KU LEUVEN
FACULTY OF ARTS
BLIJDE INKOMSTSTRAAT 21 BOX 3301
3000 LEUVEN, BELGIË

Crossing the Line:

A Tide-Shift between Epochs of Oceanic Literature in Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim*

Peter Wisan

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Supervisor: Prof. Pieter Vermeulen

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KU LEUVEN
FACULTY OF ARTS
BLIJDE INKOMSTSTRAAT 21 BOX 3301
3000 LEUVEN, BELGIË

I hereby declare that, in line with the Faculty of Arts’ code of conduct for research integrity, the work submitted here is my own original work and that any additional sources of information have been duly cited.

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1. Introduction

A centuries-old naval tradition directs that when a ship traverses the Equator, sailors virgin to the passage (termed uninitiated pollywogs) must take part in a certain ritual. The pollywogs become something new through this “crossing the line” ceremony: crusty shellbacks, initiated sailors (Jasanoff 2017, 91). This concept of transition from one thing to another is central to the works of Joseph Conrad—who took part in this ritual himself (91)—and is an apt metaphor for a notable and specific transition in the literary history of the sea. In this dissertation I will show how Conrad wrote the sea novel *Lord Jim* at a turning point in the history of oceanic literature, and how the work represents a turn-of-the-century clash between morality and modernity, faith and fact, and, to use Conrad’s own metaphor, dreamers and steamers[1] (1900, 13). An incredibly dense story, the novel not only describes a meeting of ideas, it features two complete and totally antagonistic worlds within its pages.

Margaret Cohen’s sweeping history of oceanic literature *The Novel and the Sea* splits the literary ocean into two epochs, defined by the terms Sublime and Sublimated (2012, 106). I follow a similar model but with a slight shift in vocabulary: I replace Sublime and Sublimated with the terms Romanticism and Modernism to avoid any confusion. While one runs the risk of painting with too broad a brush by defining entirely everything before Modernism as Romantic, this is precisely the way Conrad used the idea of Romantic in *Lord Jim*, as a catch-all for pre-Modernism values (Conrad 1906, 30); therefore, I use it similarly throughout the pages of this dissertation. The difference between modernity and Modernism with a capital M is that the first is a general term for non-traditional elements in the recent age, while the other is a specific era.

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[1] While the word “steamer” is defined both as a ship powered by steam and the sailor aboard it (Merriam-Webster 2019), I use the term “steamers” only for people belonging to the steam profession, calling the vessels “steamships.”

Trying to connect the tide shift to a specific date proves to be difficult. The official period of "Modernism" according to the *Oxford Encyclopedia for British Literature* is from 1901-1939 (2006). Clement Greenberg, on the other hand, isolates Modernism as having begun somewhere in the middle of the 19th century (1980, 2), arising because the Romantics "looked back into the past…but had made the mistake in the end of trying to reinstall it." (3). In either case, since one cannot know one lives in an era until a name is given to it later, Conrad did not have access to the term "Modernism." His usage of "modern" conveys the same meaning, however: the two terms are considered equivalent throughout this dissertation. The sea author includes an endless slew of negative traits with the word "modern" in his works (1906, 30, 48, 74, 104, amongst others). The term Romanticism is similarly collated from Conrad's many references: the first such connection is the subtitle of *Lord Jim*: *A Romantic.* Beyond that, the novel contains more than a score of positive uses of "romantic" throughout, most of them brought together to describe a traditional set of morals (Conrad 1900, 74, 188, 191, 243, 299, and many others).

To Conrad, Romanticism was an umbrella idea for the traditional, proper way to do things. He linked it to many terms, such as "craft"[2] or Ability with a capital A (Conrad 1900, 42, 5), dutiful (11), traditional (216), faith (19), and not least of all the art of sail (171). These terms are all used throughout *Lord Jim* as part of the same enduring system and are notably in contrast with Modernism. The second epoch was a contrasting system represented by a new amalgam of ideas: a life of ease (13), "lost honour" (sic) (2), unbelievers (15), facts (40), and the growing science of materialism (191) (1904, 116). For Conrad, this second set of varying ideas joined together to spell out the word "steam" (1906, 75). Indeed, the sailor-writer saw sailing vessels and steamships as respective mascots for a metaphorical struggle between Romanticism and

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[2] Echoed later by Cohen in *The Novel and the Sea*, an insight she linked to Conrad herself (2012, 4).

Modernism (30). To Conrad, lost tradition in an increasingly global world was a worrisome idea and a theme that he threaded all throughout *Lord Jim*, condensing his ideas into the thought that "[g]ood old tradition's at a discount nowadays" (1900, 49), a major refrain of the novel.

Much research has been done into *Lord Jim*, not least of all on its hammering repetition of the phrase "one of us," Conrad's fascination with integrating multiple languages throughout the text, or the story's resistance to being defined by a genre, but little has been said about the novel's skillful meeting of the two contrasting belief systems. This idea is fascinating not only because the systems are woven together dexterously, but because Conrad himself *is* an estuarial liminal zone where antagonistic ideals mingle like brown and blue waters—his life is a complex push and pull of ideas, and we see this prominently and skillfully displayed in *Lord Jim*. This literary time capsule freezes a fascinating cohabitation, where two moments in time actually overlap. The result of this meeting is hugely significant, a major point in the human story: the way humanity thinks about the ocean—and writes about it—which had remained largely the same for millennia—suddenly and permanently changed.

In this dissertation, I will first give a story synopsis of *Lord Jim* to bring out salient discussion points and show that Conrad's personal and professional life made him the ideal person to write this story at the time that he did. Next, I will discuss the backdrop of the age of sail and why Conrad associated it with Romanticism; the following section will connect steam and Modernism in similar fashion. The next segment will provide insight into the old and new portrayals of the sea and how the new vision bridges the writing of Conrad's era to sea literature of today. Finally, I will show how Conrad wrote with the full consideration of two eras, and how his Romantic Modernism was primarily concerned with the preservation of traditional values in a rapidly changing world.

2. Lord Jim

Released the year after the acclaimed *Heart of Darkness,* Conrad's fifth novel, *Lord Jim,* not only represents his oeuvre as his "most appreciated novel and…most characteristic work of art" (Al-Haj 2014, 214), it emerges as a study in shifting worldviews. Published in 1900 but set some twenty years before (Jasanoff 2017, 137) right around the time Greenberg correlates to the rise of Modernism, the narrative takes place precisely at the moment in time that humanity was struggling to resolve traditional beliefs with a changing world. Where the popular *Heart of Darkness* explores the violent clash of ideals when modernity meets a traditional way of life, *Lord Jim* is a much subtler study on the ethics of each system; *Jim* still uses violence to illustrate the contrast of longstanding traditions and modernity, but much less frequently. Conrad takes a moral look at both the old and the new systems and weaves them into the story of a boy named Jim. Although the unfolding of the tale within the novel is far from chronological, I will lay the events out in the order they transpired—not in the order the narrator relays them—for clarity.

2.1. Synopsis

The son of a traditional English country parson, Jim is inspired to imagine nautical adventures for himself when he reads light sea literature on holiday. He joins a training ship for officers of the mercantile marine in adolescence (Conrad 1900*,* 7). After two years of training he actually goes to sea, where he shows himself to be "gentlemanly, steady, tractable, with a thorough knowledge of his duties" (11). He completes "many voyages" (11) and it seems he is on the rise towards a promising career.

Jim signs on as the first mate of a sail ship even though he is below the typical age and lacks the proper experience (11). After an injury in a storm, he is put into the hospital of some unnamed “Eastern port” to recover (12). He meets other mariners on the island, and they are divided into two categories: dreamers and steamers. At first Jim disdains the workers in the latter category, but he gradually envies their easy lives (13). When the position of first mate aboard a local, dilapidated steamship named *Patna* opens, Jim jumps at the chance (14). On what is apparently Jim’s first voyage under steam, the ship is loaded with 800 passengers, most of whom are making a pilgrimage to Mecca. The *Patna* runs over an unseen object in the night, and a rusted out bulwark gives way to the sea (24). At first, water fills an interior chamber, but nothing happens. Jim still fears that another corroded “brown paper” (24) wall will break and the ship will sink. The captain and three engineers decide to escape secretly (87); one of the engineers falls dead, and at the last minute, Jim abandons his ship to leap aboard the lifeboat with the other three (97). After being at sea for ten days (73), a ship recovers the four officers. The captain creates a fictional account in which he and the other three watched his steamship sink with all the crew and passengers (119).

However, when they reach port they learn that a passing ship had found the *Patna*, and somehow it stayed afloat to be towed to safety: not considering the third engineer, all of the 800 crewmembers and passengers survived (122-6). An official inquiry is opened in Aden (119), but Jim is the only one of the four officers to attend. During the proceedings Jim becomes acquainted with a veteran sea captain named Charles Marlow, and the old sea hand makes it his mission to understand Jim’s motivations and therefore the events surrounding the boy’s background and what will unfold from there (67). Marlow functions as the narrator of the story from the thirty-third page even though he and Jim do not meet until later in the timeline of the story.

The court pronounces judgment by stripping Jim and the captain of their certificates, thereby revoking their ability to work as officers in the mercantile marine (142). Disgraced, Jim seeks a place where he can begin his life again with “a clean slate” (165). Through Marlow’s references, Jim begins an itinerant career as a water clerk, soliciting ships entering port to do business with his boss’s supply company (132). When gossip about the Patna scandal reaches each port of his employment, Jim moves further east (174-5). Marlow eventually sends Jim to work for a friend in Indonesia, Stein (193), a Bavarian expatriate, “naturalist of some distinction” (180), entomologist (179), and former warlord (185).

In an effort to facilitate Jim’s escape from infamy, Stein secures him a position in the “forgotten” Malay region of Patusan (323), where an ally of Stein’s, a Burgis chieftain named Doramin, governs the local population (207). After learning that a local bandit terrorizes the region (227), Jim leads an attack together with the help of Doramin’s son, Dain Waris, on the bandit’s fortress (238). They are victorious, and Jim becomes powerful and notable in the region: he is “loved, trusted, admired, with a legend of strength and prowess forming round his name as though he had been the stuff of a hero” (157). He considers the inhabitants of Patusan as being under his protection (238). He falls in love with a local girl named Jewel. He marries her, and she becomes a great companion to him (249).

After several years in Patusan, a scoundrel named Gentleman Brown stumbles into area with a crew of killers bent on the seizing control of the village (319). Jim and his troops, however, outnumber the pirates with over two hundred to one (341). Jim promises that Brown and his bandits will be allowed to live if they exit without a fight (347). Brown chooses to depart, but he leads his crew in a sneak attack on the Patusan rearguard on the way out (358-62). Dain Waris dies in the struggle (363). Claiming responsibility for Dain’s death, Jim presents himself to Doramin for judgment (373). The chieftain shoots Jim, who dies on the spot (374).

2.2. The Liminality of Conrad

While the summary of the story reads like a classic sea adventure with the addition of perhaps a gloomy ending, the novel itself contains layers of thought and depth of questions previously unplumbed by Romantic writers. These elements combine with traditional characters and themes to provide an insightful, complicated story of irresolution. Specializing in the technique of mingling antagonistic ideas, many of Conrad's stories take place in a physical transition, a liminal zone, between terrains: *Lord Jim* is dividable into a sea-half and land-half. *Heart of Darkness*, also narrated by Charles Marlow, is contrasted between a two-masted sailing yawl on the Thames and the stocky river steamships in the Congo. The narrative of *Nostromo*, which came out four years after *Lord Jim*, jumps between a fictional South American mainland and a nearby island treasure trove. In *Lord Jim,* Conrad pays special attention to where the mouth of a river transitions into the ocean, called an estuary (128). Like these transitional zones, Conrad sees everything as a function of two distinct but not unmixable worlds, describing his harmony of conflicting ideologies as "the incomprehensible alliance of irreconcilable antagonisms" (Symondson 2017). We indeed find this tension across his oeuvre, but his own personal life is a fascinating case study in liminality and a background that adds richness to the understanding of *Lord Jim*.

Joseph Conrad was born to Polish parents in modern-day Ukraine in 1857, but he spent the majority of his life in colonial and post-colonial England. With Britain's history of imperialism and Poland's struggle for emancipation, Conrad grew up amidst two separate cultures (Jasanoff 2017, 17). His personal life had two zones as well: he was influenced first by the Romanticism of his "romantic" father (25), and then, after being orphaned at the age of eleven, the realism of his pragmatic uncle (22).

As a boy growing up in the 1860s, Conrad discovered sea literature in the period when the tradition of sail, unbroken for thousands of years, was reaching its peak: a time when "sailing ships had never been so fast, so glamorous, or so popular" (95). Over the course of his life, however, he would witness a shocking transition to the modern world, living to see not only the fall of sail, but also the rise of steamships, automobiles, and airplanes (Williams 2013, 28). The world around Conrad became modern very quickly: he released his first sea novel the same year x-rays were discovered (*Almayer's Folly* in 1895). For this reason, Conrad's maritime citizenship does not lend itself to a single era: although he was raised in the craft of traditional sail, he "does not belong to the age of global sail, but rather to the moment of the maritime world's tumultuous transition into the twentieth century" (Perko 2017, 419). The many distinctions between the two periods would settle into his subconscious and anticipate the day of their resurrection in his writing. Nothing in the world could be more natural to Conrad than bringing contrasting systems together, for his life experience made such dualities cohabitate. Time would fail to describe the many ways that Conrad's life is a constant series of themed pairs, of conflicting ideas and ideals, but a few choice examples are given below.

Of course, we see no better duality than the division of his life: his two primary definitions are "Józef Korzeniowski, the sailor," before choosing his English pen name, "and Joseph Conrad, the writer" (Lowry 2018). Near the end of his twenty-year nautical career, the lack of seagoing work in sail inspired his jump to steam, and this transition eventually "turned him from a sailor into a writer" (Jasanoff 2017, 114). He knew both the respective technologies and honors linked to sail and steam, and he writes them both into *Lord Jim*. His many years on the ocean further aided his notion of contrasting but parallel images: ship and sea, sea and land, sea and river, high and low tide, and landfall and departure. Even the pronunciation of "Conrad" is a virtual homonym for the word “contrast,” perhaps one reason he chose it for his pen name. Conrad certainly makes a self-description that parallels this idea, writing, “*Homo duplex* has in my case more than one meaning” (Davies 1986, Vol. 2). He is a cross-ideological surfactant, swirling incompatible ideas together: Romanticism and Science, free Poland and imperial England, a loving heart and a lurking darkness. Once you understand Conrad’s life of contrast, the futility of pigeonholing him to a single genre or even era becomes clearly futile. His biographically personal and temporally positional dualities aid him in weaving a complex tapestries of ideas into his works because Conrad himself was a liminal zone, a seagoing estuary where contrasting ideas swirled together into a single indissoluble corpus. From his youth, he had two sets of values: Romantic “idealism and [modern] skepticism locked in familiar tension” (Seeley 1992, 496). It is because of Conrad’s dual-citizenship between eras and cultures that he can mix the oil and water of Modernism and Romance into a unified work, and in *Lord Jim* we get his duality with both barrels.

2.3. A Modernist Novel

If Jim is “an unself-conscious romantic who wanders into that most exotic locale, a modernist novel” (Seeley 1992, 496), how does this modernity play out in a volume whose very subtitle is “A Romance”?[3] In short, the modernity of the novel is displayed in three ways: the tangential investigations into morality made by the narrator, the narrative technique that Conrad employs, and finally, the inherent difficulty in accepting the reliability of the narrator and his tale.

The questions raised by the narrator—such as what it means to exist (Conrad 1900, 191), considerations of the impenetrability of other humans (203), and studies in the futility of human communication (272)—are all modern ideas. Whereas classical sea writers "headed away from realism towards romance" (Williams 2013, x), Conrad embraced these themes as two halves of the same investigation. He wove realism and romance together by using traditional backgrounds to ask modernist questions, and this is part of what makes *Lord Jim* one of the first modernist novels. It is such a stark contrast from previous Romantic narratives that Marlow feels the need to remind readers that, no matter how anti-formulaic the story might seem to be in its format and narrative technique, it is still "a love story [he is] telling" (Conrad 1900, 264).

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[3] While the original title is *Lord Jim: A Romance* (see Early 2019 in the bibliography), the subtitle is markedly absent in most modern editions.

The narrative technique in *Lord Jim* is fascinating, especially given its contrast to its contemporary works. The novel contains a narrator within the narration, and this "creation of an intermediate narrator…anticipates the narrative technique of modernist novels" (Al-Haj 2014, 213). Not only that, the story's relationship to time is very untraditional: typically, Romantic novels were completely chronological,[4] but in the case of *Lord Jim*, Marlow moves back and forth in time without pause or apology, indiscriminately weaving divergent time periods like so many threads. This technique echoes the non-linear experience of time aboard a ship and was likely developed during Conrad's sea career (Jasanoff 2017, 147).

Marlow's involvement in the story also emblemizes the modern archetype of the unreliable narrator: even though Marlow relays the lion's share of the story, there is little reason to trust him. No matter how faithful to the truth he might wish to be (and we have no way of knowing his intentions), he spins a sea yarn with threads stolen from others, in hearsay and multiple languages, spanning many years. He receives the story's details from personal involvement, interviews with Jim, rumors, myths, and countless sources of gossip and then relays it to us with full details of dialogue and descriptions of visible emotion. It becomes very difficult for the reader to accept not only the polyphony of ideals, but also the reliability of multiple voices. The answer to whom we can trust of the many sources for the narration never becomes clear; indeed, until the end, “the reader can choose whose voice (s)he (sic) wants to listen to” (Tourchon 2008, 87). Conrad, intimate with countless “tall tales,” dubious sea stories, after a 20-year naval career, places the dependability of the narrator in question with this skillful modern technique.

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[4] Consider the linear narrative of *Robinson Crusoe* for example.

True to Conrad’s liminality, however, *Lord Jim* is not solely a modernist text. Wary of the common pitfall of forcing Conrad’s work into a specific genre or category (“…those who embrace its literariness usually tend to minimize the subtitle…or replace it with others—modernist, writerly, self-reflexive” (Seeley 1992, 496)), I will discuss ways in which the novel is also a romance, starting with context from the era of sail and the values Conrad associated with this time period.

3. Dreamers: The Age of Sail

Although Conrad did write partially from a modern, skeptical position, his works are stamped with a love for sail and its corresponding romance. Indeed, he proudly calls himself a "man of masts and sails" (1906, 74). Consider his poetic, first-person description of one of the first ships he traveled on: she "was my cradle in those years…with a spread of two enormous sails resembling the pointed wings on a sea-bird's slender body, and herself, like a bird indeed, skimming rather than sailing the seas" (164). Conrad's lyrical romanticization of sail links him in an unbroken line to the earliest pieces of literature. Compare, for instance, Conrad's words with this excerpt from *The Odyssey:*

> High o'er the roaring waves the spreading sails
> Bow the tall mast, and swell before the gales;
> The crooked keel the parting surge divides,
> And to the stern retreating roll the tides (Homer, 38).

A poetic, idealistic ship fits solidly in both works despite the 2,700 years between them (Rieu 2003, xi) because the technology is the same: both main characters interact with the sea under sail. If Cohen's suggestion that the sea novel emerged as a genre with *Robinson Crusoe* is accurate, then the genre owes a tremendous debt to the sea journey models passed down through the ages: *The Odyssey*, like *Crusoe,* like Conrad's works, is brimming with adventure, drama, and, of course, Romance. Conrad links himself to this naval literary heritage by peppering his writing with Homeric references and mythological allusions (1904, 9-10, 337), even specifically wishing for his own “Odyssey” with a capital O (1906, 162). Conrad was inextricably linked to the ancients and their values through the heritage of sail, and he recognized this fact: Marlow considers “men of old who, centuries ago, went that road in ships that sailed no better” (1902, 9), and Conrad himself calls the sailships of his time the lineal descendants of ancient vessels and the ancient sailors the direct ancestors of the sailors in his day (1906, 75). Assuming a common language, Jason and his Argonaut sailors, supposedly the first to harness the wind through sail (Flaccus 1928), could compare nautical notes with Conrad despite thousands of years of separation because they shared the common values and experience of sail.

In Conrad’s early days the sailor embodied “a prestigious, almost mythological, cultural status, lauded for his application of practical skill and intelligence in service of exploring uncharted territories” (Perko 2017, 419). In the stories Conrad read as a boy, the sailor used to depart on the wide ocean with a bold death the only certainty of his daring exploratory life (1900, 13). Before Marlow takes over as narrator in *Lord Jim*, Conrad himself describes this type of mythical dreamer-adventurer in poetic terms, saying the sailor’s mysterious existence was full of “hopes, dangers, [and] enterprises” (13).

Conrad, whose career had a similar trajectory to Jim’s, had a romantic streak himself and sometimes yearned for the old ways. As the longest running transcontinental travel technology in recorded human history (and a widespread means of transnational commerce, exploration, and war), the sail ship was an obvious metaphor to Conrad of heritage values (1900, 46). The romance of sail and the traditional values associated with it were a large inspiration to how Conrad considered certain characters who represented the old way, the ones who put the “sail” in sailors. He identified the common experience of sail with a set of common heritage values, what he called “the sovereign power enthroned in a fixed standard of conduct” (46). Like the author who gave him voice, Jim too was raised under this standard of conduct.

3.1. Jim: A Romantic

While *Lord Jim* the novel is a complex study of competing ethical systems, Jim the character fully belongs to the golden age of sail. The disaster that occurs when he attempts to fit into the world of steamships, the world that he does not belong to (71), does not rob him of his identification with sail: after his fateful leap, sailing is his refuge (170).

Evelyn Chan's analysis of *Lord Jim* states that in "many ways, the novel actively invites readings of Jim as an excessively romantic character" (2017, 201). This is a remarkable understatement. Jim is beyond just a romantic, emotional character "who falls from grace" (Panichas 2000, 10): the word "romantic" and its variants are used 24 times throughout *Lord Jim*—it thus clearly points to a standout theme. Conrad clarifies the meaning behind this redundancy by describing Jim's motivating force as "a romantic conscience" (1900, 243). This is a piercing clue about Jim's character. The purpose of this description is not simply to portray Jim as emotional, but to demonstrate that his entire moral system is wrapped up in the word "romantic." Conrad knew that the word had many associations, and he used them skillfully: to "his audience, 'romance' suggested the exploits of an exemplary protagonist—who, after heroic difficulty, reaps enviable and predictable rewards" (Seeley 1992, 496). Indeed, Jim does accomplish all this. However, he lives a troubled life after the *Patna* episode because he is unable to rationalize his romantic conscience with his own actions in the modern world.

Jim is a complicated case, but he can be understood by two separate examinations: namely, through the consideration of the polysemantic phrase "one of us," and through Conrad's unceasing succession of religious associations to Jim.

3.1.1. Religious Themes

Since Marlow labels Jim as “an individual in the forefront of his kind” (Conrad 1900, 82), the question of what his type is must be answered in order to inform the moral system he represents. The title character and the narrator wrestle separately with the idea of Jim’s leap, and both try to understand the act in their two very different value systems. Marlow’s half of the discussion will be investigated later, but Jim evidently stands for all the men and women “whose very existence is based upon honest faith” (40). With this lens, the unending religious references throughout the novel—nearly always tied to Jim—begin to fall into place to inform a crucial part of his character.

Jim is raised in a rural country setting under the tutelage of his traditional parson father (7) who is not shy about bestowing an understanding of conventional ethics to his son, advising Jim that “virtue is one all over the world, and there is only one faith, one conceivable conduct of life, one manner of dying” (304). Jim is strongly influenced by this formative period under his father’s instruction, considering the paterfamilias to be “about the finest man...since the beginning of the world” (70).

Conrad himself was no stranger to the traditional religious system indivisible from the character of Jim. Although in adulthood Conrad became “a passionate moralist, a philosophical writer whose primary subject is the individual and his relationship to the human community” (Oates 1991), he too was raised under the tutelage of a devoted, religious father (Jasanoff 2017, 28). This is an important background because, as Marlow says, man is “rooted to the land from which he draws his faith” (197), a statement no less true for Conrad than it is for Jim. This religious background informs Conrad’s use of biblical allusions all across his oeuvre. In *Lord*

Jim, he divides the technologies of sail and steam with an anagogical allusion: the pilgrims traveling on the *Patna* clamber aboard with the “hope of paradise” (14). The ship’s second engineer contrasts this by saying hell will be no new experience after his days in the steamship’s superheated hold (“he did not mind how much he sinned, because these last three days he had passed through a fine course of training for the place where the bad boys go when they die” (21)). Although Conrad equates a steamer to hell in another place (in which he describes “The tugs, smoking like the pit of perdition” (42), both “pit” and “perdition” being synonyms for hell), he does not complete the themed pair by saying that if steam is hell, then sail is paradise. Jim, the romantic does, however, dream of heaven (262). The Conradian narrator, speaking before Marlow takes over, directly associates steam workers with the devil (13). The rest of the book contains a staggering amount of references to religion, repeating biblical themes of angels, demons, heaven, hell, God or god, and the devil, a combined total of 119 times. With the inclusion of certain foundational theological concepts such as “sin,” “soul,” and “redemption,” this number increases by another fifty percent.

On the other hand, the novel not only contains elements of general religion, but a case can be made that Jim is a type of Christ. Jim lays down his life willingly in the end like Jesus, and Jim has his own Christ-like “why have you forsaken me” moment (Matthew 27:46) when “his very Maker [seemed] to abandon a sinner to his own devices” (Conrad 1900, 85). Jim receives the title of “Lord,” which Christ was called often in *The New Testament* (“Kurios” 2019). Within the novel itself, God is called “Lord” twice (Conrad 1900, 144). Both times notably occur on the page following Marlow’s pronouncement of “It’s all over” (143) after Jim’s trial, echoing Christ’s “It is finished” during the crucifixion (John 19:30).

The biblical parallel continues to the point of downright plagiarism: *Lord Jim*’s “My last words…shall be few" idea is lifted from the *Book of Ecclesiastes* (Lindskog 2015), another clever intertext by Conrad. *Ecclesiastes* investigates how to bring meaning to one's life, a central idea to Jim's life for several years following the jump before he finds an answer in Patusan (Conrad 1900, 188). Jeffrey Meyers, a biographer of the Polish-English sea author, finds a further biblical parallel in *Lord Jim* to humanity's original sin, suggesting that Conrad wishes to make the phrase "one of us," refer to "Genesis 3:22, in which God says to the angels after Adam has eaten the forbidden fruit: 'Behold, the man is become as *one of us*, to know good and evil'" (emphasis added) (2007). The implication is that after the jump, Jim now sees both good and evil and he sees them in himself. Because of this, he seeks absolution in a way that parallels the events of his transgression.

Both of Jim's P-locations, *Patna* and Patusan, are filled with indigenous locals. In the first location, Jim deserts them "on the brink of annihilation" (85) with the belief that their fate is inevitably death. In the second, he places them under his protection—a mirrored act meant to redeem his *Patna* mistake. Despite Jim's resolution that the people under his care will never be harmed again (97), he eventually fails. In a re-working of Marlow's poeticizing that when "your ship fails you, your whole world seems to fail you" (106), it is Jim who fails the greater institution and not the other way around. Jim accepts that he did jump once, but he craves to be able to tell himself he is not the *type of person* who generally jumps—and that his one disgraceful act does not define him. His second failure, the failure to protect his flock, is the reason he forfeits his life.

The concepts of sin and redemption are essential to understand the title character; for example, Jim is called "the sinner…" under the weight of his "romantic conscience" (296, 243). At the board of inquiry, the body convened to find the right and wrong, the good and evil, in the

Patna affair, one presiding member appears ready to "exhort [the multitude] earnestly to prayer and repentance" (140). In Jim's early conversations with Marlow, reading like a sinner at confession, the theme of repentance reverberates. The non-religious Marlow admits his futility to aid Jim in this way, declaring that he cannot give Jim the absolution he seeks (85).

Not the only famous sinner at sea, Jim can be compared with Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, who, like Jim, is defined by the commission of a senseless, thoughtless, even involuntary act.[5] The act, or at least the opprobrium of the act, plagues both characters in parallel ways: they are both publicly shamed, they both confess their sins and seek absolution, and they both have a period of wandering where they are plagued by the memory of their shameful deeds. Just as the Mariner wears the carcass of the albatross about his neck as punishment for his crime, one character suggests that Jim should be banished to a remote island where the sun would scald and he would be tormented by "the screams of sea-birds in his ears" (148). The difference in the characters is that while the Mariner wanders for the rest of his days, Jim does receive redemption. This is illuminated by an intertextual analysis with another romantic work. *Romeo and Juliet*, which Jim possesses in his complete collection of Shakespeare and brings with him everywhere (211), is full of religious references as well. Even though Marlow thinks there is "no time for Shakespearian talk" (211), the elements of romantic love, the tragic death at the end, and the many references to sin in both works make for a compelling parallel; besides, the reading of this heritage play gives a picture of the traditional person Jim is: he calls Shakespeare's collection the "best thing to cheer up a fellow" (211). Even though Shakespeare's tale of lovers is traditionally associated with romance, it ends tragically; *Lord Jim,* on the other hand, despite its tragic ending, remains "A Romance." The things that separate these stories into their respective, counterintuitive categories are the differing motivations of the characters: the co-protagonists in *Romeo and Juliet* seek each other's love, but they are deprived of it—a tragedy. Even though Jim and Jewel are separated by his death, the death alone does not make this a tragedy. Unfortunately for Jewel, Jim's main motivation is not the pursuit of love, but of redemption.

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[5] If Jim is to be believed, the jump from the Patna was involuntary and only "happened somehow" (97); we have no such insight into the reasoning or motivation behind the Mariner's killing of the albatross.

The novel ends as a romance then because by his death, Jim is absolved. His sacrifice in Patusan is the fulfillment, the redemption, the opportunity that he sought "to get it all back again" (160). This is why, before he falls dead, he looks to the right and left and gives all the faces in the crowd "a proud and unflinching glance" (374). Thus, Jim dies the way he wanted to live, "as unflinching as a hero in a book" (7). Surprisingly, the narrator, who has very unkind words for many characters throughout, has very little criticism for Jim: whatever can be said about the youth, he sincerely strives to live according to his beliefs—strong as they are. Before his death, Jim wants to look at his reflection in the mirror of the sea, study his own soul, and know for a fact that he is not the type of person who jumps. The Patusan experiences give him this ammunition: he redeems himself once and for all, dying with the knowledge that, although he failed in life, he still holds himself to his traditional standard in death.

3.1.2. "One of Us"

While it is true that religion is a huge part of understanding the title character, the constant usage of "one of us" in reference to Jim begs investigation and discussion. While this is certainly not the first time a discussion has been made on this subject, a brief discussion here will not only illuminate Jim's character more fully but will also approach the phrase from an apparently previously-unconsidered angle. Marlow's great struggle to conform Jim to his own understanding—the “one of us” label—is remarkably frequent, so frequent, in fact, that the overuse gives the impression that Marlow wishes to force a round Jim into a square hole. Yet something that gives greater insight into Jim’s character than the “one of us” leitmotif is the constant description of Jim’s near-complete isolation from his surroundings and successive groups of people.

An unstudied approach could attribute Jim’s sequestration to his shameful jump from the *Patna*, but his tendency towards voluntary social hermitage predates this event: starting in boyhood, Jim saw himself as “a lonely castaway” (7), and “he brooded apart” from the group (9), knowing that “he was different” (22). His seclusion from groups is described many more times.[6] It is not the other characters who impose this isolation on Jim—he chooses it himself because he is superior to those around him, at least in his own eyes (22). The lofty title of “Lord” (or Tuan in the local dialect) fits his superiority: he rarely notices other people, living in his own imagination. Fueled by the successes of imaginary feats, in his daydreams, he is “always an example of devotion to duty” (7).

When the four officers of the Patna arrive in port to make their official statement, Marlow observes Jim turn his back on the others (38). Describing the steam-workers, Marlow says, “[Jim] was not one of them; he was altogether of another sort” (71) and in another place, the “quality of these men did not matter; he rubbed shoulders with them, but they could not touch him; he shared the air they breathed, but he was different” (22). The final divorce from Jim and the world of steam is Marlow’s admission that “there was nothing in common between him and these men...Nothing whatever" (91). Jim stands apart; they are steamers, he is a dreamer.

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[6] As often as “one of us” crops up—14 times—“alone” is used 65 times. In other passages, Jim is “a wayfarer lost in a wilderness” (Conrad 1900, 30), “a lost youngster, one in a million” (82), and described as having “remained apart” (85). Some sailors identify Jim as an outsider, reductively labeling him a “sulky brute” (73). Often, Jim “wandered on the quays all by himself” (73). Conrad also uses a three and one motif throughout to exemplify the distinction between the “them” from the “us” of “one of us.” In the lifeboat, Jim stays as far away as possible from the three officers at the other end (107). At the inquiry, three magistrates sit opposite the solitary defendant (27).

This is what makes Jim an ethical anachronism—in the first half of the novel he lives within the modern system from time to time, but rarely as a willing participant. Just as the captain of Jim's training ship expresses "too late, youngster" when Jim fails to join a rescue party in time, Jim is the "too-late-youngster," born at a time when his sensibilities and honor do not fit. That is how Conrad frames him the entire story: the clash of traditional values with modernity. His troubles begin when his traditional morals meet the modern world, skillfully represented by the steamship *Patna.* In fact, of the two times Jim fails spectacularly in the novel—the jump from the *Patna* and the decision to let Gentleman Brown escape which results in the death of Jim's friend—both events arise from Jim's clashes with the world that exists beyond a traditional life. On the other hand, Jim thrives in a traditional world: in the idyllic, non-modern Patusan, which Conrad describes with the word "tradition" twice in its introductory paragraph (216), Jim is "in complete accord with his surroundings" (157).

The modern system cannot understand the protagonist, although the characters belonging to it try their best. In perhaps the most dualistic scene of the entire book, Stein, the scientist, carefully considers Jim's exact position amongst the various phyla of the animal kingdom. He finally pronounces that Jim's classification is "romantic" (188). Marlow describes the aftereffects: "He had diagnosed the case for me, and at first I was quite startled to find how simple it was; and indeed our conference resembled so much a medical consultation—Stein, of learned aspect, sitting in an arm-chair before his desk; I, anxious, in another, facing him, but a little to one side—that it seemed natural to ask—'What's good for it?'" The scientist answers, in very Germanic grammar, "One thing alone can us from being ourselves cure!" (188). Jim's personality is considered here a condition, and the implied cure prescribed by the doctor, is death. Marlow counters with a question that turns out to be a main investigative frame of *Lord Jim*: “the question is not how to get cured, but how to live” (188). Of course, in the end, Stein’s prescription is half-correct: Jim’s death does not cure his romance: it fulfills it. Jim lives and dies as a romantic. One could say that Jim’s death was avoidable, but to Jim it was the most necessary thing in his life.

This is why he confounds Marlow’s pronouncement: Jim would be the last person to identify himself as “one of us.” If the boy did belong to the modern system, Marlow would not have to puzzle over Jim’s every move. However, Jim’s sensibilities belong to an older system, and that is why he remains impenetrable to Marlow even to the last pages of the novel. Jim is not one of us. He is different; he is moved by an old system of beliefs, one that Marlow cannot hope to understand. However, Jim’s embodiment of the old ways—the traditional values of religion and sail that kept him from being “one of us”—were living in a world of crisis. To both Jim and Conrad, a life at sea *was* a life under sail (1906, 47-8), but their craft was in decline. In the latter half of the 1800s, from “a sailor’s point of view,” the fall of sail was inevitably linked to the foreboding “rise of steam” (Jasanoff 2017, 106).

4. Steamers: The Rise of Steam

In Conrad's day, mariners lamented the depletion of sailing opportunities while steamships loomed like phantoms[7] on the horizon; in the span of human history, however, the engine-powered vessels were a recent development.

4.1. A Brief History

The steam engine had existed as a concept for nearly eighteen hundred years before Conrad, but it was applied to oceanic vessels in a practical way only during the 19th Century (Zink 1996, 24): the first working commercial steam-powered watercraft[8] was built by Scottish engineer William Symington in 1801 (Burn 1854, 130). A short time later in 1807, an American inventor named Robert Fulton applied steam to passenger transport for the 145-mile (233-kilometer) journey between New York City and the city of Albany, New York. With the first deep-sea steam voyage in 1815, the upstart technology earned consideration as a potentially viable new method of oceanic mobility (132-3). However, the space required to carry fuel reduced the amount of paid cargo that a ship could carry. Additionally, harnessing wind was free, but running the fire for the boiler came with a high fuel cost, preventing steamships from competing with sail vessels on longer sea routes (Jasanoff 2017, 122). Merchants could not justify the cost at first (Jarvis 1993, 158-9), but when the Atlantic was crossed entirely using steam for the first time in 1838 (Irving 1891, 5), its meteoric rise seemed inevitable.

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[7] Marlow calls the *Patna* a phantom (the two words even sound alike) (Conrad 1900, 16), likens steamships to ghosts twice in three pages (146, 149), and describes another steamer as moving "dead slow" (319). The constant association with phantasms portrays steam as a literal zeitgeist (ghost of the times), or, in Conrad's words, the "spirit of the epoch" (1906, 194).

[8] This was the canal tugboat *Charlotte Dundas* (Burn 1854, 130).

The promise steam brought of faster passages and a higher likelihood of delivery enticed merchants; they became increasingly willing to sacrifice cargo space to provide for fuel requirements. Throughout the 1800s, steam steadily rose for use across all the seafaring domains that had incontestably belonged for millennia to sail: intercontinental travel, trade, exploration, and war. Despite its slow start, steam quickly gained speed: “By the 1870s, steamships had never been so profitable, so comfortable, or so numerous” (Jasanoff 2017, 96). It would not be long before “steamships carried more international cargo than sail” (Woodman 2009, 319). The new oceanic technology quickly made a name in commercial passenger transport as well. Traditionally, the passage from Europe to North America took at least five weeks; now it could be accomplished in less than a fortnight (Cohn 2005, 469). Not only that, the fact that steamships were not bound by the physical limitations a traditional ship had in its dependence on harnessing the wind meant that steamships could be made “substantially larger than sailing ships” (470). This increased passenger comfort and made for a more marketable voyage (470). Even still, there were holdouts in sail, and it took “more than 50 years from the 1850s into the early twentieth century-for steam to replace sail on every ocean route” (470). In 1852, the year after Victor Hugo’s *Toilers of the Sea* came out, the book that would start Conrad’s lifetime love for the ocean (Jasanoff 2017, 50), just one percent of immigrants traveling from Europe to the United States arrived by steam power (Cohn 2005, 472). Thirty-four years later, when Conrad was twenty-nine and still a few years away from ending his seagoing career, every single immigrant to New York City arrived via steam (472).

If an increasing acceptance by the public was good for steam, the same shift had disastrous effects for career seamen such as Conrad and Jim: “[b]ecause steamships had so much more cargo capacity than sail, the total *number* of…ships was falling—by 30 percent, to be precise” (original emphasis) (Jasanoff 2017, 106) over the course of Conrad's career. In the last decade of the 19th century, "the number of those employed on sailing ships rather than [steamships] suffered a fifty-eight percent decrease" (Perko 2017, 420). Due to the loss of billets and the decreasing requirement for actual sailing experience, sail ships that had been necessary training grounds for Conrad and Jim were disappearing; this made good sailors proved hard to come by (Jasanoff 2017, 101). Very soon, "large numbers of unskilled and poorly assessed sailors flooded the labour (sic) market" (Perko 2017, 419).

Conrad did not hide how he felt about this decline of his beloved sail ships. In the first pages of *Lord Jim,* the author associates traditional, provincial imagery with the idea of sail, writing that "many commanders of fine merchant-ships (sail ships, to be precise)[9] come from these abodes of piety and peace…[indeed,] the rectory gleamed with a warm tint in the midst of grass-plots, flower-beds, and fir-trees" (Conrad 1900, 6). Contrasting this with the first description of steam in the novel reveals a very different portrayal: "The *Patna* was a local steamer as old as the hills, lean like a greyhound, and eaten up with rust worse than a condemned water-tank" (14). The theological association of the word "condemned" is especially interesting in its connection to the steamship aboard which Jim commits the greatest sin of his life before redemption. Later in the novel Conrad describes the *Patna* in even stronger language, relaying how "short metallic clangs bursting out suddenly in the depths of the ship, the harsh scrape of a shovel, the violent slam of a furnace-door, exploded brutally, as if the men handling the mysterious things below had their breasts full of fierce anger" (18). One of Conrad's friendly rivals (Davies 1986, Vol. 5), another sailor-author raised in sail who made the begrudging transition to steam (Smith 1985, 23, 29) and who would be the eventual Poet Laureate of England, John Masefield summed up the general feeling amongst seamen of Conrad's era regarding the competing sea technologies:

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[9] See Conrad 1906, 83.

Stately Spanish galleon coming from the Isthmus,
Dipping through the Tropics by the palm-green shores,
With a cargo of diamonds,
Emeralds, amethysts,
Topazes, and cinnamon, and gold moidores.

Dirty British coaster with a salt-caked smoke stack,
Butting through the Channel in the mad March days,
With a cargo of Tyne coal,
Road-rails, pig-lead,
Firewood, iron-ware, and cheap tin trays (Masefield 1903).

The first five lines drip with romance and poetic description: the galleon was a magnificent, multi-masted craft that held all the sentiment and grace of a golden age of sail. Its contrast, the modern steamer, was a graceless, detestable, workaday brute. The obvious message, that steam lacked the inherent romance and poetry of sail, was the zeitgeist under which Conrad wrote *Lord Jim.* Unfortunately for the defenders of sail, its days were numbered. By the time Conrad started writing stories influenced by his early career in sail, he was portraying a "profession in crisis" (Perko 2017, 419). Sailors trained in the traditional ways feared they would have to seek work in steam and stop going to sea entirely, for to them, "going on a steamship wasn't truly going to sea" (Jasanoff 2017, 108).

Late in his seagoing career, Conrad clung to the last routes available on sail ships, but, due to increasingly fewer positions, he eventually compromised and signed up aboard steamships. Inspired at first by adventures of heroic mariners under sail, he found himself scrambling for positions far beneath his rank, skill, and pay scale aboard "little black puffer(s) without charm" (1904, 9). He realized "bitterly that he had spent 20 years mastering an art that was no longer needed" (Oates 1991). Conrad displayed his discontent with steam—frequently disparaging any technology remotely associated with modernity (1900, 7)—because it was steam that usurped his dreams. Therefore, he vilified it in writing. In order to distance himself from the technology he disparaged, Conrad would later downplay any personal experience with steam, asserting, "I never went into steam—not really. If I only live long enough I shall become…the only seaman of the dark ages who had never gone into steam—not really" (Conrad 1921, 197).

Despite his protestations, however, he did work in steam; his personal experiences in possession of a steamship captaincy on the Congo River inspired *Heart of Darkness,* which, as it turns out, is more journalism than fiction (Jasanoff 2017, 187). This voyage may have been untrue to his personal convictions about steam in hindsight, but it was a piercing view for Conrad of the atrocities related to man's wielding of technology, further strengthening his association of steam with negative, modern ideas (201). The Congo voyage was not Conrad's only foray into steam either: he became the first mate of the steamship *Vidar* in 1887. One of its previous first mates named Augustine Williams, the young son of a parson, had jumped from a ship in identical circumstances to Jim several years earlier (123). Not only did Conrad in fact go into steam, he likely became acquainted with the details of the story that inspired *Lord Jim* from the gossip he was privileged to aboard this steamship that he worked on.[10]

By the time *Lord Jim* came out, "steamship technology had all but rendered sail an obsolete mode of commercial transport" (Perko 2017, 419). During the same period, "maritime authors were writing about the receding age of sail in the sad but fond tones you might use to recall a beloved grandmother" (Jasanoff 2017, 106). Conrad lamented the way that the artless technology of steam broke the connection between the sailor and the water and the corresponding decline in naval competency that went with it (1906, 30): "The taking of a modern steamship about the world…has not the same quality of intimacy with nature," Conrad wrote, "has no great moments of self-confidence," and "has not the artistic quality of a single-handed struggle with something much greater than yourself" (47-8). In Conrad's oeuvre, men of sail are often portrayed as impenetrable and difficult to understand, but they nearly always live by a code: they are, for the most part, earnest, hardworking, genuine toilers; on the other side, steam-workers are universally rotten, eaten completely hollow by moral "decay" (1900, 13). Every steam-man in *Lord Jim* is shown to be an obnoxious, self-centered, cowardly malingerer. Conrad did not portray everyone who sails as a saint, but no one who works steam in his fiction is worth much because to him, "[s]ailing ships represented a distinctive…sense of ethics. Their disappearance marked a moment of profound human, social, and moral significance" (Jasanoff 2017, 190).

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[10] Conrad admitted that his inspiration often came from true events and personal experiences. Consider the Author's Note to *Lord Jim* (1900, 2) and the Author's Note to *Nostromo* (1904, XXIV).

The fear of the death of the old and the dominance of the new by Conrad and his contemporary sailor-authors was not unfounded: in the late 1870s, "steam finally overtook sail to become the dominant form of commercial sea transport," (Perko 2017, 419), and towards "the end of the nineteenth century, the rise of the steamship had effectively disrupted nearly every aspect" of oceanic mobility (419). The movement from old to new marked an important shift in Conrad's own life: "The transition from sail to steam…marked his turn from youth to adulthood. It turned him from a sailor into a writer" (Jasanoff 2017, 114). Starting as a dreamer, he became a steam-sailor, and that was when he realized it was time to leave the ocean behind. Steam pried

Conrad from the ocean, but this experience was not unique to him. Going on the water with the sun on your skin and the salt on your lips used to be a common experience to sailors, but that familiarity was all but lost to the ages. In a prescient vision, Conrad describes the sailors of the future who will continue in their exile from a true ocean experience: they will glance at prints "of our nearly defunct sailing-ships with a cold, inquisitive and indifferent eye. Our ships of yesterday will stand to their ships as no lineal ancestors, but as mere predecessors whose course will have been run and the race extinct. Whatever craft he handles with skill, the seaman of the future shall be, not our descendant, but only our successor" (Conrad 1906, 76). The heritage of sail that had connected mariners throughout and across the millennia, had been broken by steam. To Conrad, this rise of steam and its corresponding modernity (30) could be associated with several main ideas: the illumination of the world map, the effect on the sailor, and the science of materialism.

4.2. The Shrinking World

We now think of the globe as one continuous, open place, but the maps of the 18th and 19th centuries had many sections that were scantily described or even sometimes completely unfilled. To the authors in the generations before Conrad, the ocean was bigger than our current universe because, contrasted with the contemporary ability to put a number to the universe's dimensions,[11] the limits of the oceans were unknown. Sea authors before Conrad used words like "divine" (Melville 1851, 320) and "all-powerful" (Brendan, 57) to describe it. For his part, in *Lord Jim*, Conrad calls it "eternal" (1900, 13). In Conrad's day, however, the "dark places of the sea" (13) were being discovered. The sailor-author maintained, however, that these dark places were most closely associated with workers of traditional sail (13). Far from a negative description, Conrad links buccaneers and dreamers to the dark places, painting the fringes of the map as mysterious in that there could be no telling what adventures the obscurity might hold. He romantically includes himself in this category of dreamer (1921, 197). Although seeing a map of the misty uncharted center of the African Continent as a boy partially inspired Conrad's later journey there (36), the world's vastness would soon be diminished by its full exploration, and the maps would reveal the "unsolved mysteries" of the dark places (36). The shift from a limitless sea and a world with a hazy horizon to an all-explored map was so slow that different people considered the ocean in vastly divergent ways at the same time. Marlow talks about the globe, "which to some seems so big and that others affect to consider as rather smaller than a mustard-seed" (1900, 151); while the mustard seed is generally used as a biblical metaphor for faith (Matthew 17:20), Marlow uses the image to represent a contemporary view of the modern, diminished world. Although steam likely did not directly cause the dimensioning of the ocean, Conrad used it as a metaphor for the new ways due to its rise near the climax of global oceanic exploration.

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[11] The distance between the earth and the farthest edge of the observable universe is 46 billion light years (Bars 2018, 27). While this is a massive number, the fact the distance is reducible to a quantity that the human brain can grasp contrasts strongly with the sea of the past, which was infinite in its absence of limits and dimensions.

In 1772, a hundred years before Conrad took to the water, the British Royal Society commissioned Captain James Cook to look for *Terra Australis* (although the name is similar, it was not the same as Australia, which was called New Holland at the time: people widely believed that an entire habitable continent was hiding at the bottom of the world, something like a new Europe or America), a mythical southern continent (Cameron-Ash 2018, 19-20). Cook's writing contains bold ideas about exploring the map's shadows, but even he hinted at an end to the discovery of the earth. He describes his goal in the first-person to go not only "farther than any other man has been before me, but as far as I think it possible for man to go" (Beaglehole 1956, 424). In one journey, lasting the three years from 1772 to 1775, Cook sailed around "the world in as high a latitude as possible, making great sweeps north and south, to ascertain finally the existence or non-existence of the large southern continent." He did not find it, but he did succeed in adding more than three thousand miles of coastline to global oceanic charts in only one his multiple exploratory journeys (Wharton 1893). Even though in 1887, just thirteen years before *Lord Jim*, the exhaustive *Jubilee Atlas* still held onto the idea of a habitable continent at the bottom of the world (Williams 2013, 15), it also included the looming question "of humankind's imminent conquest of the geographical unknown" (15). As people feared the unknowns that the *fin de siècle* might bring, "even more troubling was the prospect of *fin du globe*" (9), the dimensioning of the earth, where the world would be explored out. An American writing about a similar phenomenon in 1893 called it simply "the closing of the frontier" (9).

By the late 1800s, the map was becoming claustrophobic. Steamships, which made oceanic exploration easier and faster than ever, were part of a phenomenon the technology-obsessed turn of the century Futurists called the "earth shrunk by speed" (Marinetti 1913). By the time Conrad was exploring the Congo for himself in 1890, the map "had been filled in" (Williams 2013, 3), and as a consequence, there were no more oceans in the plural, only one single body of water divided into sections and names by mapmakers. With the illumination of the map's shadowy places, the adventure died. Dreamers like Jim had no place to go, just as Jim's Patusan, a previously unmapped location, was safe for him until the modern world swept into the traditional domain. Once steam defeated sail, the ocean as an adventure, as a destination, was no more. Conrad lamented this loss: "No more horizons as boundless as hope, no more twilights…in the hot quest for the Ever-undiscovered Country over the hill, across the stream, beyond the wave.

The hour was striking! No more! No more!" (1900, 301).

4.3. The Effect on the Sailor

Conrad attaches the idea of "lost honour" to Jim in the Author's Note (1900, 2). When Conrad, so inclined towards mystery and duality, gives a clue about what something is, one must take careful note of what the insightful gem could mean. Those two small words chosen by Conrad to sum up Jim's story exemplify a major idea of the novel: they imply the disappearance of something worthwhile in a new era. Indeed, "Conrad belonged to the last generation of seafarers who worked primarily on sailing ships, and as he navigated the changing labor market, he came to share with his peers the sense that sail and steam represented more than different technologies. They marked different ways of life" (Jasanoff 2017, 108). Sail was considered a connection with nature, something wild and deep. One author, writing under the same climate as Conrad, begged his readers to rediscover the disappearing adventurous side to human nature the year before *Lord Jim's* publication:

> Do you fear the force of the wind,
> The slash of the rain?
> Go face them and fight them,
> Be savage again (Garland 1899).

The poem captures traditional seagoing romance like sails catch wind: being moved by nature across nature is a wild experience. By contrast, "civilization...traveled by steamboat" (Jasanoff 2017, 250). This is not an optimistic statement. Conrad considered steam civilized, an adverse description in a place of wildness like the ocean. Think of the grotesque, obese, malingering captain and crew of the steamship from which Jim jumps to see how Conrad considered those who leeched their sea living from steam. Conrad's ideas of modernity are wrapped up in the words of another of his fellow British sea authors, William Morris, who wrote, "the leading passion of my life has been and is hatred of modern civilization" (Williams 2013, 3). Conrad lamented the loss of adventure and concurrent laxness of professional and ethical conduct that accompanied the new oceangoing technologies. That is why Lord Jim made such a splash in the naval community—to the traditionalists raised in sail, it showed exactly what they had been warning of: an inevitable diminishing of values in the seafaring community. In the last quarter of the 19th century, "parliamentary studies and ship owners noted a marked deterioration in 'skill [and] physical condition' as well as a disturbing increase in incidents of insubordination; they determined that 'the loss of life at sea was largely caused by poor seamanship'" (Perko 2017, 419). Conrad echoes this image of steam-workers, writing that they "shuddered at the thought of hard work, and led precariously easy lives...in all they said—in their actions, in their looks, in their persons—could be detected the soft spot, the place of decay" (1900, 13). For a specific example of this deterioration, consider the chief engineer aboard the *Patna*, a drunken outcast from sail who gravitates towards steam (22). He and his fellow lazy men of steam "did not belong to the world of heroic adventure" (22).

Whether Conrad meant that steam attracts lazy people or that it creates them is impossible to say (although Jim's foray into steam implies that even the best can become corrupted by the easy life it offers—a personal confession for Conrad's own experiences in steam perhaps), but what is apparent is that the ocean experienced from a steamship temporarily loses its sense of danger, seeming to be part of a safe world. On Jim's first steam voyage, he is "penetrated by the great certitude of unbounded safety" (17). The fact that steam makes the ocean feel safer is one of the main charges Conrad lays against it in his collection of essays, *The Mirror of the Sea*. Without the challenge of adventure, the seamen become decayed (13). Part of the reason for this was the disjointing of sailors from the sea: the heritage of sail ships and the experience of the water, consistent for millennia was now broken. No more were "sailors" sprayed with sea mist while standing at the helm. Now someone like the *Patna's* craven skipper, who as a steamer was "the incarnation of everything vile and base that lurks in the world we love," could roll out of bed, move through a covered passage, come on watch in his pajamas, and steer from a fully enclosed pilothouse (20): he could cross the entire ocean without seeing a drop of water, except for his heated shower and his finger bowl in the captain's mess. For the first time in history, the ocean could be experienced completely dry, not as a misty adventure, but as a waterless purgatory. Although antithetical to the world of Jim's origin, steam may or may not have been realistically responsible for the shift in values. However, the contrast against sail was so stark—with a dirty boiler and charcoal smoke against a gull-white mainsail—that steam as a picture of the modern system was obvious to sea writers of the time. To these traditionalists, a category that included at least part of Conrad's personality, this new experience of the water was equivalent to a shift in moral systems and the rise of a new way to understand the world.

4.4. Materialism

When the eponymous protagonist in *Lord Jim* leaps from the supposedly sinking *Patna*, he, together with the reader, lands in a critical examination of a seemingly anachronistic Romantic consideration of morality in a modern world, but the modern world has its own way of considering morality. This system is mainly represented by two characters throughout the book:

the pragmatic Marlow and the scientific Stein. In order to understand the Modernism period in literature, one must understand the widespread and revolutionary scientific approach that brought it about: Materialism. John West explains that as the "reigning philosophy of (nineteenth and) twentieth century science and culture, materialism decreed that everything—animals, human beings, moral beliefs, even reason itself—could be explained as the result of purely physical processes and properties…Darwin was crucial, because he offered a scientific framework that promised to explain morality and even reason as the product of purely natural processes" (1996). Materialism had no place for Jim's idealism, for the new approach was limited to what could be observed and quantified. This system of materialism was certainly known to Conrad; he even attached it to modernity, putting the words "godless," "materialist," and "victim of this faithless age" in the description of a single character (1904, 134). In another place he makes an even starker contrast between the old and new by dividing the warring periods by the labels "chivalry and materialism" (116). One character hints at an irrationality or insanity in Romanticism by discussing its opposite as "sane materialism" (150). During a conversation with Stein, Marlow finds it hard to believe in the existence of the traditional, religious Jim in light of the realists' "clashing," "material world" (1900, 191). On the other side, Stein is a convincing materialist. Take, for instance, the way he considers a dead butterfly: "Look! The beauty—but that is nothing—look at the accuracy, the harmony…This is Nature—the balance of colossal forces. Every star is so—and every blade of grass stands so—and the mighty Kosmos in perfect equilibrium produces—this" (184). The beauty of fact triumphs over the beauty of mystery, of Romance. Marlow also finds Stein's outlook respectable (184). This common belief in materialism between the two realists gives them difficulty in the quest to understand Jim. To them he is "hopelessly wrong-headed and crazy" (90) because his romance makes him focus on the wrong thing: in a word, human culpability. One later textbook clarifies the way Stein and Marlow felt about the subject: "[w]e must recognize that judgments about good and bad, moral and immoral, depend very much on who is doing the judging; there is no universal standard to appeal to…Man is no more responsible for becoming willful and committing a crime than the flower for becoming red and fragrant. In both instances the end products are predetermined by the nature of the protoplasm and the chance of circumstances" (Robertson 1981, 68). This resonates with Stein's diagnosis of Jim: the boy is Romantic; it is his nature.

Of course, Stein and Marlow are more concerned with what they can observe than with the value of Jim's emotions. Marlow constantly describes Jim from a materialist perspective: "[i]t is when we try to grapple with another man's intimate need that we perceive how incomprehensible, wavering, and misty are the beings that share with us the sight of the stars and the warmth of the sun" (Conrad 1900, 161). Indeed, "[n]ineteenth-century materialists depicted our thoughts as the irrational products of environment or heredity or brain chemistry. As a consequence, the intellectual classes became convinced that only the reality was material, and thus the only true explanations were reductive" (West 1996). Materialism is so fully occupied with the observable nature, its innovators developed methods to interpret humanity through appearance alone. Phrenology, at the height of its popularity in the Victorian era (though still researched to this day)[12] claims that personality traits can be determined simply through physiognomy; i.e., how a person looks (Whye 2002, 195-202). Marlow leans into this belief, ascribing value to physical descriptions of people throughout the text: for instance, he describes one stranger as "a dirty, little, *used-up* old man with *evil* eyes and a *weak* mouth...[who] *in defiance of common decency* wore his hair uncovered and falling in *wild* stringy locks about his wizened *grimy* face" (emphasis added) (Conrad 1900, 203). The real world also has tragic examples of physiognomy being used to stratify humanity: a phrenological classification system originally implemented by Belgian colonial authorities in the 1930s was used by Rwandan Hutus to identify Tutsis for genocide in 1994 (André 2018).

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[12] The Dutch foundation "Per Pulchritudinem in Pulchritudine" still carries on phrenological research. See http://anettemuller.nl/stichting-ppp/anette-muller/. Accessed June 2, 2019.

A case study for Marlow's materialist view within *Lord Jim* revolves around the theme of existence:[13] after all, a materialist would say, if all I know of other people is what I can see, how can I be sure they truly exist in the way that I exist? Marlow often ponders to what extent people continue after they pass from his sight, or whether they existed in the first place. Conrad sets off the debate with a question: "what is a novel if not a conviction of our fellow-man's existence strong enough to take upon itself a form of imagined life clearer than reality"? (1921). Rearranged, the query gives this idea: it is difficult to call our lives existence if a literary character becomes more real than actual humans. When Stein asks Marlow, "What is it that for you and me makes [Jim]—exist?" (1900, 191). Marlow confesses to the reader that in that moment "it was difficult to believe in Jim's existence" (191). Marlow repeats this notion later not about a person, but about Patusan, saying, it was "one of the lost, forgotten, unknown places of the earth; I had looked under its obscure surface; and I felt that when to-morrow I had left it for ever, it would slip out of existence" (288). However, the question of existence sometimes results in clarity for Marlow, who says in the first-person, Jim's "imperishable reality came to me with…an irresistible force! … 'Perhaps he is'" (192). With these last three words, Marlow answers a question he put forth to Stein earlier, whether Jim is romantic, but as a standalone it also responds to Jim's basic existence: perhaps he *is*, perhaps he *exists*. Marlow even has difficulty understanding his fellow realist Stein's existence, calling him a "shadow prowling amongst the graves of butterflies" (189). Jim, being the traditionalist that he is, never raises the question of whether he exists or not: this is a difficulty reserved only for the Materialists in the story, Marlow and Stein.

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[13] The narrator displays a preoccupation with this materialist theme by using variations of "exist" and "existence" over 40 times throughout *Lord Jim.*

4.4.1. Marlow

While Jim is the "youngest human being now in existence" (193), a description of innocence or naiveté, Marlow calls himself "the last of mankind" (287). In other words, Marlow considers himself a citizen of the advanced era. He acknowledges that, despite the "one of us" mantra, Jim looked at him as part of a separate system, in which Marlow "embodied [the] evil of life" (143). Marlow tries to be the amoral, scientific judge that his belief system demands: he pronounces Jim's deed not as morally wrong, but simply the breaking of a social contract with humanity ("The real significance of crime is in its being a breach of faith with the community of mankind" (140)) and when the plain-spoken French officer with whom Marlow discusses the *Patna* affair says the only thing that draws mankind from inborn cowardice is social pressure (130), Marlow's silent agreement is instructive: he too ascribes to the materialist belief departing from the universal truth and morality of religion (139). If Jim is a religious Romantic, then Marlow is the opposite: a modernist-materialist. Once a believer himself—Marlow says in the first person that Jim "believed where I had already ceased to doubt" (Conrad 1900, (135))—Marlow also considers how easily one's morals crash down when faced with reality (113). Marlow does not have the romantic inflexibility of Jim; that is, Marlow compromises his position when he feels it would help him in some way (39). Both Jim and Marlow discover that the world will allow you to compromise as much as you want, but the difference is Marlow continues doing it—Jim refuses. The elder of the two lives jaded and full of doubt, operating on the cynical notion that “nobody is good enough” (282). Perhaps this is why Marlow struggles to understand Jim. The youth proves with his sacrifice in the end that he actually *is* good enough, and this frustrates the veteran sea captain. He lashes out, “I only knew he was one of us. And what business had he to be romantic?” (198). Marlow shows his cynical view again by calling the pursuit of truth nothing more than mankind’s movement across a “blind way, driven by a dream of its greatness and its power upon the dark paths of excessive cruelty and of excessive devotion” (312). At the end, Marlow is disenfranchised: he announces his frustration with the limitations of materialism, saying, “there will be no message, unless such as each of us can interpret for himself from the language of facts, that are so often more enigmatic than the craftiest arrangement of words” (303). In another place he wails about his chosen worldview, mumbling a lament gloomily: “as if facts could explain anything” (28).

4.4.2. Stein

Where Marlow fails to understand Jim, Stein goes a step further in skepticism. He doubts Jim’s ability to align to high ideals, pronouncing the boy’s vision of morality “a dream” (188). Jim is not in Stein’s life yet when the inquiry convenes, but Jim’s description shows a violent meeting of two worlds that are like Stein’s and his: the clash between two value systems—when the inquiry is only interested in *fact* and not the *emotions* of the *Patna* episode—is described by Jim as hell (70). Stein, a man of fact and the only scientist in the story, is a direct contrast to Jim’s notions of religion. “Man is amazing, but he is not a masterpiece” (184), Stein says. This element is pointedly counter to the religious notion of *Imago Dei*—an element central to Judaism, Christianity, and Sufism of Islam—one that Jim likely received from his parson father. We find a further example of the stark contrast of moral systems between Jim and Stein in their mirrored personal experience. First there is Stein, who, having just killed three would-be assassins, encounters a rare entomological specimen. He describes his near-death encounter emotionlessly as he watches vitality fade from the third killer:

> 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...Flop! I got him! When I got up I shook like a leaf with excitement, and when I opened these beautiful wings and 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 (187).

It is not the bullets biting the air or the taking of three lives, but the capture of a butterfly that makes Stein weak with emotion. In the second encounter, a man attacks, and Marlow narrates that Jim

> was experiencing a feeling of unutterable relief, of vengeful elation. He held his shot, he says, deliberately. He held it for the tenth part of a second, for three strides of the man—an unconscionable time. He held it for the pleasure of saying to himself, That's a dead man! He was absolutely positive and certain. He let him come on because it did not matter. A dead man, anyhow. He noticed the dilated nostrils, the wide eyes, the intent, eager stillness of the face, and then he fired (267).

The story continues: after the ambush Jim turns to Jewel, and his "heart seemed suddenly to grow too big for his breast and choke him in the hollow of his throat" (269).

The parallels between the two accounts are remarkable (notably both related to the reader by Marlow): several men ambush the characters in each story, both protagonists pass through near-death entirely unmoved emotionally, and then, at the end, a little beauty cracks them open. The difference is in the details. In Stein's story, he shoots at four men, kills three, and misses one fortunate escapee; whereas, Jim kills one and, despite Marlow's bloodthirsty description of the event, Jim actually releases the remaining three alive. Stein treats the problem scientifically: people are shooting at me; thus, I will kill them all. Jim, the Romantic, shows mercy.

In the end, just as Marlow's confidence in science falters when he wonders if perhaps Jim found "a faith mightier than the laws of order and progress" (303), Stein is exhausted from his materialism, gesturing "sadly at his butterflies" and saying he is preparing to leave it all behind soon (374). Conrad again linked something he considered largely negative, in this case progress and its associated belief system materialism, to a negative view of steam: he wrote, "the soul of the world has gone mad. The modern steamship advances…as of the march of an inevitable future" (38). The characters within *Lord Jim* are not the only representatives of the changing value system. The casualty list from the clash between old and new included heritage naval traditions, moral values, and the perspective used to contemplate the grandeur of the world, but the greatest change came in the consideration of the ocean itself.

5. A View of the Sea: Two Oceans

For the majority of recorded human history, sea adventures have sparked human imaginations: consider the journeys of Noah, Odysseus, Jonah, Brendan, Crusoe, Captain Cook, Captain Ahab, Long John Silver, Marlow, Santiago, and tens of thousands of others. In *The Novel and the Sea*, impressive both in scope and detail, Cohen points out that our interest should not be only with the surface, but with the whole of the ocean (2012, 96); so must we study not only how we consider the ocean in this age, but also how literature has historically portrayed it. I placed the main discussion of the ocean at this position in the dissertation because the sea, as the thing that bridges Conrad's writing with the sea literature we see today, is the culmination of the entire dialogue. Unsurprisingly, the eras of Romanticism and Modernism consider the ocean in completely irreconcilable ways.

5.1. The Romantic Divinity of the Sea

Since stories of the sea "are nearly as old as writing itself" (Paine 2010, 207), and most of these stories include heroes of sail, one can expect to see a certain continuity in the traditional portrayal of the ocean. Due to water's ability to function as an unending source of symbolism (Williams 2013, 23), and given the background of traditional religious belief, it is no surprise that writers previously found gods in the water. The standout oceanic novel just prior to Conrad is of course *Moby-Dick*, and in the millennia between Homer and Melville, the ocean was considered almost exclusively using supernatural terms. In *The Odyssey,* the ocean is a force, a will—namely, a godlike character. Homer deifies the ocean in the person of the sea-god Poseidon, who constantly opposes Ulysses' purpose and strives against the hero: "the wide sea with all *his* billows raves!" (emphasis added) (Homer, 230). Following this tradition of deifying the ocean, *Moby-Dick* portrayed the sea as a picture of "divine" vastness (Melville 1851, 320). To confirm that there was a pattern of considering the ocean in godlike terms in the space between the two writers, I selected at random several literary sea journeys in the intermediate period: each one associates the waters with a godlike will behind it.[14] The painting *Monk by the Sea* by Caspar David Friedrich in 1809 gives a visual window into the Romantic representation of the ocean: grandeur, mystery, and divinity. Marlow echoes the emotion and even staging of the piece, calling Jim "that white figure in the stillness of coast and sea [that] seemed to stand at the heart of a vast enigma" (Conrad 1900, 300) and again making Jim "a mere white speck at the heart of an immense mystery" (305). Ungaretti, a philosopher alive during Conrad's transitional period and who identified large words such as immense, eternal, mystery, et cetera, to be connected to the infinite nature of God, is most known for the poignant poem:

> M'illumino
> d'immenso (Ungaretti 1931).

Conrad constantly used this type of divine vocabulary in reference to the sea (1900, 85, 192, 300, 305), or as he called the waters, "the opal mystery of great distances" (1904, 8). In literature before Conrad and even including his writing, the sea was limitless—beyond searching—therefore, it made a perfect metaphor for eternity. Margreta Grigorova writes that for Conrad, "the sea is the space of God's concealed presence behind winds and gales, where divine might manifests itself in the majesty of these trials" (2015, 92). This is at least half-true. While it is certainly possible to see the relics of Homer's divine ocean in Conrad's writing (*Lord Jim* does contain descriptions of the water with Ungaretti's grand and infinite adjectives, such as "mystery" (1900, 192) and "eternal" (13)), Conrad portrays the ocean in two distinct ways, corresponding to the system of each epoch. The ocean's divinity is an important half of the picture because it is tied to the character of Jim: The boy's traditions cause the ocean to be viewed in a certain way, with a divine will behind the waters. For instance, it is described in *Lord Jim* how a god might reprimand and restrain the sea like a naughty puppy: "as if the Omnipotence whose mercy [the Muslim passengers] confessed…had looked down to make a sign, 'Thou shalt not!' to the ocean" (Conrad 1900, 85).

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[14] See the anonymously authored *Voyage of Saint Brendan* (900)*,* Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (1494), and Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (c. 1611).

Conrad artfully connected the ideas of the romance of sail with a picture of the ocean's early divinity, portraying "the sailing ship as the one place in nature where humans brushed up against the supernatural" (Jasanoff 2017, 109). We see this in his own words; the sailing ship seems "to lead *mysteriously* a sort of *unearthly* existence, bordering upon the *magic of the invisible* forces," (emphasis added) (Conrad 1906, 66). This is how Conrad combines the ideas of sail with the divinity of the ocean, as part of the same mysterious mythology. To Conrad, the misty divinity of the ancient sea and the legacy of sail were coeval themes because they belonged to the same world of faith (Conrad 1906, 31). The dark parts of the map that belonged to sailor-adventurers were a whisper of the mystery associated with the unknowable limits of the ocean throughout the ages, and Conrad was writing with a recent memory of the ocean portrayed that way.

To Conrad, the human estuary, the purpose of a river's meeting with the ocean was the "attractiveness of an open portal" (1906, 52); it was a gateway to eternal vastness, to immensity. A passage from *Ecclesiastes* describes this same estuarial limitlessness, including the idea that "All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full" (1:7). To Conrad, an estuary spoke of endless possibilities, an unbarred, forever open sea. That is what water was at times to the sailor-author, an opening to something great and beyond, perhaps to an adventure, perhaps even to eternity. Neither in Conrad's writing, nor in literature in general, however, would the ocean remain the same.

5.2. The Dead Sea

Sailors traditionally departed for adventures on the wide ocean not knowing where they might end; however, if the millennia between Homer and Melville portrayed the ocean as a type of infinite vastness, represented by a god in *The Odyssey* and still treated as an "eternal" and "divine" "god" in *Moby-Dick* (Melville 1851, 320), this would not continue past Conrad. Insightful as always, Conrad recognized that humanity's consideration of the ocean was making a leap, pronouncing that in the modern age "the sea itself seems to wear a different and diminished aspect" (1906, 205). Marlow associates this change with an "uneasy doubt uprising like a mist, secret and gnawing like a worm, and more chilling than the certitude of death—the doubt of the sovereign power" (1900, 46). Since the developing spirit of the modern age was to Conrad a faithless, godless materialism (1904, 134), the materialist perspective demanded that everything be considered absolutely from its "physical processes and properties" (West 1996); therefore, the waters under its consideration were empty "black wastes of sky and sea" (202).[15] Of course, the best way to kill a god, the divine will behind the waters, is to find its limits (for instance, Poseidon's revelation of Achilles' weakness which leads to the hero's destruction (Riley 1893)).

Because of the near-complete mapping of the water's surface in Conrad's day, people knew the ocean was not infinite (Williams 2013, 9), and this meant an end to its representation of eternal vastness. Its dimensions became known, and like the man behind the curtain in Oz, it was shown to be no supernatural individual. The sea itself has not changed, but humanity considers the soul to have gone out of it like the emptiness of Jim's empty revolver when he arrives in Patusan (Conrad 1900, 216). The new view of the ocean provides the first evolutionary step towards the sea literature of today, which remarks dispassionately that "the depths of the sea…are only water after all" (Woolf 1927, 152-3). Of course, Conrad included both the old and new ways of looking at the sea in *Lord Jim* because he wrote as a part of, and was necessary to, the transition from Romance to Modernism. In fact, one could say that if Conrad's *modus operandi* was to combine old ideas with new, postmodernity, the logical literary evolution from Modernism, added Conrad's model with the added action of refusing the old ways entirely to focus on only new ideas. With this full transition, the concept of a god in the waters was over. The original sanctity of the sea faded, and a new consideration arose to replace it.

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[15] Also see Marlow's flinty description of a "sombre (sic) and hopeless ocean" (Conrad 1900, 154, 159).

5.2.1. *The Old Man and the Sea*

After Conrad's last sea novel in 1923 and his death the following year, the breeze of sea fiction blew out: more than a decade would pass without the publication of contemporary sea stories.[16] In many ways oceanic literature became "a drifting relic" (Conrad 1904, 41). Even when the torch of sea fiction was picked up, it was by only a handful of historical writers (e.g. C.S. Forester and Richard Hughes). Popular oceanic adventure literature, once a feeding frenzy for voracious readers, needed a revival. When oceanic fiction did reemerge, it was in a much different form: either as historical accounts of the World Wars or as oceanographic and marine biological examinations. One author who made a name in both genres[17] is Ernest Hemingway. Conrad was a massive influence on Hemingway, who “had read most, if not all, of Conrad” (Reynolds 1981, 18). Describing “himself as Conrad's literary heir” (Meyers 1990, 188), Hemingway implied that everything he had ever gotten from reading was from Conrad (188). Beyond personal admissions of his influences, Hemingway also pulled Conradian themes into his own works, purloining Marlow’s “one of us” line for use in *The Sun Also Rises* (188) and subtitling another work “A Romantic Novel.”[18]

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[16] The top 550 selections in the Popular Sea Books list on Goodreads contain nothing published between 1923 and 1937 that is set during that time period taking place primarily at sea. The only two books that come close to fitting this category, *To the Lighthouse* (1927) and *A High Wind in Jamaica* (1929), are both set in earlier periods.

While the Polish-English author influenced Hemingway greatly, they differ in that, where Conrad combined Romance and Modernism, Hemingway treated the romantic part differently if he considered it at all. Further, Hemingway connected to another sailor-author predecessor, notably Melville, by adding a new hyphen: scientist. Melville “used the words *writer* and *naturalist* interchangeably throughout his long career” (Beegel 2005, 309), making no distinction between writing in the novel form and highlighting the science of the sea. Perhaps the most brilliant piece of sea fiction to follow Conrad’s works, Hemingway’s novella *The Old Man and the Sea,* was not entirely a work of fiction, but also a field biologist’s scientific consideration of the ocean. The word “scientific” may seem a strange association for a story about a provincial fisherman on a rowboat in the middle of the wide ocean, but Susan Beegel brilliantly shows that the constant observations of the main character (Santiago, the Old Man) are supported by contemporary knowledge of marine biology. Indeed, “Hemingway observed marine life with the keen eye of a well-trained and experienced naturalist, and he described what he saw truthfully” (309). It is no surprise that Hemingway kept a copy of *The Sea Around Us,* Rachel Carson’s stunning natural history of the ocean, on hand (309). Carson's work was important because it described the science of the sea in a compelling new way, with stunning imagery of sea life never before imagined. Capturing the public imagination and remaining on the New York Times bestseller list for 86 weeks (Miller 2004, 212), the book's popularity reflected the new public consideration of the ocean: now no longer a borderless adventure of unknown dimensions, the ocean became a location where scientific inquiry could occur.

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[17] See *Islands in the Stream* (1970) and *The Old Man and the Sea* (1952).

[18] *The Torrents of Spring* (1926).

One could argue that the science of the sea in Hemingway's writing was not dissimilar from that of his literary predecessors—Melville, for instance—but the key is that sea described by the earlier authors was patently different. Although comprehensive in its description of cetology of the time, *Moby-Dick* was written in the age with a divine will behind the waters. Melville describes a "sweet mystery about [the] sea, whose gently awful stirrings seem to speak of a hidden soul beneath." (1851, 320). Note the use of the words "mystery" and "soul." These themes certainly call to the eternal consideration of the ocean found in Conrad. Hemingway's choice of title (*The Old Man AND the Sea* and not *The Old Man AT Sea*) seems to anticipate the sea as the story's co-protagonist. Santiago's opposite, however, is a played by a "piscine co-protagonist" instead—a marlin (Beegel 2005, 276). The sea is still anthropomorphized in *Old Man*, a habit of projecting a human personality on the water that is perhaps inevitable to authors who spend long hours at sea as Hemingway did, but it is no longer seen as divine (Hemingway 1952, 17). Although Santiago is connected to the old ways through prayer (albeit "mechanically" (65) as a business exchange in the hope of bringing the great marlin to his village), he defines himself as belonging to a post-divine age, admitting, "I am not religious" (63). In the end, Hemingway's ocean is a godless place: Santiago's great fish is stripped clean and his prayers go unanswered. As Hemingway wrote later regarding *The Old Man and the Sea*, "there isn't any symbolysm (sic). The sea is the sea" (Beegel 2005, 239). Writing from the benefit of a fully illuminated map, Hemingway ascribes no divinity to the ocean, only considering it with the "diminished aspect" that Conrad perceived (1906, 205). Far from praising the mystery of the waters, Santiago makes terse, calculated observations about what he finds in the sea, capturing the zeitgeist of the ocean: modern scientific wisdom "has replaced…romantic" considerations (Cooperman 1965, 219). Hemingway's old man, once a dreamer with visions of many things, "of storms…of great occurrences…of fights" (1952, 24), now has lost most of his dreams. Similarly, by the time Hemingway was writing, Modernism was supreme, and oceanic literature was making the transition to postmodernity.

5.2.2. Aftereffects

Our dependence on the water in this age has never been greater: "Maritime transport is essential to the world's economy as over 90% of the world's trade is carried by sea and it is, by far, the most cost-effective way to move en masse goods and raw materials around the world" (International Maritime Organization 2019). This dependence only increases in the modern, globalized world: "Today, companies divide their operations across the world, from the design of the product and manufacturing of components to assembly and marketing, creating international production chains. More and more products are 'Made in the World' rather than 'Made in the UK' or 'Made in France'" (Gasiorowski-Denis 2017). Despite the global modern world's dependence on water, the disconnection from the ocean as divine grows in literature. The concept of an immeasurable, eternal sea is entirely left in the wake of the modern genre.

Scrolling through the bestseller lists for oceanic literature now, we find modern sea stories grounded by the science of the sea or the details of true events. Most modern novels about the sea feature scientist protagonists, courageously pulling facts from the depths of the ocean floor. Documentary texts have replaced sea adventure stories. The oceanic adventure story of an unknown, eternal wideness is no more—the modern sea genre represents a permanent sea shift. Now no longer content to tell a story, sea authors follow the piloting of Hemingway's novella to make their works explanatory. In a poignant remark that inspired Hemingway perhaps for the title for his own ocean story, Conrad mourns that steam has "stepped in between the man and the sea" (1906, 75). Margaret Cohen follows Hemingway's title convention in her sweeping consideration of maritime literature, *The Novel and the Sea,* also replicating his example of scarcely considering the ocean. Even though "sea" is one of only two nouns in Cohen's book title, it does not even receive a full chapter for discussion (only one "interlude" subsection in one of the five main chapters). In a text detailing the relationship of literature and the sea, it is appropriate to the modern age that it overlooks the sea almost entirely. This is not merely an oversight on Cohen's part: it summarizes the feeling towards the ocean in this age. The divine sea is treated like the old fisher Santiago, someone used up and past the prime. It's not *The Old Man AND the Sea*, it's *The Old Man IS the Sea*. The ocean, like Santiago, is marginalized by the modern world.

Sea adventure stories such as *Crusoe* or *Moby-Dick* or Cook's extensive worldwide exploration—where the sea adventure was the focus of the book—used to hold the imagination of the public. It is difficult to think of an equivalent story in the 21st century. The object of wonder has shifted from Conradian and pre-Conradian texts to modern: where the ocean was once itself the object of awe, now excitement is reserved for what it contains. We are not thinking of the sea as a limitless mystery anymore. No longer focused on what the ocean can tell us about ourselves, we go to it for scientific knowledge alone, a place for the discovery of vertical secrets. Once the portal to boundless destinations and horizontal adventures, the ocean has undergone a shift to become a jumping-off point, now more as a scientific treasure chest than a proving ground for humans.

6. Conclusion

As I have shown, *Lord Jim* is a fascinating study that teeter-totters between two oceanic epochs: the long-lasting age of sail with traditional values summarized by the blanket term Romance, and the new world of materialism and steam wrapped up in a single word: Modernism. When we remind ourselves that Conrad is a modernist writer, Greenberg's definition of Modernism is particularly insightful: despite what the name would seem to imply, Modernism "consists in the continuing endeavor to stem the decline of aesthetic standards threatened by the relative democratization of culture under industrialism…Thus the whole enterprise of Modernism, for all its outward aspects, can be seen as backward-looking" (Greenberg 1980). With this perspective, Conrad is certainly a modernist writer because he asks contemporary questions with an eye to the past. This is what makes him less a gaping red line on the timeline of sea literature and more of a smooth transition: his own oeuvre is a liminal zone where traditional and modern notions meet and cross the timeline of oceanic literature. He is indisputably a liminal man, a Romantic Modernist. While it is impossible to pinpoint the exact moment that steam triumphed over sail, what is known is that literature was different before Conrad, it changed after him, and that he existed in the zone where two eras touched. Born to the forward-most edge of the legacy of global sail, Conrad died in 1924, living through "a world of railroads, telegraphs, electric lights, ether, and x-rays" and the First World War (Williams 2013, 32-33).

While the focus used to be on the sea as a divine and misty deliverer of adventures, it is now the backdrop for the investigation of marine science. In other words, the seas of today are just water. No longer the adventure it once was, the ocean is a personality-free husk, now less a character than a wasteland setting, truly "an elemental, wild zone devoid of human life" (Cohen 2012, 104). Of course this is not factually true, we are more dependent on the ocean now more than ever (Gasiorowski-Denis 2017), but it is a largely accurate representation of the human consideration for the ocean in the modern age. Conrad, for his part, not only wrote about this new sea-face, he was partially responsible for the shift. One of the last sea novels written under the firsthand influence of the Romantic age, one would not have to stretch very far to call *Lord Jim* a turning point in western, oceanic literature from considering the ocean as a picture of divinity, to the inverse image of the ocean as a repository for scientific curiosity. Conrad's direct literary descendants, such as Hemingway, learn from the Polish-English writer by considering the new ocean. However, they finalize the transition by rejecting the old ocean entirely.

Of course there are still mysteries about the ocean, under the sea, within the water, but the ocean as its own entity is no longer a mystery. The once-dark map of the ocean's surface is illuminated. The lumps of land where the water stops are mapped and inhabited, and yet, this illumination is not entirely a negative thing. Where the modern world has lost awe at the ocean's whole, we have gained wonder from its individual parts. Its death, like a baptism, like crossing the line, has made it more alive than ever. Himself at least partially a realist (Jasanoff 2017, 157), Conrad would not have minded this. In fact, he poeticized the change from seven seas to a global whole: "the sea was polished, was blue, was pellucid, was sparkling like a precious stone, extending on all sides, all round to the horizon—as if the whole terrestrial globe had been one jewel, one colossal sapphire, a single gem fashioned into a planet" (1902, 10).

Although time's forward march often means the loss of traditional ways of life, both the old Romantic literature and the new system of Modernism contain gems. Like everything Conradian, the proper balance must be found. Just as the old outlook was lacking scientific understanding of the water, the newness of the sea must not result in a loss of its grandeur and wonder. In Conrad's own terms, the last word shall probably never be said (1900, 199)—all literature, not least of all that which covers the ocean, is a tide, rolling, scooping up new ideas. Considering the old perception of the ocean against the new one, in keeping with Conrad, the man of sail and steam, of Romance and Modernism, the answer must be to always keep both in mind. The old ocean was moving in its splendor; the born again, scientific sea is incredible in its wealth of information; and both are important.

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