

Ulysses Victorianus and the Other Knowledge of Empire

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“[S]omewhere on the outer boundaries of freedom and free enterprise that came with an empire.” (Derek Walcott *Omeros*)

I.

Nineteenth-century British Hellenism anchored itself to the rock of the Athenian fifth century: the Golden Age stretched from the great defeat of the armies of the East at Marathon, to the death of Socrates in 399 B.C. It was in that era's military excellence and subsequent achievements in the political and cultural spheres that educated Victorians apprehended their Viconian likeness. In 1874, classicist J.P. Mahaffy characterized Greek literature as

the writings of men of like culture with ourselves, who argue with the same logic, who reflect with kindred feelings. They have worked out social and moral problems like ourselves, they have expressed themselves in such language as we should desire to use.

Indeed, Mahaffy goes on to say, “If one of us were transported to Periclean Athens, provided he were a man of high culture, he would find life and manners strangely like our own” (qtd in Turner 10). Cultivated Victorians were less likely recognize themselves in the promiscuous imperialism of Alexander of Macedon and the resulting Greco-Asiatic amalgam of the Hellenistic Age; nor were they inherently drawn to the archaic civilization of pre-classical Greece, with its cultic rites and its tyrants. Here, however, Homer stood out as the great exception. If early Victorians made room for this primitive in their classical canon and later cultural spokespersons like Matthew Arnold and Gladstone elevated him to a unique place of honor, it is because to them the Greek bard repre-

sented ‘the fountainhead of Hellenic culture,’ the Greek counterpart to the Hebrew Bible. At the same time, the heroic code as crystallized in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* harmonized with the ideological requirements of a budding empire—“forming the mind ... to noble thoughts and bold deeds” (Newman qtd in Jenkyns 215)—and might therefore be useful in shaping the “lords of men” needed to govern such an empire. *The Iliad*, with its tale of a punitive expedition against a troublesome orientalist regime, resonated with certain contemporary events; but its companion poem was not without its own attractions. Beyond its amenability to Christian allegory (Odysseus’s return and revenge as the Second Coming¹), *The Odyssey* recommended itself to the English imagination first and foremost as an adventure story about the sea.

The sea had been good to Britain’s expanding commercial empire. The narrator of Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* strikes the right note of reverence and gratitude in his paean to the English Main:

It had known and served all the men of whom the nation is proud, from Sir Francis Drake to Sir John Franklin, knights all, titled and untitled—the great knights-errant of the sea. It had borne all the ships whose names are like jewels flashing in the night of time, from the *Golden Hind* returning with her round flanks full of treasure, to be visited by the Queen’s Highness and thus pass out of the gigantic tale, to the *Erebus* and *Terror* bound on other conquests—and that never returned. It had known the ships and the men. They had sailed from Deptford, from Greenwich, from Erith—the adventurers and the settlers ... captains, admirals, the dark interlopers of the Eastern trade, and the commissioned “generals” of East India fleets. Hunters for gold or pursuers of fame, they had all gone out on that stream, bearing the sword, and often the torch.... The dreams of men, the seed of commonwealth, the germs of empires.

(17)

Fredric Jameson gives us a drier formulation of “the gigantic tale” in his essay on Conrad. The sea, writes Jameson, represented “the element by which imperial capitalism ... realized its sometimes violent, some-

times silent and corrosive penetration of outlying precapitalist zones” (213). Conrad’s “knights-errant of the sea”—the advance guard of imperial capitalism—named and mapped previously unexplored littorals, making these “new” lands available to commercial trade and colonial expansion.

Lord Odysseus was the great forerunner of Conrad’s adventurers and settlers. Though by nature more adventurer than settler—“protocolonial” rather than colonial, in classicist Irad Malkin’s formulation—nevertheless there are moments when the Greek hero narrates his voyage with what can only be termed the settler’s gaze. Indeed, recent scholarship sees in his wanderings “the lasting textual trace of Greek expansion of the eighth and ninth centuries”; to the overcrowded and enterprising inhabitants of the Greek peninsula, the western seas represented “a new world of commerce and colonization” (Osborne 35). The two concerns—commerce and colonization—are paired in Odysseus’ sizing up of an uninhabited island off of the Sicilian home of the Cyclopes (here in Robert Fagles’ translation):

A level island stretches flat across the harbor,
not close inshore to the Cyclops’ coast, not too far out,
thick with woods where the wild goats breed by hundreds.
No trampling of men to start them from their lairs,
no hunters roughing it out on the woody ridges,
stalking quarry, ever raid their haven.
No flocks browse, no plowlands roll with wheat;
unplowed, unsown forever—empty of humankind. . . . (IX.129–136)

The one-eyed pastoral cannibals on the nearby shore lack the necessary technology—to settle this uninhabited island, and make it “a decent place to live in” (IX.139, IX.143). The Greek captain concludes with an assessment of the land in terms of its potential for agricultural and mercantile development:

No mean spot,
it could bear you any crop you like in season.
The water-meadows along the low foaming shore

run soft and moist, and your vines would never flag.

The land's clear for plowing. Harvest on harvest,

a man could reap a healthy stand of grain—

the subsoil's dark and rich.

There's a snug deepwater harbor there, what's more ... (IX.143–150)

Vines, grains, flocks, artisans and sea-commerce—the colonialist is already hard at work plumping up the little island's GNP. Frantz Fanon, a native of one such island, has little trouble spotting the settler in Odysseus, or Odysseus in the settler. "The settler makes history," Fanon writes in *The Wretched of the Earth*, "his life is an epoch, an Odyssey" (51). Similarly, Wole Soyinka identifies among the English agents of empire a subspecies he terms "Ulysses Britannicus," distant descendants of Homer's "sometime soldier of fortune" (368). While discussions of the theme of epic and empire often begin with Virgil's *Aeneid*, with its grounding in the Roman imperium,² Homer's name has also been associated with overseas expansion at least since the early modern era. The *Odyssey* in particular, as we have seen, already contained elements that made it attractive to the imagination of a far-flung, seafaring power like Great Britain. Perhaps most appealing to Victorian Britain was the poem's all-around nautical savvy: the Greek mariner's diverse vessels, rafts and shivered timbers stood in for the commercial and military fleet that provided England with the integument of its empire.

II.

"He chucked up everything /and just cleared off."

(Philip Larkin "Poetry of Departure" 90)

Odysseus' post-Homeric career has evolved along two divergent paths. Closer in spirit to the Homeric epic, the first of these is typified by the seventeenth-century sonnet by du Bellay beginning "Heureux qui, comme Ulysse, a fait un beau voyage," and continuing:

When shall I behold once more the hearth-smoke
of my little village, in what season
shall I behold the humble courtyard of my home,

which is to me as an entire province [...]

More pleasing to my eyes than the bold facades of Roman palaces
are the dwellings which my forbears built. (*Les Regrets* XXXI)

This tradition, which W.B. Stanford calls centripetal, locates the story's center of gravity not in the hero's picaresque adventures on the road, but in his ultimate *nostos* or homecoming, and his long-delayed reunion with family and homeland. Often, as in du Bellay's poem, the centripetal version changes into a lyric celebration of the local and the domestic over the enticements of the world beyond. A more recent example can be found in Charles Frazier's best-selling novel *Cold Mountain*. The homesick Odysseus is the patron saint of the poet-in-exile, from Ovid to Joseph Brodsky.

The second tradition, which I refer to as the centrifugal tradition, cares less about the daily tears shed by Odysseus while marooned on Calypso's isle, than by his year wasted with Circe, and his robust curiosity about the lands and the people he and his mariners encounter on the return voyage. This second tradition makes the reasonable prediction that the Greek hero, after his "beau voyage," is unlikely to be content simply to sit out his days on an island backwater like Ithaca—"low and away, last of all on the water" (*Odyssey* 9.25; trans. Lattimore). The career of this alter-Odysseus can be traced back to Book 26 of the *Inferno*:

When I left Circe—in whose magic vice
I was enraptured for a twelvemonth, near
Gaeta, ere Aeneas named it thus—

neither fondness for my son, sincere
affection for my father, nor the love
that should have brought Penelope good cheer,

could overcome the urge I had to rove
the world, and know the various degrees
of human imperfection and resolve.

So I set forth upon the open seas....

(26.91–100; trans. Ciaran Carson)

Curiously, it is this late medieval Ulysses (divested of Dante's theological censure) that has done most to shape our modern re-imaginings of the Greek hero, from Leopold Bloom of Dublin, Ireland, to Captain Kirk of the Starship Enterprise. The most famous of these imaginings in English poetry is Alfred Lord Tennyson's "Ulysses."

First published in 1842, "Ulysses" is one of the earliest instances of the Odyssean archetype entering the Victorian mainstream. A look at Tennyson's biography tells us that the poem was born of the grief Tennyson experienced at the death of his friend Arthur Hallam. The poem is a testament to the need, in Tennyson's own words, to continue "going forward, and braving the struggle of life" (Ricks 613). Conventional treatments of the poem have tended to see it as a late Romantic work, and of what Herbert Tucker terms "a superflux of Romantic desire" (235). More recent commentators, however, have begun to explore the poem's complex participation in—and indeed anticipation of—the emerging imperial ideology of Victorian England. Edward Dramin discerns in the figure of Ulysses "an analogue of such [later] Victorian empire-builders as Cecil Rhodes, Chinese Gordon and Lord Kitchener," as well as of adventurer-explorers like Henry Stanley and Richard Burton (117). According to Dramin, real-life prototypes of Tennyson's hero can be found in contemporary soldiers and explorers like Sir Charles Napier and Hugh Gough, as well as Tennyson's nephew, Sir John Franklin: charismatic figures whose wide-ranging exploits served to mark the expanding boundaries of British influence and control (118–120).³ Such soldiers of fortune, seeking fame, were likely to feel ill at ease among the settled comforts and overstuffed civilities of the Victorian metropolis. It takes no great stretch of the imagination to see this English Ulysses as one of Her Majesty's soldiers, home from service at the colonial frontier and chafing at a desk job, like Gordon in Gravesend, busy about his assigned task yet wistful for "the delight of battle... far on the ringing plains" of Bahr-el-Ghazal or the Yang-tse delta, and impatient for the final summons to Khartoum: "How dull it is to pause, to make an end, / To rust unburnished, not to shine in use!" ("Ulysses" 22–23).

But just as the poem "Ulysses" is not simply an ideologically neutral vehicle for the lyric expression of Tennyson's personal sense of loss,

so the public speech it is meant to represent is anything but an unmediated and unpremeditated act of self-disclosure on the part of the Greek hero. Like the future laureate himself, Ulysses is acutely conscious of his audience. His monologue modulates from private soliloquy to public apologia, and winds up as a vigorous recruiting speech that musters the tried-and-true vocabulary of an earlier classical republicanism.⁴ Ulysses' awareness of audience structures his rhetoric in ways that reveal much about the sorts of roles the Odysseus figure might be expected to play for a Victorian public, one that is both emotionally and intellectually involved with the idea of global exploration, influence and—in ever-increasing degrees—settlement. Ulysses, as a representative of European high-mindedness, pitches his enterprise in accordance with Enlightenment ideals: “to follow knowledge ... / Beyond the utmost bounds of human thought” (31–32). Knowledge—the whole cartographic project of opening up the interior, of filling in the gaps—becomes for him, as for a Burton or Livingston seeking the source of the Nile, an end in itself, self-justifying. Yet wittingly or not, as history proves, the protocolonial quest for knowledge goes hand-in-hand with the European quest for power—“the servant of colonial plunder,” in Anne McClintock's phrase, that “both preceded and legitimized the conquest of territory” (28). In Ulysses' case, however, the target of this knowledge-power is only hazily envisioned. While the Greek captain's previous voyage had exposed him to a human geography of “cities of men / And manners, climates, councils, governments” (ll. 13–14), the prospects he now lays before his listeners and his readers are not only “untraveled” but, like the mythic South Africa settled by the Boers, curiously uninhabited: “clear for plowing,” as Odysseus would say. This may be partly in deference to gaps in ancient and medieval geography, especially when it came to the world beyond the Pillars of Hercules (Dante's *mondo senza gente*),⁵ but it also suggests the blinkered cultural attitudes that guided European expansion throughout the nineteenth century. In this scenario, one thinks of the passage from J.A. Froude used as an epigraph in V.S. Naipaul's *The Middle Passage*: “There are no people there in the true sense of the word,” Froude wrote of the Caribbean, “with a character and a purpose of their own.”⁶ Such blank areas denote

pure potential—for settlement, technological development, and mastery. The bare canvasses that are unfurled before Tennyson's Ulysses are all the more attractive as sites of colonial potential; they are sites to be staked out, surveyed, and ultimately occupied. Ulysses looks to the western Ocean for the same reasons Kipling's "Man Who Would Be King" would later look to Kafiristan, "no one ever goes there ... No one knows anything about it really" (148–49).

But the cartographic spaces the poem conjures serviced other, less territorial imperatives besides. Their very blankness makes them all the more available to colonization by the European imagination; they are the very same "blank space[s] of delightful mystery" that Conrad's Marlow so loved "to dream gloriously over" (22). Like the tropical island evoked by J. Michael Dash, they "could have no essential meaning but [as] a kind of tabula rasa" (13–14). Ulysses' mariners and Tennyson's readers are left free to inscribe this virgin parchment with whatever monsters and whatever pleasures they desire. The musings of another Tennyson creation of the same period give some idea of the fantasies Ulysses' *invitation au voyage* might be expected to engender in the mind of a susceptible English Elpenor of the 1840s:

Larger constellations burning, mellow moons and happy skies,
Breadths of tropic shade and palms in cluster, knots of Paradise.

[There] Droops the heavy-blossom'd bower, hangs the heavy-
fruted tree—

Summer isles of Eden lying in dark-purple spheres of sea.

("Locksley Hall" 159–60, 163–64)

In the hypothetically undemarcated zone of the frontier to which the unnamed speaker of "Locksley Hall" imagines himself bound, "the passions ... shall have room and breathing space," no longer "cramped" by Victorian convention and domestic crowding (167). It was a fantasy shared by many a nineteenth-century metropolitan, and the frustrated young lover here is no exception. Yet while still under the spell of the imperial romance, he gamely dreams of colonizing these Adamic vacancies with hybrid versions of himself: "I will take some savage woman, she shall rear my dusky race" (168)—a fantasy of miscegenation from

which, however, he swiftly recoils. But whether this or some other “work of noble note” (51) awaits Ulysses and his crew once they are clear of Gibraltar, there was the more immediate promise of both the “frolic welcome” and the vigorous discipline (“sitting well in order / [to] smite the sounding furrow” 59–60) of the homosocial bond. Both alternatives—the concupiscent or the coenobitic—represent a welcome change from the desexualized tedium of the domestic: “this still hearth . . . these barren crags . . . an aged wife” (2–3). Ulysses’ construction of empire as masculine camaraderie, wide-open spaces awaiting penetration, and exotic knowledge awaiting collection, was calculated to speak to a world defined by the twin axes of “mete and dole,” “store and hoard,” the gray world of the increasingly bureaucratized imperial center and its more settled suburban outcroppings. To the latter’s “old,” and here I take Ulysses’ consciousness of age as metonymic for the nineteenth-century’s sense of its own “gray spirit,” Tennyson’s poem opposed “newer world[s]” (30 and 67). In place of Ithaca’s routinized and domesticated religious observances (“pay[ing] / meet adoration to . . . household gods”), the king offers a baptismal rite of passage involving the “baths / of all the western stars” (41–42 and 60–61). He spares no energy or prosodic means in pitching his voyage to his mariners who, given the fate of their predecessors, might be expected to hang back. Viewed from within the colorless “sphere / of common duties,” whether domestic, religious or administrative, Ulysses’ quixotic adventure can only appear (to return to the Philip Larkin poem that supplies this section with its epigraph) an “audacious, purifying, / elemental move” (90).

Such are the siren songs with which empire called to the denizens of the Victorian metropole, however rarely the latter’s courage proved equal to desire, in those days before package tours and Club Med. Yet there is something amiss in this mapping of the poem’s geography in terms of core and periphery, mother country and empire. The problem is not with Ulysses himself but with his sceptered isle, unnamed but presumed to be Ithaca. The inhabitants of his island, as the king bitterly complains, are “a savage race” content to “sleep and feed and hoard.” Concerned only with satisfying their most basic animal needs, these rough-hewn islanders more closely resemble Homer’s Cyclops than

Odysseus' Ithacan compatriots, who, whatever their other failings, nevertheless appreciate such fruits of culture as bardic poetry and a rich cuisine. They have still less in common with the Victorian compatriots of our nineteenth-century "Ulysses Britannicus." As Matthew Rowlinson observes, Ulysses "seems to be imagining between himself and his subjects not just differences of class, but . . . cultural and even racial differences" (267). In fact, Ulysses' attitude toward his subjects calls to mind nothing so much as that of a colonial administrator toward his native charges. The king's official responsibilities, as he envisions them being taken over by his duty-bound son, are portrayed in terms of the rosy ideals with which Europe popularly conceived its overseas enterprise of annexation and colonization: "This labor," as Ulysses refers to it,

... by slow prudence to make mild
A rugged people, and through soft degrees
Subdue them to the useful and the good. (36–38)

One could hardly ask for a neater summary of Kipling's famous "White Man's burden."

Tennyson's Ulysses, then, should not after all be identified as a veteran of colonial wars who marks time back in the home counties, but rather as an executive functionary within the colonial machinery, stationed in some imperial backwater like Mauritius or, indeed, among the debased Greeks of Ithaca itself (the Ionian Islands had been in British hands since 1814).⁷ Yet as spokesperson for the system he serves—this program of converting natives into good Victorians—Ulysses leaves something to be desired. The noble vision of the civilizing mission he paints for us in the second, more public half of the poem is troubled by the king's earlier, less guarded disclosures.

In the opening passage already referred to, Ulysses describes it as his job "to mete and dole / unequal laws unto a savage race." In this formulation, the king's role seems to have been primarily that of a law-giver, both as the bringer of the rule of law, and as the dispenser of justice.⁸ Ulysses' justice, however, is of a curious sort, based as it is on "unequal laws." What are we meant to understand by this phrase, this frank admission of an injustice that underlies his particular rule of law?

Christopher Ricks's reading of the line as merely descriptive of "a primitive state of law consequent on the Ithacans being 'a savage race'" (615) does little to explain Ulysses' own hand in it; his quest after knowledge is anything but savage. Perhaps the king, grown wise with wandering, simply means to indicate that human justice as we know it here on earth is imperfect, perhaps even imperfectible. In the mouth of Ulysses the colonial functionary, however, the phrase seems ominous and is imbued with less banal meanings. In *The Location of Culture*, Homi K. Bhabha returns repeatedly to the idea of the splitting or doubling of colonial discourse (95). Bhabha's concept is multivalent and not always easy for his reader to pin down. Of interest to me here is the way he uses the concept in his essay "Sly Civility" in connection with Victorian representations of the Empire's "reforming, civilizing mission," how this verbal doubling "puts on trial the very discourse of civility within which ... empire [claims] its ethics" (86, 96). Bhabha gives a number of examples, including the following from John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*:

To govern one country under responsibility to the people of another ... is despotism. ... There are, as we have already seen, conditions of society in which a vigorous despotism is in itself the best mode of government for training people in what specifically is wanting to render them capable of higher civilisation. (96)

Bhabha lets the cultural arrogance of the passage speak for itself, choosing instead to engage Mill on his utilitarian home-turf. How, asks Bhabha, can despotism—even a "vigorous" despotism, one imagines that Mill needed that modifier to shear the word of its Orientalist associations—be expected to foster a society of individuals, and not merely a society of oppressed servility? Bhabha goes on to note that Macaulay observed similar "contradictory utterances" in his reading of the directives sent by the East India Company to its sahibs in the field. The Victorian essayist damningly summed up the Company's governing precepts as: "Be father and oppressor, be just and unjust" (Bhabha 96–97). It is through such "discursive disturbances," Bhabha maintains, "that the dream of post-Enlightenment civilization alienates its own language of liberty and produces another knowledge of its norms" (86).

Ulysses' other knowledge of "this labour" inheres in a similar dissonance, in the gap between his publicly voiced complacency—"by slow prudence to make mild / A rugged people, and through soft degrees / Subdue them to the useful and the good"—and the less vigorously policed confession of the opening: "to mete and dole / Unequal laws." Given the strong colonial resonances in these passages, what at first may seem merely an expression of earthly wisdom (with a touch of world-weariness) on the part of the long-lived and far-traveled hero, on closer examination emerges as an instance of colonialism's "interdictory testimony" against itself. We can only speculate on how the "unequal" borders of the particular rule of law that it has been Ulysses' job to enforce are drawn: between Us (the colonizers) and Them (the colonized)? Between Here (the colony) and There (the metropole)? What matters, however, is that at the heart of his justice lies an inequity.

The same discursive doubleness seeps upward through the poem to taint the controlling predicative phrase "mete and dole." At first glance, these two verbs come as a package, signaling through repetition the bureaucratic drudgery of the one-time warrior's sedentary duties (with perhaps an additional nod to the Homeric doublet). Yet the verbs are not quite interchangeable, transposed into the colonial sphere, each has its particular timbre. "Mete" in general has a penal inflection, as in Stanley's "What punishment shall I mete to this thief" (*Through the Dark Continent* 382). "Dole," on the other hand, has overtones of charity and benefaction—as in "to dole out alms." Knowingly or not, Ulysses is here invoking the two faces of colonial control: paternalist benefactor (bringer of "the rule of law"), and disciplinary enforcer; in Macaulay's words, the colonial administrator is both "father and oppressor" (*mete and dole*), both "just and unjust" (*unequal laws*). How likely is it, one must wonder along with Bhabha, that a people will be subdued to the twin Victorian virtues of "the useful and the good" by the meting out of unequal justice? Indeed, even here, in his own public reformulation, Ulysses' careful cushioning of the verb "subdue," "through soft degrees," does not quite expunge the word's primary meaning, as given in the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "to conquer [a country or its inhabitants] and bring them into submission." Haunted by this other knowledge,

“threatened by the displacing gaze of [his] disciplinary double” (Bhabha 86), it is little wonder that Tennyson’s hero gives himself over, in the closing lines of his address and the closing years of his life, to an escapist fantasy of unbounded and, above all, unpeopled adventure.

It was laden with just such ambivalent cargo, and speaking in such forked tongues, that the figure of Odysseus alighted on the shores of Victorian modernity and the “newer world[s]” over which it was beginning to spread its political and cultural dominion. His subsequent history is a testament to culture’s own “need for going forward.” However tempting it may be to consign Homer to the exclusive sphere of first-world culture, the same adaptability that made the man of twists and turns a willing if unpredictable ally of the European imperial imagination also made him liable to appropriation by those other knowledges that haunt the fading margins of Tennyson’s text. When Dublin classicist J.P. Mahaffy, Anglo-Irish and staunchly Unionist, declared that “one of us” would feel perfectly at home in Greek antiquity, he did not intend for “us” to include those he referred to elsewhere as “the aborigines of this island” (Gibbons 163); nor was Tennyson likely to have envisioned that his Anglo-Hellenic hero would find a worthy successor among the “dusky race[s]” of former British colonies still farther afield. Yet the very prominence of Ulysses Victorianus made it inevitable that a James Joyce or a Derek Walcott—“Victoria’s orphans” all—would later take him up, shake him free of his colonial commission, and make him carry a very different set of messages back to the centers of metropolitan culture and power.

Notes

- 1 The poet Isaac Williams, for example, sees in Odysseus the image

Of one who hath descended from the skies
And wanders here in His own kingly hall,
A *stranger*;—and in *prison* often lies,
And on His brethren’s charities doth call,
Yet weighs and watches each, the God and Judge of all. (Turner 158)

Curiously, Derek Walcott, a self-described “orphan” of the Victorian Age, picks up on this element in his theatrical version of the poem:

EURYMACHUS: Let's see if he's a god. Slip a spear in his side.

CTESIPPUS: Spike his brow with pine-needles. Make thorns his crown.

- 2 See, e.g., Quint: "[The] Virgilian tradition of imperial dominance is . . . the defining tradition of Western Epic" (8).
- 3 Napier served as military governor of the Ionian island of Cephalonia—neighbor to Ithaca—and was later active in India, where he mentored the young Richard Burton. The Anglo-Irishman Gough, after seeing action in South Africa and the Caribbean, spent twelve years as a magistrate in the south-west of Ireland. Fed up with that "misguided and infatuated" population, he moved on to duty as a military commander in Southeast Asia (Dramin 119). "Charismatic" is used here in its Weberian sense, as applied by Michael Levenson in his discussion of *Heart of Darkness*. In this reading of Tennyson's poem, Telemachus (as seen through Ulysses' eyes) plays the Manager—the bureaucratic administrator *par excellence*—to Ulysses' Kurtz.
- 4 For "classical republicanism," see Pocock.
- 5 *Inferno* XXVI.117.
- 6 The colonist's passion (in Homi Bhabha's words) "for unbounded, unpeopled possession" (99).
- 7 "[R]emoved but one degree from donkeys" is how one member of the British colony described the Greeks of neighboring Corfu in 1835, employing a pre-Darwinian figure of speech (Sherrard 16).
- 8 British military governors of the Ionian Islands, such as Charles Napier of whom I spoke earlier, also served as civil judges.

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