an ardent, almost fierce desire for peace. 2 Under Dorman's unmoved manner and expression is the warm personality of a man who has the desire to correct the unjust conditions of his community, who greatly values and trusts his friend, and who passionately loves his son. While Dain Waris lives, Dorman is never demonstrative toward him, although his love is proved in that he promotes Dain's welfare whenever he can. Conrad has Dorman's grief over Dain's death reveal itself unmasked for a moment and the pain of that unaccustomed expression is almost intolerable. 3

The final "main feature" of Malay "moral nature" which, according to Wallace, is "exhibited in every action of his life" is this: "He is slow and deliberate in speech, and circuitous in introducing the subject he has come expressly to discuss." Conrad's Lingard recognizes this when he tries unsuccessfully to get to the point with Babalatchi on the subject of Willems. "He had been living with Malays so long and so close that the extreme deliberation and devisiveness of their mental proceedings had ceased to irritate him much. To-night, perhaps, he was less prone to impatience than ever. He was disposed, if not to listen

1. The Rescue, pp. 16, 16.
2. ibid., pp. 109, 114.
to Babalatchi, then to let him talk."\(^1\) In *The Rescue* it took Lingard days of general impersonal talk with Belarab before his host is willing to discuss the one subject vital to him.\(^2\) Jim listens to the hours of Malay discussion going on at the conference of Tunku Allang and his chiefs over the fate of the white man until he can endure it no longer and makes a break for freedom.\(^3\) Talk as a Malay art interesting for itself in which all subjects must be treated decorously and at proper length is recognized by Conrad.

Small groups squatted round the little fires, and the monotonous undertone of talk filled the enclosure; the talk of barbarians, persistent, steady, repeating itself in the soft syllables, in musical tones of the never-ending discourses of those men of the forests and of the sea, who can talk most of the day and all of the night; who never exhaust a subject, never seem able to thresh a matter out; to whom that talk is poetry and painting and music, all art, all history; their only accomplishment, their only superiority, their only amusement.\(^4\)

In these "main features of his moral nature"—impassivity, reserve, diffidence (sometimes deceiving), undemonstrativeness, apparent lack of strong feeling, slow, deliberate and circuitous speech—the Malay as he appears

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in Conrad's pages agrees with the Malay as Wallace judges him. In one feature only does Conrad go beyond Wallace; Wallace decides that Malays' emotions are "probably not strongly felt". Conrad's Malays feel strongly but hide the feeling.

Wallace adds a few more general remarks on Malay character. He does not include humor as a Malay quality and declares that "practical joking is utterly repugnant to his disposition". ¹ Although Frank Swettenham's chapter on "The Real Malay"² agrees in general with Wallace, it contains an opposite conclusion on this matter of humor. Swettenham writes that the Malay "has a strong sense of humor; and is very fond of a good joke."³ In his chapter on "Latah" he gives examples of practical jokes which, according to him, Malays love to play.⁴ Conrad apparently saw as little of this side of Malay nature as Wallace did. His Malays are often cheerful, but humor and playfulness are lacking.

Wallace writes, and in this observers of Malays agree, that "the higher classes of Malays are exceedingly polite, and have all the quiet ease and dignity of the best bred Europeans".⁵ Conrad mentions "the well-bred air and dis-

3. Ibid., p. 2.
4. Ibid., p. 72 ff.
crescet courtesy, which is natural to the better class\(^1\) of Malays. Most of Conrad's Malays are very courteous. His Karein treats his visitors like lords.\(^2\) Damen and Babalatchi are polite to friend and enemy both, although both are much more occupied with confounding their foes than cultivating friends.\(^3\) Courtesy and ease never forsake Pata Hassim and Dain Waris, the most tolerant and knightly of Conrad's Malays.\(^4\)

As a conclusion to his analysis Wallace writes, "The intellect of the Malay race seems rather deficient. They are incapable of any thing beyond the simplest combinations of ideas and have little taste or energy for the acquirement of knowledge."\(^5\) When we think over the interests which hold the attention of Conrad's Malays it must be admitted that they are very limited. Chiefly his Malays are absorbed in intrigue which concerns politics and trade. Babalatchi and Lakemba of Almayer's Folly plot to keep in the favor of all foreigners and to get the best of them in trade. They plot to save Dain Waris from the Dutch because otherwise they may be involved in greater unpleasantness than that involved in saving Dain. The same men in the Outcast plot to bring in the Arab traders in order to confound

1. The Rescue, pp. 74, 75.
2. Tales of Unrest, p. 12.
3. The Rescue, p. 293 and Almayer's Folly, p. 77.
5. The Malay Archipelago, p. 587.
Lingard and Almayer, to dethrone Patalolo, to do away with Willems, and to become the ruling powers of Sambir. In *Lord Jim*, Rajah Allang plots to rob all the inhabitants of Patusan of their trading gains, and plots with the Arabs against his own people and with Brown against Jim and the settlement. In *The Rescue* Belarab plots to keep his kingdom unknown to the Dutch, Tengga plots against Belarab, Daman plots against Lingard, while Lingard and Hassim plot to restore a kingdom to Hassim and Immade. Belarab of *The Rescue* and Karea of "Karea" are clever enough to establish flourishing little kingdoms. Beyond these accomplishments nothing is done by Conrad's Malays worth mentioning as proof of intellectual powers. Malay strong interest in arts and crafts, in music, in acting, in making pantuns (extemporary riddling poetry), and in their involved native laws is practically ignored by Conrad. The Malay delight in clever conversation full of verbal tricks entirely for the amusement and stimulation to be had from it is only referred to and not illustrated in Conrad's fiction by his Malays. The large Malay store of knowledge about the natural life of the country, and the vast body of legends which have been devised concerning native ani-
mals and plants does not enter the fiction. 1 Conrad's Malays are astute as political and trade rivals, and beyond that they are dull enough.

In general, then, Conrad's estimate of Malays coincides closely with Wallace's. His Malays have all the characteristics which Wallace describes about Malays—impassivity, reserve, deceiving diffidence, undemonstrativeness, circuitous speech, lack of humor, courtesy, and short range of mental activity. Since Wallace is considered an authority on Malay affairs, we must admit that Conrad's Malays do present in general the truth about Malay character and are therefore of value to the Westerner who seeks reliable information about the race. It must be admitted, however, that although the truth of Malay character is in Conrad's fiction, it is only part of the truth. Therein

1. For information on these subjects which enter vitally into Malay thought, but which do not enter into Conrad's fiction, see:

Papers on Malay Subjects, F.M.S. Press, Kuala Lumpur.
R. W. Winstedt, 1908.
"Proverbs on Malay Character", pp. 1-20,
R. J. Wilkinson, 1907.
Fables and Folk Tales from an Eastern Forest, Walter Skeat, Cambridge University Press, 1901.
Malaisie, Henri Fauconnier, pp. 88, 89.
lies Conrad's weakness in the realm of Malay psychology. He omits much which is needed to give a well-rounded reflection of the Malay mind and which has to do with the arts, science, and religion peculiar to the native culture.

If we examine Conrad's Malays further and test them by the judgment of observers who have attempted to differentiate between the Malay peoples throughout the Archipelago, we attain varying results. On one hand, Conrad's estimate of Bugis Malays,¹ for example, corresponds with that given by scientific writers.² They agree that among Malays the Bugis stand high for bravery, enterprise, and initiative. Doremin of Lord Jim is the most considerable man in Patusan; Kerain of "Kerain" is able and energetic; Hassim of The Rescue travels throughout the islands as a princely trader and is able to inspire a revolutionary expedition; the Bugis traders from an important part of the community at Sambir of Almayer's Folly and the Outcast. Bugis women are remarkably free and unrestrained³ and Conrad's Bugis women, Mas Immade of The Rescue, the wife of Stein of Lord Jim, and the mother of Kerain in "Kerain" are examples of this fact. Again, a study of the character of Babelotchi proves that he possesses the tempera-

¹ See The Rescue, pp. 68, 374.
³ See Reclus, Oceanica, p. 226.
ment which observers notice particularly in the Sulu Melays. According to Featherman, the Suluses are quite active and intelligent. Their moral character stamps them as rude barbarians. Formerly they were much addicted to piracy, and plunder and robbery were followed by them as a profession, and sometimes they resume their old habits even now, if they think they can do so without impunity. . . . They do not disdain to have recourse to treachery and falsehood, if an advantage can be gained over an enemy or a stranger that excites their animosity or gives rise to suspicion. They are very eager for gain and spurn no means, however fraudulent and perfidious, to secure their end; but they are not avaricious in the real sense of the word, for they do not hoard property, and spend their gains with considerable liberality. Their dominant passion is the lust for power."  

Conrad's Babalatchi has been a pirate and keeps his piratical tendencies even after he can no longer exercise them openly. His dominant passion is indeed the lust for power, and he uses every means to get it. Babalatchi's relation to Lakemba, very important in his struggle for power, is a thoroughly native arrangement. Lay has given us a description of a rajah and adviser whom he observed in North Borneo (the region of Almeyer's Folly and

2. See An Outcast of the Islands, pp. 50-56.
the Outcast) and who are very much like Lekamba and Babalatchi.

A levee was an amazing sight. On one hand you might see the minister, in person a small man sitting with a demure countenance at a most respectful distance, and now and then uttering some expression in a subdued and plaintive strain. On the other, the Sultan, with a proud stare mingled with a wild anxiety, who felt these soft words to be severe strictures upon his behaviour, coming, too, from a man who expected that they should not only be felt, but be considered as cautions for regulating his conduct in the future. He resembled an animal with one foot in a trap, who would feign change his uneasy position with no less cost than the loss of a limb.

A levee dominated by Lekamba nominally and by Babalatchi in reality gives much the same effect. Lekamba sits breathing heavily and frowning sulkily while Babalatchi mildly guides an important conversation so that the results of the conference are to suit himself. When Lekamba speaks out of turn, he feels Babalatchi twitch his sarong warningly and knows he must take heed no matter how irksome it is to do so. On the other hand, if the character of Dain Meroola, for example, is examined, nothing is found to differentiate it from other Malays, although such writers as Hickman Powell insist that, owing to Brahman in-

3. The Last Paradise.
fluences, the Bali Malay is a distinct type. This same criticism may be made of Conrad's Taminah of Almeyer's Folly. She is supposed to be Siamese, but she has the dress, physical appearance, and nature of a Malay woman—not that typical of the Siamese. There is, moreover, nothing particularly Malay in the story of Taminah's jealousy. It is a story common enough to both brown and white races. In characterizing his Malays, Conrad is much more true to special racial traits in some cases than in others.

We must never lose sight of the difficulty of knowing the facts about the mind of a race. In the matter of psychology the best thinkers may be misled. Paul Radin, in his Primitive Man as a Philosopher laments the fact that

. . . Paradoxical as it may seem . . . few people are on the whole so unfitted by temperament to study the simpler aspects of the life of primitive people and by implicational their emotional and intellectual manifestations as the average cultured scholar and university-trained ethnologist . . . It is conceivably demanding too much of the men to whom the pleasures of life are largely bound up with the life of contemplation and to whom analysis and introspection are self-understood prerequisites for a proper understanding of the world, that he appreciate corporate and individual expressions which are largely non-intellectual.

2. *Bid.,* p. 112-114.
3. See Ernest Young's *Siem,* pp. 7, 55.
Ethnologists can and do make mistakes. The fact that we cannot trust their conclusions with entire safety adds to our difficulty in appraising Conrad's Malays.

The general conclusions to which Paul Radin comes about primitive people, among whom he counts Malays, are exemplified in Conrad's Malays. Thus Radin writes that "among primitive peoples there exists the same distribution of temperament and ability as among us."¹ Is not this what Conrad means by "The picture of life there, as here, is drawn with the same elaboration of detail, coloured in the same tints"²—a statement he made to oppose popular belief that primitive life is very foreign to civilized life?

According to Radin:

It is one of the salient traits of so-called primitive man . . . that he allows a full and appreciative expression to his sensations. He is preeminently a man of practical common sense just as is the average peasant. Now this does not merely mean manual dexterity or an exclusive interest in the purely material side of life. It has much deeper implications. This tough-mindedness leads to a recognition of all types of realities, realities which primitive men see in all their directness and ruggedness, stripped of all that false and sentimental haze so universal among civilized people . . . Primitive man is endowed with an overpowering sense of reality and possesses a manner of facing this reality which to a Western European implies an al-

¹. Primitive Man as a Philosopher, p. 5.
². Almayer's Folly, p. ix-x.
most complete lack of sensiveness. ¹

If one were put to it to sum up primitive man's viewpoint in a single sentence it would be somewhat as follows: 'Express yourself completely and accept the consequences of your own personality and of your actions.' ²

What makes for error in our interpretation is a certain mistiness of vision due to that sentimentality from which the northern European finds it so difficult to free himself. Now what saves primitive man from emotional anarchy is the fact that he is truly envious and jealous, a lover and a hater; that he means all he says, but means it for just that passing moment or hour, as the case may be, in which these feelings actually represent his attitude, and for no longer. He may have a theory of conduct but he bases no ethical judgments upon his kaleidoscopic emotional reactions. He has thus fairly adequately solved one of the most difficult and baffling problems in the world, of balancing repression with expression of personality and, at the same time attaining to a true integration.

Among us the recognition of the truth of a human nature drives us into pessimism, cynicism, or sensationalism: the full realization of the limitations of man and the insignificant role he plays in the universe, drives many, on the other hand, to seek refuge in religion. In both cases the problem is not faced. Ridiculous as it may seem on a superficial view, it yet does remain a fact that primitive peoples do and have faced the problem far more frequently and far more consistently than the people of Western Europe.

Radin proceeds with an illustration in the answer which a Ba-ile philosopher gave an inquirer as to what life is. He told of an old woman who inquired all over earth and

¹. Primitive Man as a Philosopher, p. 19.
². Ibid., p. 34-35.
³. Ibid., p. 40.
⁴. Ibid., p. 101.
the sky for an explanation of why everyone for whom she cared had been removed by death, and always received the same answer. "Yes, we see. That is how you are! Bereaved of friends and husband. In what do you differ from others? The Besetting-One sits on the back of every one of us and we cannot shake him off!" Radin continues:

This is facing the problem of life. The old woman is decisively reprimanded: 'Yes, life, the Besetting-One, sits on the back of all of us and we cannot shake him off. What cause is there for pessimism, what cause is there for optimism?'

Radin remarks that the fatalism implied in Mohammedanism is not common among primitive people and he believes that with the Malays it does not go very deep. Malay proverbs reflect the direct manner with which the people look at the ills of life, and it seems to Radin that "there is no blinking at death."

Conrad's Malays, one way or another, illustrate the attitude which Radin believes is typical of primitive peoples. Conrad gives all his Malays a strong practical turn. They know what they want and are preoccupied with the means of attaining it. No sentimental idealism blocks their path. They do not attempt to justify their acts with high motives or excuse their failures in long arguments.

2. Ibid., p. 101.
3. Ibid., p. 99.
4. Ibid., p. 102.
5. Ibid., p. 113.
exonerating themselves, as his Almayer and Willems do. It is no wonder that such white men as Jim of Lord Jim puzzle them. His motive for allowing Brown to go free is beyond their grasp. There is no common sense in it. Not that they are simply blood-thirsty and long to put Brown's company to death. It is a matter of self-preservation, and it is to be done as easily and with as little cost as possible.

A certain Haji Saman pointed out at great length that 'these tyrannical and ferocious men had delivered themselves to a certain death in any case. They would stand fast on their hill and starve, or they would try to regain their boat and be shot from ambushes across the creek, or they would break and fly into the forest and perish simply there.' He argued that by the use of proper stratagems these evil-minded strangers could be destroyed without the risk of a battle, and his words had a great weight, especially with the Patusan men proper.

Babalatchi does not want foreign interference in Sambir, but facts are accepted. When it is necessary, he can bow his will, in public anyway, to English or Dutch, whichever is there at the moment. He will seem to recognize their authority when it is expedient to do so, and will forget them as soon as he is able. No one ever foresees events more clearly and accepts the inevitable more calmly than does Hassim. Conrad's Malays are not occupied with vague ideas about themselves or their companions. As a whole

they, as Radin puts it, face the problem of life and are not afraid of the consequences of their own acts.

It is difficult to come to conclusions about the authenticity of Conrad’s Malay characters. A study of the Malay geography, history, appearance, dress, housing—of any realm indeed of Malay life which can be reduced to definite facts—proves that Conrad’s Malaysia is very accurately portrayed. When we come to measure the closeness of his Malays in their thoughts and actions to the real Malay, however, we find that we cannot make clear-cut statements about the authenticity of their portrayal. This much at least may be written with comparative safety:

Conrad’s Malays present part of the truth of Malay nature. They have the general racial characteristics conceded to be typically Malay, but they have been produced out of insufficient experience with intimate Malay thought, and in some instances they are actually un-Malay. In spite of the praises, therefore, of such critics unacquainted with the East as Richard Curle,1 J.W. Cunliffe,2 Jean-Aubry,3 and Gustav Morf4 Conrad’s portrayal of Malays cannot be considered entirely authentic. Conrad himself knew and confessed this.5 He realized that Hugh Clifford,

2. See English Literature During the Last Half Century, by J.W. Cunliffe, p. 194.
5. The Personal Record, p. vi.
who knew Malays well, was right in declaring that his psychology for his Malays in "Karein" and "The Lagoon" was not truly Asiatic in character, and that Almayer's Folly was built on a fallacy since nothing is more counter to nature in the East than for an Eurasian girl to be attracted by a Malay man.  

The causes for Conrad's incomplete portrayal of Malay psychology are his insufficient knowledge of the language and his insufficient experience. Because the Malay person instinctively trusts the man who speaks the language correctly and so reveals himself more openly than he will to the foreigner who speaks Malay poorly, because a study of the language itself in its various tabu and polite forms reveals many of the inner processes of thought habitual to Malays, and because the speech given by Conrad to the Malays of his fiction could only resemble true Malay speech if it were first thought in Malay and then translated into English. It would have been helpful to Conrad to have known more than the trade Malay. As a seaman travelling about the archipelago on trading vessels, Conrad's experience did not offer him the opportunity to live into the life of

2. A Personal Record, p. 75.
3. The Claims of Japan and Malaysia upon Christendom, G.T. Ley, vol. 2, p. 7-8;
the brown people in the intimate manner Clifford considered
necessary if true understanding of them were to be attained.

This imperfect preparation for the truest portrayal
of Malay psychology does not prevent Conred from being
able to interpret part of Malay character and thought cor-
rectly. "Kerain" and "The Lagoon", the two stories men-
tioned by Clifford as containing un-Asiatic Malys, are ac-
counts of runaway couples and of resulting revenge for the
sake of family honor. Such incidents are not uncommon in
Malay in Malay life and are the natural outcome of the
Malay manner of thinking. Both stories, however, concern
situations which should involve Malay animistic beliefs.
A comparison of Conred's ghost of Matara in "Kerain" with
accounts of Malay beliefs concerning the ghosts of the mur-
dered proves that "Kerain" as the story of a man haunted
by the spirit of the person he has murdered is not truly
Malay. "The Lagoon" likewise contains a situation which
in real Malay life would be much more deeply colored by
the fears of the animist than it is. Conred does not

1. See "A Malay Romance" and "The Story of Mie Aris", Malay
Sketches, Frank Swettenham: "The Flight of Chip, the
Bird", Hugh Clifford, The Further Side of Silence; "Mat
Arif the Elemental", "In the Half Light" and "The Ap-
pointed Hour", Melawan Monochromes, Hugh Clifford.
2. Tales of Unrest, p. 41.
3. "Some Malay Studies", Royal Asiatic Society Journal,
vol. 5, pp. 111-117.
4. See Tales of Unrest, p. 208, and The Royal Asiatic
Society Journal, Straits Branch, no. 62, p. 108.
entirely neglect the presence of animism in Malayan thought, but his references to it are slight whereas the influence of animism is all pervading in real Malayan life. In consideration of the type of story "Karain" and "The Lagoon" are, it is probable that the very small part animistic thought plays in them is the chief cause of Hugh Clifford's discontent with them.

Again, Clifford is probably right in denying the authenticity of Nine Almayer as a true Eurasian girl. Conrad has, nevertheless, offered his readers several Eurasian characters who exhibit true Eurasian traits—Jewel of Lord Jim, whose marriage unlike Nine Almayer's is what the Eurasian girl would desire; Jenna and Leonard Le Souza of the Outcast, who exemplify the degenerate characteristics of Eurasians; and the captain of Jim's boat for Petusen whose speech is a true sample of Eurasian talk are authentic contributions to literature about Eurasians.2

A study of Conrad's fiction in the light of Clifford's criticism, then, leads to the conclusion that while Clifford's criticism was right, first about the un-Malayan character of Karain and Ratsat (the reason is probably that Con-

rad was insufficiently acquainted with Malay animistic thought and second about the lack of authenticity of Nine Almayer (her attraction to Dain Maroola being counter to Eurasian desires), Conrad nevertheless introduced true Malay features into "Kerain" and "The Lagoon" through his incidents of the eloping couples and the attempts at revenge for the sake of the family honor that resulted, and he presented authentic Eurasian characters in Jewel, the De Souzas, and Cornelius.

If in details of psychology Conrad sometimes errs, he depicts his Malays so that they exhibit the chief qualities which Alfred Wallace found essential to Malay character—impassivity, a reserve and diffidence that may be deceiving, undemonstrativeness, deliberation in speech, lack of humor, courtesy, and rather deficient intellect.

2. See *The Rescue*, pp. 227, 293, 294.
5. See Settenham's opinion on Malay humor, "The Real Malays" and "Leleb", *Malay Sketches*.
7. Refer back to pages 220, 221 for the interests which occupy the minds of Conrad's Malays.
While Conrad's Maleys exhibit these cardinal features of Malay character, they do not produce a well-balanced impression of Malay interests, which are confined in the fiction to political and trade intrigue. Malay art, music, acting, pantuns, law, and knowledge of nature are all excluded from the thoughts of Conrad's Maleys.  

A further study of Conrad's Maleys for tribal differences proves that Conrad differentiates between Maleys from various parts of the Archipelago with uneven success. His Bugis claim or display the typical Bugis characteristics of enterprise, bravery, and love of independence. Baba-latchi reveals his Sulu blood in his passion for power and in the means he takes to procure it.  

1. For the importance of these things in Malay thought, see: Papers on Malay Subjects, F.M.S. Press, Kuala Lumpur Series I, Part 1—"Arts and Crafts", R. C. Winstedt, pp. 1-89.
Fables and Folk Tales from an Eastern Forest, Walter Skeat.
Malaisie, Henri Fauconnier, pp. 88, 89.
2. See Elisee Reclus, Oceania, p. 228, A. Featherman, Papuo and Malayo Melanesians, p. 445, with which to compare Conrad's Dream of Lord Jim, Kesarin of "Kesarin", and Hassim of The Rescue.
amba is typical of that maintained between Rajah and adviser in the petty Bornean kingdoms. On the other hand, Dein Maroolla is not differentiated as a Buri from other Malays, nor does Taminah as a Siamese women differ in any way from the Malays with whom she associates.

In general Conrad's Malays display the practicality which Paul Radin believes is the chief possession of primitive peoples. They are unsentimental, and, realizing life's limitations, they face existence with an attitude which is neither optimistic nor pessimistic, but wholly one of acceptance.

In short, Conrad's Malays are authentic in that they exemplify the general characteristics possessed by the Malay race. In some cases they even reflect the specific traits which belong to certain tribes of Malays. Conrad's portrayal of Malays cannot be accepted as the full reflection of the Malay character and mind because many common Malay interests are excluded from his pages. In some instances, it must be confessed, the thoughts and impulses given by Conrad to his Malays are definitely untrue to Malay character. When his psychology is inexact, the cause

2. See Hickman Powells, The Last Paradise.
3. See Ernest Young, Siam, pp. 7, 55, and Almayer's Folly, pp. 37, 112-114.
is Conrad's attempt to plumb the innermost thoughts of Malays, and his experience was insufficient to allow him to succeed.

Looking back over Part II of this thesis which concerns the authenticity of Conrad's use of Malay geography, history, external life, and psychology, we are able to arrive at certain definite conclusions. First, it can be stated that in his Malayan geography Conrad shows extensive and exact knowledge. Second, it may be deduced from the evidence to be found in widely scattered and varied references to nationalities and events that Conrad understood the general history of the Archipelago as it has occurred. Third, his reflection of Malayan external life found in his many descriptions of Malayan appearance, dress, housing, utensils, ornaments, and manner of living are authentic to the last detail. Only in the fourth and last subject concerning his Malaysia, his portrayal of Malayan psychology, can doubt be thrown on the complete authenticity of Conrad's Malayan background. In this realm he has explained the Malay mind with much acuteness and truth so that the general impression he leaves may be considered authentic. Only in those analyses of the Malay mind in which he attempts to go deep below the surface of Malay consciousness does he go beyond his depth and become untrustworthy.
This thesis, considered as a whole, offers proof of the general authenticity of Conrad's *Malaysia*. First, it explains how, in enlarging his knowledge of the region, Conrad turned to Brooke's *Journal* and to Wallace's *The Malay Archipelago* for incident, plot, names, phraseology, and psychology, not only of the native but of the Westerner in the East. It then shows how from his own experience or from other sources, which beyond Wallace and Brooke are unknown, he managed to present an authentic and widely varied account of the Eastern scene, history, and inhabitants. Only in some phases of native psychology has his interpretation been found lacking.

Conrad's *Malaysian background*, therefore, possesses a value in itself. Its authenticity makes it a real contribution to Western literature about the East. Conditions are changing rapidly in present-day *Malaysia*. The Malay life, as Conrad reflects it, is passing, but it will continue to live in Conrad's pages. Now, before it becomes so changed as to be difficult to test, it is well to make this proof of its worth. It is well to make this proof now also because all matters concerning Conrad and his work deserve careful attention in these first years which follow his death while his genius is being tested in order that a just appraisal of his work may be made. Finally, with the authenticity of Conrad's *Malaysian background*
proved, the way is cleared for a further study of how Conrad used his background for the support of his main theme.
SCENE OF ALMAYER'S FOLLY AND AN OUTCAST OF THE ISLANDS

1. Pantei River--"Lingard's river", on the banks of which most of both stories take place. There is a Pantei River a little south of the geographical river of the story, which is the Rajah.

2. Sambir--Headquarters of Lingard and Co., on the Pantei. Almayer's home. Willems was a guest there. Sambir is the real Sulungan.

3. Macassar--Scene of Almayer's and Willems' lives while they were connected with Hudig.

4. Buitenzorg--Where Almayer was born (Almayer's Folly, p. 5).

5. Sumbawa--Near which Lingard placed his adopted Sulu daughter in a convent (Almayer's Folly, p. 9).

6. Batavia--Port in Java from which the Flash sailed when taking Almayer and his bride to Borneo (Almayer's Folly, p. 23) Mentioned frequently in both books as the headquarters of the Dutch government in the islands. Home of Abdulla's father-in-law (Outcast, p. 110).

7. Singapore--Where Almayer was placed in school (Almayer's Folly, p. 27). Where Lingard went "about the insurance" (Outcast, p. 187).

8. Straits of Macassar--Guarded by the Dutch against gunpowder smuggling (Almayer's Folly, p. 48).


10. Fabled Gunong Mas--the mountain of gold in the Dyak mountain country, which Almayer expected to discover (Almayer's Folly, p. 57) marked on map about where Almayer expected to find it.

11. Ampanam--Place to which Babelatchi persuades Lakemba to take Dein (Almayer's Folly, p. 150).

12. Madura--Place of exile Babelatchi fears (Almayer's Folly, p. 133).

13. Tanjong Mirrah--Landmark at mouth of the Pantei (Almayer's Folly, p. 186) where the Lord of the Isles was anchored (Outcast, p. 136). Not on the map.

14. Semarang--Where Willems deserted from the Dutch East-Indians and was picked up by Lingard (Outcast, p. 6).

15. Lombok--where Willems had gone on a pony deal for Hudig (Outcast, p. 8).

16. Coak--"The difficult business of the Rajah of Coak" (Outcast, p. 8).

17. "...From Palembang to Ternate, from Ompawa to Palewan". Of Lingard's trips in the Flash (Outcast, p. 13).

1. Numbers correspond with those on accompanying map.


21. Kota-Where Leonard's and Joanna's supposed father was supposed to have died (*Outcast*, p. 35). Sultan of Kota mentioned (*Outcast*, p. 50).

22. Sulu—Bebeletchi and Mr. Almayer were Sulus. Visited by Abdullah (*Outcast*, p. 109). (Map of Asia)


24. Mascat—He "beheld the glories of the Mascati Sultan". Of Bebeletchi (*Outcast*, p. 52). Map of Asia

25. Brunei—Omar el Bedawi, the leader of Brunei rovers (*Outcast*, p. 52).

26. Menado—From which a prau was missing (*Outcast*, p. 55).

27. Calcutta—Visited by Abdullah (*Outcast*, p. 109) (Map of Asia)


29. Gulf of Suez—Visited by Abdullah (*Outcast*, p. 109) (Map of Asia)


33. Formosa Straits—Where Lingard picked up the Chinamen (*Outcast*, p. 161). Map of Asia

34. Deli and Mcheon, Sumatra—Where Abdullah got his crew (*Outcast*, p. 166).

35. Gaspar Straits—"here the Flash went on the rocks" (*Outcast*, p. 200).


1. Java Head—"Then we entered the Indian Ocean and steered northerly for Java Head," ("Youth", p. 19). The crew of "Youth" landed here.

2. Bangkok—Toward which the Judee was bound. ("Youth")

3. Singapore—Where Captain Whalley met Captain Elliott and became commander of the Sofala ("The End of the Tether", parts 4 and 5). Toward which the Somerville was bound ("Youth", p. 27). "Because of the Dollars", p. 239.

4. Batavia—To which the Somerville carries mail ("Youth", p. 27).

5. Anjer—To which the Somerville would try to tow the Judee ("Youth", p. 27).

6. Malacca Straits—"He knew it well, too, this monotonous huckster's round up and down the Straits", ("The End of the Tether", p. 166).

7. Malacca—"Malacca to begin with" ("The End of the Tether", p. 166). Where Laughing Anne's boy was sent to the "white Fathers", ("Because of the Dollars", p. 298).


13. Path which Karain and Pata Matara took to recover Pata Matara's sister, ("Karain").

a. "We went south... we examined the creeks and bays; we saw the end of our coast; of our island—a steep cape over a disturbed strait, p. 31.

1. Editions to which pagination refers are as follows: "Youth", and "The End of the Tether" from Selected Stories of Joseph Conrad; Doubleday, Doran, 1930; "The Lagoon" and "Karain" from Tales of Unrest, Doubleday, Page, 1923; "The Planter" and "Because of the Dollars" from Within the Lides, Doubleday, Page, 1916; "A Smile of Fortune" and "Freya" from Twixt Land and Sea, Doubleday, Page, 1925.
b. "We saw a great mountain burning in the midst of the water", p. 31 (evidently the same volcano visible from the Tiger Island of Samburan in Victory).

c. "We saw a long coast of mountains and lowlands stretching away in sun and shadow from west to east. It was Java", p. 31.

d. Inland travel, p. 32.

e. "We came back to the coast", p. 32. "Here the trail is lost while the men wander over the Archipelago for a year.

f. "Trail taken up again." We were on our way to Atjeh", p. 35.

g. "The vessel ran on a sand bank, and we had to land at Delli", p. 35.

h. Perak--from which Karain claimed to the Dutchman that he had come, p. 38.

14. Malaya--Malaya of "The Planter of Malaya", may not be the Malaya of the map, but it is in the same district. This seems certain from the reference to Tahitians among the workmen, p. 103, because of the island description easily adapted to the Solomon Islands, p. 107, and from references to the Pacific, e.g., p. 119. The Solomon Islands belong to England and the reference to the government grant of plantation land to Renouard for his scientific work, p. 7, together with Renouard's statement that he is a Canadian sent out from England, p. 13, make the situation of Conrad's Malaya there most probable.

15. Sydney--A great colonial city" which Renouard visited is one of the Australien cities, and possibly is Sydney. This choice is only a conjecture. The reference to the "Antipodes", p. 19, surely refers to Australia and not to the Antipodes Islands southwest of New Zealand.


18. Gulf of Tonkin--Semetz' loathing place ("Because of the Dollars", p. 252).


22. Cape Salatan--The body of Leuving Anne having been
committed to the deep some twenty miles S.S.W.
from Cape Salaten" (Because of the Dollers", p. 294).
23. New Guinea--where old Nelson went fearlessly ("Freyo
of the Seven Isles", p. 146).
24. The Seven Isles--"not far north from Banke" ("Freyo of
the Seven Isles", p. 148). They are situated in the
southern part of the "Ingga Archipelago.
25. Banke--"Thunderstorm over Banke" ("Freyo of the Seven
Isles", p. 150).
26. Sumatra--"one of those vicious squalls from the distant
Sumatran coast" ("Freyo of the Seven Isles", p. 150).
27. Palembang--where Heemskirk learned of Freya ("Freyo of
the Seven Isles", p. 159).
28. Flores and Sumbawa--where the Neptun was on duty ("Freyo
of the Seven Isles", p. 172).
29. Moluccas--where Heemskirk learned Freya ("Freyo of
the Seven Isles", p. 186).
30. Ternate--course abandoned by Heemskirk ("Freyo of the
Seven Isles", p. 209).
31. Tamissas Reef--in the Masca on a fasteal. Where the
Sonito was grounded ("Freyo of the Seven Isles", p.
219).
32. Mascaer--where Jasper was marooned ("Freyo of the Seven
Isles", p. 221).
33. Dongala--Rahaj referred to, ("Because of the Dollers",
p. 252).
34. Tenasserim--Captain Whalley's farthest point of call
("The End of the Tether", p. 203'.
35. "From Low Cape to Malantam", ("The End of the Tether",
p. 327).
36. Penang--The Sefela senk north of Penag Say ("The End of
the Tether", p. 327).
37. Semarang--("A Smile of Fortune", p. 31).
38. Port Philip Heads--when potatoes were sold ("A Smile
of Fortune", p. 83).
39. Mauritius--The Pearl Island of "A Smile of Fortune".
SCENE OF THE SHADOW LINE, TYphoon, FALK, AND THE SECRET SHarer

1. Singapore--Scene of Part I and much of Part II and of the last of The Shadow Line.
2. Palawan--A trip to Palawan would require Captain Giles (The Shadow Line, p. 12).
3. Bangkok--Where the young captain met his first command in The Shadow Line. Scene of FALK.
4. HaiPhong--Where the former captain in The Shadow Line "got himself 'mixed up' with some woman" (The Shadow Line, p. 58).
5. Hong Kong--Towards which the former captain had suddenly directed the boat (The Shadow Line, p. 59).
6. Pulo Condor--Toward which Burns directed the boat (The Shadow Line, p. 61).
8. Cape Lient--Lend mérk mentioned on p. 77 of The Shadow Line.
9. Koh-ring--Island seen so long in The Shadow Line, p. 84 ff. Island in The Secret Sherer to which the captain helps Leggatt escape (p. 134, ff). Exact place is unknown, but the mark on the map is in the correct region.
10. Me-nam River--The Shadow Line, p. 47, 106. Much of the action of FALK took place on the river. The Secret Sherer, p. 91. The Pak Nam pagoda, on an island in the Me-nam, is mentioned in all three of these stories.
11. Fu-Chau--Destination of the Nan-Shen--(Typhoon, p. 6).
12. Formose Channel--"a cross swell had set in from the direction of Formose Channel" (Typhoon, p. 7).
15. Jave Head--"we sighted Jave Head" (The Secret Sherer, p. 105).
16. Anjier Point--Near which Leggatt wished to be allowed to leave the boat (The Secret Sherer, p. 106).
19. About the place where Falk's adventure took place.
20. China See--where the typhoon took place (Typhoon, p. 20).
1. "Thus in the course of years he was known successively in Bombay, in Calcutta, in Rangoon, in Penang, in Batavia." (p. 5) Of Jim's wanderings to escape the Patna story. (Both Archipelago and Asia Maps).
2. Singapore--"Jim looked every day . . . at that roadstead which is a thoroughfare to the East" (p. 12).
3. Strait of Malacca--". . . the calm water of the Strait" (p. 15).
5. Arabian Sea--where the Patna accident occurred (p. 17). Map of Asia.
6. Perim--". . . the straight pencil-line drawn firmly as far as Perim figured the course of the ship" (p. 20). Map of Asia.
7. Bombay--Place of the trial. This is evident from the frequent references to the Parsees, and from the Indian costuming described. No Malays are described, else one might think of Singapore in this connection since Captain Elliot is there, and in The End of the Tether, he was in Singapore. Bombay is the logical place for the trial, since it is near the scene of the accident; e.g., pp. 32, 35. Map of Asia.
8. Aden--The Patna was towed to Aden (p. 35). Map of Asia.
9. Samarang--Where Marlow had first seen the skipper of the Patna (p. 36). Jim worked for DeJongh there (p. 149). Stein lived there (Chapters 19, 20, 37, 45).
10. Apia--Honolulu--Toward which the Patna skipper made his escape (p. 41, 47).
11. Shanghai--Where the captain of the Felion was shifted to the Ossa (p. 63). Map of Asia.
12. Haiphong--Where metherson "used to hang out" (p. 64). Map of Asia.
13. Sydney--Where Marlow heard the story of the Patna being towed to Aden from a French lieutenant (p. 157).
14. Walpole Reefs--Where Chester's guano island was (p. 161).
15. Auckland and Brisbane--Where Chester attempted to get backing (p. 165).
16. Queensland--The guano was to be "the making of queensland" (p. 164).
17. Tamatave, Madagascar--Where Brown hoped to sell his stolen ship (p. 357). Map of Asia. Marlow, "I was fastened upon by a fellow fresh from Madagascar" (p. 170).
18. Hong Kong--Where Marlow had his favorable report on Jim from a friend to whom he had sent Jim (p. 188). Map of Asia.
19. Bangkok—where Jim had one of his temporary jobs (p. 198). Schomberg had his hotel there at the time (p. 345). Brown died there (p. 345).
20. Meinam—River on which Bangkok is situated (p. 199).
22. Batavia—Where Jim had his last position as water clerk with DeJongh (p. 201).
24. Wajo States—where Stein was adviser (p. 205).
25. Patusan—Scene of Jim’s Malay life. Excepting this one, all the settings of the story are but briefly used. Most of the last half of the book is laid at Patusan. There is no Patusan on the map of Sumatra, but the position of Conrad’s Patusan there can be accurately placed.
26. Batu Kring—Small Malay seaport at mouth of the Patusan River up which (30 miles) Patusan was situated (p. 240). Batu Kring is not on the actual map. It is Conrad’s name for the seaport of ‘Patusan.’
27. Malacca—Town which produced Vornelius (p. 276).
29. Zamboanga—Near which Brown stole a Spanish schooner (p. 344).
30. Brown was “the show ruffian of the Australian coast”, and known from Cape York to Eden Bay (p. 352).
31. Malaita—Where Brown lost his boat after he ran away with the missionary’s wife and her death had occurred (p. 353).
33. Manila Bay—Scene of Brown’s activities a year later (p. 353).
34. Straits of Macassar—Path of Brown’s escape (p. 356).
35. Pulo Leut—Near which Brown robbed an Arab barque (p. 356).
36. Celebes where the ‘Jugis nation lived; from there Doremin had brought his people to Patusan (p. 375).
37. Java Sea—Further path of Brown’s flight (p. 356).
38. Sunda Straits—Through which Brown went (p. 357).
THE SCENE OF VICTORY

1. Semburan—"the 'Round Island' of the charts" (p. 5). One of the two main places of action, Headquarters of the Tropical Belt Coal Company, and Heyst's home. All of Parts III and IV took place there. Exact position among the Tigers is unknown.

2. Sourabaya—Another important place of the action. Schomberg's hotel there is the setting for the story of Heyst and Lena before their flight, of the introduction of Jones, Ricardo and Pedro, and of the scenes involving Mr. and Mrs. Schomberg.

3. The area of Heyst's wanderings. "Roughly speaking, a circle within a radius of eight hundred miles drawn around a point in North Borneo was in Heyst's case a magic circle. It just touched Manilla ... It just touched Saigon." (p. 7). [Manilla was also the place where Jones learned about Schomberg's hotel (p. 106)]. ... he [Heyst] mooned about the Java Sea in some of Tesman's trading schooners; and then vanished, on board an Arab ship, in the direction of New Guinea." (p. 10) Pages 82-85 speak of the "dead stillness of the forest back of Geelvink Bay" in New Guinea where Heyst had "the most exciting of his earlier futile adventures".

4. Delli—"One day Heyst turned up in Timor ... well, he was moaning about Delli, that highly pestilential place ... when he came in the street upon Morrison." (p. 10).

5. Moluccas—Where Heyst had news of Morrison's death (p. 22).


7. Java Sea—Route of Davidson's boat (p. 33). On page 167, Schomberg speaks of the Ternate mail ship being the only one to pass Semburan.

8. Madura—Place of Schomberg's plantation from which the three villains were to go on to Semburan (p. 166).

9. Route taken by Jones, Ricardo and Pedro.

10. Bangkok—Where Schomberg had once had a hotel (pp. 20, 101).

11. Macassar—"The business was done by a guest who arrived one fine morning by mail-boat—immediately from Celebes, having boarded her in Macassar, but generally, Schomberg understood, from up 'him was." (Of Jones' arrival, p. 98).

12. Singapore—To which Schomberg advises Ricardo to go (p. 154).

13. Samarang—"mentioned in connection with Tesman's with whom Morrison had left money (p. 15).
THE SCENE OF THE RESCUE

1. Carimata Channel--The "Shallow Sea" (p. 3).
2. Carimata and Suroton Islands--Used to place the "Shore of Refuge" (p. 5).
3. Ampanam--"I chummed with a French skipper in Ampanam" (Lingard, p. 20).
4. Bali--The girl in the incident of the Frenchmen and the Rajah’s nephew’s wife came from Bali (pp. 20-21).
5. Java Sea--Where Carter was sent to get help for the yacht (p. 32).
6. Anjer and the Sunda Straits--Where the position of the stranded yacht was to have been reported (p. 33).
7. Manilla to Batavia--Route of the yacht (p. 34).
8. Hong Kong--Carter, "Not I! I am not one of them regular yacht hands. I came out of the hospital in Hongkong. I’ve been two years on the China coast." (p. 34). See Asia.
9. Straits of Rhio--Way taken by the yacht’s chief officer to take word of the yacht’s stranding to Singapore (p. 35).
10. Singapore--Where chief officer was to make report (p. 35).
11. The Shore of Refuge (Darat-es-Salem)--Main setting for the story. All but Part I laid here.
12. Wejo--Native country of Fate Hassim and Mas Immada (p. 67 and Chapter 3).
13. Aru, Atjeh, Sumbawa, Palawan--"The younger sons and relations of many a native ruler traversed the seas of the Archipelago, visited the innumerable and little known islands, and the then practically unknown shores of New Guinea; every spot where European trade had not penetrated--from Aru to Atjeh, from Sumbawa, to Palawan" (p. 68).
14. New Guinea--Where Lingard first met Fate Hassan. The small bay mentioned was probably on the coast nearest Ternate (p. 69).
15. Ternate--Sultan mentioned (p. 69).
16. Boni--Gulf on which Wejo borders (p. 87).
17. Sumatra--Mentioned as scene of Padris war in which Belara had been involved (p. 92).
18. Billiton passage--Where a New York ship sighted the "Lightning" (p. 92).
19. Rangoon--One of many places visited by Lingard in his preparations to regain Wejo for Fate Hassim (99).
20. Straits of Malacca--Center of Lingard’s activities until it shifted to the Shore of Refuge (p. 99).
22. South Shore of Java—where Sentot had been king (p. 102).
23. Battak country—where the Padris war took place (p. 102).
24. Singai—where Jørgenson saw a battle (p. 102).
25. Manangkabo—"here the chiefs were advised by Jørgenson (p. 102).
26. Bruni coast—Demen boasted of passing the Bruni coast with his Illanun preus (p. 175).
GLOSSARY OF MALAY TERMS

1. ada—here; "Ada, Tuan" means "I am here, sir." --the state of having something. Should Almayer ask Ali if there were provisions in the house, "Ada" would be an affirmative answer; "T'ada", a negative.


3. apa—what? What is it?

4. atap—roof. Roofing is made from atap palm.

5. Ay Wa! Wa!—exclamations usually of grief.

6. batu—rock. Batu Kring is "Dry Rock". Batu Beru is "Blue Rock".

7. besar—big, great, important.

8. betul—right. That is right! That is so.

9. bitcharra—consultation.


11. buckit—hill. Buckit Timah is "Tin Hill".

12. campong—enclosed grounds containing a home, a group of homes, or a village.

13. Chelakka!—common expression of disgust or surprise.

14. curacoa—liquor made from curacoa oranges.

15. dalam—deep, in, inside. Used also to indicate the inner room of a house.

16. dayong—an oar, a command to row.

17. dinghy—small East India boat.

18. gunong—mountain.

19. ikat—to tie, to bind.

20. itam—black
22. kanan--right (direction).
23. kapal layer--sailing vessel. Kapal--ship; layer--sail.
24. kassab--keeper of stores.
25. kota--fort.
26. kris--Mealey dagger.
27. kualae--mouth (of a river)
28. lakse! --Hurry! Be quick!
29. laut--sea.
30. lascar--East India sailor on a foreign boat.
31. maken--meal.
32. malim--mate on a ship, pilot, teacher.
33. marabahia! --expression of troubles feeling. Alas!
34. mas--gold.
35. mahabai!--Welcome!
36. meza--table.
37. mem--lady, mistress; Mem Putih--white lady.
38. mirrah--red. Tangong Mirrah--"Red Cape".
39. muda--young.
40. nakhoda--captain of a merchant boat, a merchant.
41. orang--person, people. Orang Kaya--rich man.
42. peneran--a title of princes of high rank.
43. panglima--one of the main literary officials of a Malay state.
44. pantai--shore.
45. parang--large Malay knife.
46. poulo -- island. Poulo Laut -- "Sea Island".
47. preu -- Malay boat.
48. sarong -- Malay skirt.
49. serang -- boatswain, subordinate officer in charge of rigging, anchors, with signal whistle for directing crew of lascars.
50. shahbandar -- harbour-master.
51. sudah -- done, completed.
52. sungei -- river.
53. surat -- letter.
54. tanjong -- cape, arm of land extending into the sea.
55. tau -- know.
56. tidah -- no.
57. Tidah apa! -- Never mind!
58. tidor -- sleep.
59. tiga stengah -- three (and) one half.
60. timor -- east.
61. tindal -- boatswain's mate.
62. trepang -- sea cucumber.
63. trima kasi! -- Thank you!
64. tuan -- sir, Mr., lord.
65. tunku -- prince.
66. ubat -- medicine.
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