THE
CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF
THE WORKS OF
JOSEPH CONRAD

UNDER WESTERN EYES

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UNDER WESTERN EYES

EDITED BY
Roger Osborne and Paul Eggert

INTRODUCTION BY
Keith Carabine

EXPLANATORY NOTES BY
Jeremy Hawthorn and Keith Carabine

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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

JOSEPH CONRAD'S PLACE in twentieth-century literature is now firmly established. Although his novels, stories and other writings have become integral to modern thought and culture, the need for an accurate and authoritative edition of his works remains. Owing to successive rounds of authorial revision, transmissional errors and deliberate editorial intervention, Conrad's texts exist in various unsatisfactory and sometimes even confused forms.

During the last years of his life he attempted to have his works published in a uniform edition that would fix and preserve them for posterity. But although trusted by scholars, students and the general reader alike, the received texts published in the British and American collected editions, and in various reprintings of them since 1921, have proved to be at least as defective as their predecessors. Grounded in thorough research in the surviving original documents, the Cambridge Edition is designed to reverse this trend by presenting Conrad's novels, stories and other prose in texts that are as trustworthy as modern scholarship can make them.

The present volume contains critical texts of *Under Western Eyes* and its 'Author's Note' (1920). The Cambridge text of *Under Western Eyes* is based on the extant revised typescript held in the Free Library of Philadelphia. The copy-text is emended to incorporate authorial revisions drawn from later authoritative documents as well as editorial corrections of errors. The copy-text of the 'Author's Note', the revised typescript held in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, is treated in the same way.

The 'Introduction' provides a literary history of the work focused on its genesis, sources and early reception, including its place in Conrad's life and art. The essay on 'The Texts' traces the textual history of the volume, examines the origins of its individual texts and explains the policies followed in editing them. The 'Apparatus' records basic textual evidence, documenting the discussion of genealogy and authority in 'The Texts: An Essay' as well as other editorial decisions, and the 'Textual Notes' deal with cruxes and textual issues. Appendices

present the novel's original manuscript ending and matter that Conrad deleted from the typescript of the novel, both published here in full for the first time. His working methods in the typescript are also described in this section. The 'Explanatory Notes' comment on specific readings that require glosses, dealing with sources, identifying real-life place-names and related matters, as well as explaining foreign words and phrases. Supplementing this material are a map and illustrations.

The textual essay, textual notes, appendices and 'Apparatus' are designed with the textual scholar and specialist in mind, while the 'Introduction' and 'Explanatory Notes' are intended primarily for a non-specialist audience.

The support of the institutions listed on p. vii has been essential to the success of this series and is gratefully acknowledged. In addition to those, and the individuals and institutions listed in the Acknowledgements, the General Editors and the Editorial Board also wish to thank the Trustees and beneficiaries of the Estate of Joseph Conrad, Doubleday and Company and J. M. Dent and Company for permission to publish these new texts of Conrad's works.

THE GENERAL EDITORS

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Special thanks are due to the late S. W. Reid, former Chief Executive Editor of the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Joseph Conrad, under whose ægis this project began and whose encouragement, advice and wisdom were unstintingly available to Conrad textual scholars for more than two decades. Gratitude is also due to Robert W. Trogdon, Director of the Institute for Bibliography and Editing at Kent State University, whose advice and sharing of editorial resources were invaluable. We are also grateful to them and to David Leon Higdon for on-site readings of the originals.

The identification and collation of first printings, the proofing of some transcriptions and other work both at Kent State University and, at an early stage of this project, by David Leon Higdon, eased the task of the present editors. We should also like to acknowledge

the work of earlier Conrad scholars, especially those who have studied the documents of *Under Western Eyes*. Whether our conclusions follow or correct theirs, the present edition has profited from their labours.

Thanks for assistance with support tasks are due to Catherine L. Tisch and, at an early stage of this project, to Gale Graham, at the Institute for Bibliography and Editing at Kent State University. Gratitude is also expressed to Linda Bree and Maartje Scheltens at Cambridge University Press for steadfast support and helpful advice; to Christina Sarigiannidou, who saw this volume through production; and to Leigh Mueller, whose careful and sensitive copy-editing has enriched the text in numerous ways.

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The facsimiles that precede the textual essay are reproduced by courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, and the Free Library of Philadelphia.

CHRONOLOGY

JOSEPH CONRAD'S life may be seen as having several distinct stages: in the Ukraine, in Russian exile and in Austrian Poland before his father's death (1857–69); in Austrian Poland and the south of France as the ward of his maternal uncle (1870–78); in the British merchant service, mainly as a junior officer sailing in the Far East and Australia (1879–early 1890s); after a transitional period (early 1890s), as writer of critical esteem (1895–1914); as acclaimed writer, although perhaps with his greatest work achieved (1915–24). After 1895 the history of his life is essentially the history of his works.

Publication dates given below are those of the English editions, unless otherwise specified.

1857 December 3	Józef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowski (Nałęcz coat-of-arms) born in Berdyczów in the Ukraine, part of the Russian Empire, to Apollo Korzeniowski and Ewelina (or Ewa), née Bobrowska, Korzeniowska
1862 May	Apollo Korzeniowski, his wife and son forced into exile in Russia
1865 April	Ewa Korzeniowska dies of tuberculosis
1867	Conrad visits Odessa with his maternal uncle Tadeusz Bobrowski; perhaps his first view of the sea
1868	Korzeniowski permitted to leave Russia
1869 February	Korzeniowski and Conrad move to Cracow
May	Korzeniowski dies
1870	Conrad, ward of Bobrowski, begins study with tutor, Adam Pulman
1873 May	Visits Switzerland and northern Italy
1874 October	Takes position in Marseilles with Delestang et Fils, wholesalers and shippers
1875	Apprentice in *Mont-Blanc* (to Caribbean)

1876–7	In *Saint-Antoine* (to Caribbean)
1878 late February or early March	Attempts suicide
April	Leaves Marseilles in British steamer *Mavis* (Mediterranean waters)
June	Lands at Lowestoft, Suffolk; first time in England
July–September	Sails as ordinary seaman in *Skimmer of the Sea* (North Sea)
1878–80	In *Duke of Sutherland* (to Sydney), *Europa* (Mediterranean waters)
1880	Meets G. F. W. Hope and Adolf Krieger
June	Passes examination for second mate
1880–81	Third mate in *Loch Etive* (to Sydney)
1881–4	Second mate in *Palestine*, *Riversdale*, *Narcissus* (Eastern seas)
1884 December	Passes examination for first mate
1885–6	Second mate in *Tilkhurst* (to Singapore and India)
1886	Submits 'The Black Mate', perhaps his first story, to *Tit-Bits* competition
August	Becomes a British subject
November	Passes examination for master and receives 'Certificate of Competency'
1886–7	Second mate in *Falconhurst* (British waters)
1887–8	First mate in *Highland Forest*, *Vidar* (Eastern seas)
1888–9	Captain of barque *Otago* (Bangkok to Australia and Mauritius)
1889 autumn	Begins *Almayer's Folly* in London
1890 February–April	In Poland for first time since 1874
May–December	In the Congo. Second-in-command, then temporarily captain, of *Roi des Belges*
1891	Manages warehouse of Barr, Moering in London
1891–3	First mate in *Torrens* (London and Plymouth to Adelaide)
1893	Meets John Galsworthy and Edward L. ('Ted') Sanderson (passengers on *Torrens*)

autumn	Visits Bobrowski in the Ukraine
November	Signs on as second mate in *Adowa*, which sails only to Rouen and back
1894 January	Signs off *Adowa*, ending career as seaman
February	Bobrowski dies
autumn	Meets Edward Garnett and Jessie George
1895 April	*Almayer's Folly*
1896 March	*An Outcast of the Islands*. Marries Jessie George
September	Settles in Stanford-le-Hope, Essex, after six-month honeymoon in Brittany
1897	Begins friendship with R. B. Cunninghame Graham; meets Henry James and Stephen Crane
December	*The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*
1898	Meets Ford Madox (Hueffer) Ford and H. G. Wells
January	Alfred Borys Leo Conrad born
October	Moves to Pent Farm, Postling, near Hythe, Kent, sub-let from Ford
1899 February–April	'The Heart of Darkness' in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*
1900 September	Begins association with literary agent J. B. Pinker
October	*Lord Jim*
1901 June	*The Inheritors* (with Ford)
1902 November	*Youth: A Narrative and Two Other Stories*
1903 April	*Typhoon and Other Stories*
October	*Romance* (with Ford)
1904 July 15	Assassination in St Petersburg of Interior Minister Vyacheslav Konstantinovich de Plehve
October	*Nostromo*
1905 June	*One Day More* staged in London
July	'Autocracy and War' in *Fortnightly Review*
1906 August	John Alexander Conrad born
October	*The Mirror of the Sea*
1907 mid-May–mid-August	Conrad and family in Geneva

May 18	First 'idea' for short story 'Razumov', later *Under Western Eyes*
September	*The Secret Agent*. Moves to Someries, Luton, Bedfordshire
c. December 3	Begins writing 'Razumov'
1908 January	Expands and revises 'The Black Mate', first drafted in 1886
c. March 11	Reaches end of Part I of 'Razumov'
March 15	Envisages 'a short novel', but progress slows on reaching Geneva section
August	*A Set of Six*
September 18	First instalment of 'Some Reminiscences' for *English Review* now drafted
September 29–October 14	Typing of 'Razumov' reaches near start of Part II/4
October 8	Second 'Some Reminiscences' paper now finished; lays 'Razumov' aside to continue with third
mid-November?	Writes review of Anatole France's *L'Île des Pingouins* for *English Review*; returns to 'Razumov' towards end of month
by *c.* December 9	Concludes first series (four instalments) of 'Some Reminiscences'; has put aside 'some 8000' words, probably 'Prince Roman' (revised September–October 1911)
1909 early January	Finishes 'Razumov' to manuscript page 700 (towards end of Part II/4)
February	Moves to Aldington, Kent
early March?–May 20	Completes three further instalments of 'Some Reminiscences'
by March 31	Passes end of Part II of 'Razumov'
December 5–*c.* 18	Breaks off 'Razumov' to write 'The Secret Sharer'
December 18	Receives Pinker's demand to complete 'Razumov' within a fortnight
1910 January 12	First mention of title *Under Western Eyes*
January 19?	Completes up to manuscript page 1300 (near end of Part IV/3)
January 27	Delivers manuscript to Pinker to near end of Part IV/4; furious row with him

by January 30	Writes last manuscript pages
January 30	Nervous collapse, followed by slow recovery throughout the spring
April–May	Undertakes typescript revisions, sending batches to Robert Garnett for retyping and correction
June 24	Moves to Capel House, Orlestone, Kent
c. late October	Corrects *English Review* proofs of first instalment of *Under Western Eyes*, hereafter a monthly obligation
December	Serialization begins in *English Review* and *North American Review* (concludes October 1911)
1911 before May 13?	Serious problems with *English Review* proofs
by early September	Methuen proofs begin arriving in duplicate; 'muddle' with proofs ensues
October 5	*Under Western Eyes* in England (19 October in America)
1912 January	*Some Reminiscences* (as *A Personal Record* in America)
October	*'Twixt Land and Sea*
1913 September	*Chance*, with 'main' publication date of January 1914
1914 July–November	Visits Austrian Poland with family; delayed by outbreak of First World War; returns via Vienna and Genoa
1915 February	*Within the Tides*
September	*Victory*
1917 March	*The Shadow-Line*
1919 March	Moves to Spring Grove, near Wye, Kent. Dramatic version of *Victory* opens in London
August	*The Arrow of Gold*
October	Moves to Oswalds, Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury, Kent
1920 by May 20	Writes 'Author's Note' for *Under Western Eyes*
June	*The Rescue*

1921 January–April	Visits Corsica. Collected editions begin publication in England (Heinemann) and in America (Doubleday)
February	*Notes on Life and Letters*
1922 November	*The Secret Agent* staged in London
1923 May–June	Visits America, guest of F. N. Doubleday
December	*The Rover*
1924 May	Declines knighthood
August 3	Dies at Oswalds. Roman Catholic funeral and burial, Canterbury
September	*The Nature of a Crime* (with Ford)
October	*The Shorter Tales of Joseph Conrad*
1925 January	*Tales of Hearsay*
September	*Suspense* (unfinished)
1926 March	*Last Essays*
1928 June	*The Sisters*

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTE ON EDITIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

[London is the place of publication unless otherwise specified.]

Bibliography	William R. Cagle and Robert W. Trogdon, 'A Bibliography of Joseph Conrad'. Typescript, unpublished
Carabine	Keith Carabine, *The Life and the Art: A Study of Conrad's 'Under Western Eyes'*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996
CR	*Joseph Conrad: The Contemporary Reviews*. General Editors Allan H. Simmons, John G. Peters and J. H. Stape, with Richard Niland, Mary Burgoyne and Katherine Isobel Baxter. 4 vols. Cambridge University Press, 2012
Donovan, ed.	Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*, ed. Stephen Donovan. Penguin Books, 2007
Hervouet	Yves Hervouet, *The French Face of Joseph Conrad*. Cambridge University Press, 1990
Kirschner (1988)	Paul Kirschner, 'Making You *See* Geneva: The Sense of Place in *Under Western Eyes*', *L'Époque Conradienne* (1988), 101–27
Kirschner (1992)	Paul Kirschner, 'Topodialogic Narrative in *Under Western Eyes* and the Rasoumoffs of "La Petite Russie"', *Conrad's Cities: Essays for Hans van Marle*, ed. Gene M. Moore. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1992, pp. 223–54
Kirschner, ed.	Joseph Conrad, *Under Western Eyes*, ed. Paul Kirschner. Penguin Books, 1996
Knowles	Owen Knowles, '*Under Western Eyes*: A Note on Two Sources', *The Conradian*, 10 (1985), 154–61
Letters	*The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*. General Editors Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies,

	with Owen Knowles, Gene M. Moore and J. H. Stape. 9 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1983–2007
Najder	Zdzisław Najder, *Joseph Conrad: A Life*, trans. Halina Najder. Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2007
Najder, *Conrad*	*Conrad Under Familial Eyes*, ed. Zdzisław Najder and trans. Halina Carroll-Najder. Cambridge University Press, 1983
Najder, *Letters*	*Conrad's Polish Background: Letters to and from Polish Friends*, ed. Zdzisław Najder and trans. Halina Carroll. Oxford University Press, 1964
Register	Gene M. Moore, comp., 'A Descriptive Location Register of Joseph Conrad's Literary Manuscripts', *The Conradian*, 27, no. 2 (2002), 1–93

LOCATIONS OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

Berg	Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations
Hofstra	Joan and Donald E. Axinn Library, Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York
Northwestern	Charles Deering McCormick Library, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois
Philadelphia	Free Library of Philadelphia
Rosenbach	Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia
Yale	Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

NOTE ON EDITIONS

References to Conrad's works are to the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Joseph Conrad where these have been published. Otherwise, references are, for the sake of convenience, to Dent's Collected Edition, 1946–55, whose pagination is identical with that of the various 'editions' published by Doubleday throughout the 1920s. References

to the Cambridge Edition take the following form: title (year of publication), whereas publication dates are not provided for citations from Dent's Collected Edition.

Citations from critical and other works are identified by author, title and date of publication. References to Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (1866) are to the translation by Frederick Whishaw, first published in 1886 in Vizetelly's One-Volume novel series, in its Everyman reprinting of 1911.

INTRODUCTION

THE LAST in a trilogy of political novels that includes *Nostromo* (1904) and *The Secret Agent* (1907), *Under Western Eyes* (1911) engages with the great issues of imperialism, revolution, capitalism and anarchism. In the first significant revaluation of Conrad's canon after the Second World War, F. R. Leavis judged the novel 'a most distinguished work' although regarding the other two as Conrad's 'supreme masterpieces'.[1] While this verdict has stood the test of time, several later commentators have hailed *Under Western Eyes* as among the most significant fictions of the twentieth century,[2] and placed it alongside such European classics as Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (1866), to which it is indebted, and Franz Kafka's *The Trial* (1925).

Shortly before *Under Western Eyes* was published, Conrad informed his literary agent, J. B. Pinker, that he planned to explain in the preface to *Some Reminiscences* (later *A Personal Record*) 'how I came to write such a novel ... so utterly unlike in subject and treatment from anything I had done before'.[3] The 'subject' – Razumov's twofold betrayal and twofold confession – is a variation on familiar Conradian themes; and because it is the writer's only full-length work set in Russia, the country of his birth, Conrad knew before he began the work that it would draw upon childhood memories and require him to explore his profound ambivalence about his divided Polish heritage and his complex feelings about his parents and family. Conrad's 'most deeply meditated novel' (*Letters*, v, 695) took three years to compose and culminated in a physical and mental breakdown in early 1910.

The narrative 'treatment' involving a double focus is familiar enough, but *Under Western Eyes* is a radical variation on it in being based upon a diary mediated through the Western eyes of an unnamed,

[1] *The Great Tradition: George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad* (1948), pp. 251–2. The chapters on Conrad were first published in *Scrutiny* in 1941.
[2] See, for example, Morton D. Zabel, 'Introduction', *Under Western Eyes* (1963), p. xviii.
[3] Conrad to J. B. Pinker, 13 September 1911 (*Letters*, IV, 477).

elderly English teacher of languages who, by confessing that he lacks both the novelist's 'high gifts of imagination and expression' and 'comprehension of the Russian character',[1] disqualifies himself as an interpreter. Unsurprisingly, the complexities and tensions of the dual narrative and the riddling narrator have generated widely differing valuations of the doubleness variously detected in the novel's narrative focus, irony and authority.[2]

ORIGINS

ACCORDING TO Conrad's first biographer, G. Jean-Aubry, it was during Conrad's three-month stay with his family in Geneva, from mid-May to mid-August 1907, that he remembered 'a casual conversation he had had with a stranger' during a visit to the city in May 1895 that provided 'the idea' for *Under Western Eyes*.[3] Long the haven of Russian revolutionaries of various stripes – from the anarchist Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin and socialist Alexander Herzen to the Bolshevik leader Vladimir Ilyich Lenin and their grim shadows, the Tsarist spies – Geneva was a city Conrad knew well, having repaired to it for hydrotherapy at periods of personal crisis.[4] During each visit he lodged at the Hôtel-Pension de la Roseraie in Champel-les-Bains, a mere 400 yards (some 360 metres) from an area nicknamed 'La Petite Russie' ('Little Russia'). Situated in the commune of Plainpalais between La Cluse and the Carouge Bridge,[5] the quarter played somewhat reluctant host to Russian revolutionaries in exile. In 1905, Russia's defeat by Japan was joyously celebrated there, while the area was associated with clandestine activities, including bomb-making.[6] In 1907, the noise made by Russian students became a concern for local residents;[7] and so dramatic was the flood of young Russians into

[1] See pp. 11.3, 12.2. Subsequent references to the texts of the present edition appear in round brackets.

[2] For a summary and interpretation of these issues, see Carabine, pp. 209–51.

[3] *Joseph Conrad: Life and Letters*, ed. G. Jean-Aubry (1927), II, 5.

[4] Conrad's previous sojourns in the city are dated as follows: (1) 21 May–14 June 1891 in the wake of his return from the Congo; (2) 8 August–6 September 1894, six months after the death of his uncle and guardian Tadeusz Bobrowski; and (3) May 1895 to seek relief from 'attacks of melancholy' (*Letters*, I, 211). On Conrad's detailed knowledge of Geneva and on the novel's topographical accuracy, see Kirschner (1988) and Kirschner (1992).

[5] For a map of this area, see Kirschner, ed., p. xvi.

[6] 'Les Fabricants de bombes', *Journal de Genève*, 5 May 1905, p. 2.

[7] Étienne Barrès, *Contre le socialisme révolutionnaire* (1907); see Kirschner, ed., p. 269.

Switzerland in the wake of unrest in, and the closure of, Russian universities that it became a matter of official concern.[1] Living near this district, Conrad would have heard Russian – a language familiar to him from childhood – daily, and in many ways would have been reminded of his origins and early years.

His last stay, with his wife and two young boys in 1907, possibly suggested the contrast between a safe, bourgeois city and the unstable city of St Petersburg upon which both the plot of his new work and the clash between East and West pivot. However that may be, Conrad was also dealing with political themes, Russian intrigues and the contrast between English and Russian values in the main work he accomplished whilst in Geneva: the revision of *The Secret Agent*. The central action of that novel – the attempted anarchist bombing of the Greenwich Observatory in 1894 – is inspired by 'the cynical self-satisfaction' of the spy-bureaucrat Mr Vladimir, descended 'from generations victimised by the instruments of an arbitrary power'.[2]

The remote germ of *Under Western Eyes* seems to lie in an idea that Conrad had been contemplating during the spring of 1907 and had mooted to his literary agent shortly after he and his family arrived from Montpellier to stay in Geneva: to treat the topics of 'war, peace, labour in general' in a novel 'with a sufficiently interesting story'.[3] Nothing came of this, or, rather, it complexly evolved into another, quite different work dealing with political themes.

Conrad probably began *Under Western Eyes* as a short story on his fiftieth birthday, 3 December 1907.[4] He made rapid progress on 'Razumov', then conceived as a tale 'about the revolutionist who is blown up by his own bomb' (*Letters*, III, 513). Shortly after completing its first seventy pages – the final novel's first chapter – he wrote two revealing letters, to his friend and fellow writer John Galsworthy and to Pinker. Speaking of himself in the third person, he informed Galsworthy:

> He is writing now a story the title of which is *Razumov*. Isn't it expressive. I think that I am trying to capture the very soul of things Russian – Cosas de Russia.... Listen to the theme: The Student Razumov (a natural son of a Prince K—) gives

[1] In 1907, the rectors of Swiss universities agreed to implement considerably more stringent admission policies to deal with the influx of Russian university students; see *Journal de Genève*, 11 June 1907, p. 2; 11 August 1907, p. 2.

[2] *The Secret Agent*, ed. bruce Harkness and S. W. Reid (1990), p. 169.28–29.

[3] Conrad to Pinker, 18 May 1907 (*Letters*, III, 440).

[4] For a detailed account of the novel's writing and revision, see 'The Texts', pp. 296–315.

up secretly to the police his fellow Student Haldin who seeks refuge in his rooms after com[m]itting a political crime (supposed to be the murder of de Plehve). First movement in S^{t} Petersburg. (Haldin is hanged of course). [*in margin*] 'done'

2^{d} in Geneva: The Student Razumov meeting abroad the mother and sister of Haldin falls in love with that last, marries her and after a time confesses to her the part he played in the arrest and death of her brother. [*in margin*] 'to do' ...

But I had to write it. (6 January 1908, *Letters*, IV, 8–9)

To Pinker the next day, Conrad repeated and augmented his announcement: 'Here is given the very essence of things Russian. Not the mere outward manners and customs but the Russian feeling and thought.... And, I think, the story is effective. It is also characteristic of the present time. Nothing of the sort had been done in English. The subject has long haunted me. Now it must come out' (*Letters*, IV, 14).

These statements attest to Conrad's assured sense of his story's contemporary relevance, while demonstrating that his decision to write it was inspired by personal memories and a desire to portray the Russian national character. His friend Richard Curle records another, rather less personal spur to writing that reveals an interest in the marketplace: 'As he noted in my copy, he was induced to write *Under Western Eyes* "by the rubbishy character of stories about Russian revolutionaries published in magazines," and undoubtedly he composed it with that antagonism to Russian institutions and character which he had always showed.'[1] Conrad did not exaggerate the timeliness of his subject: since 1894, Constance Garnett's translations of almost all of Turgenev's works and a substantial part of Tolstoy's had roused a preoccupation with the Russian 'soul' and, in particular, with Tolstoy's spiritual depths, moral courage and austere lifestyle.

Through Razumov's 'record', Conrad intended to 'capture the very soul of things Russian', but the 'subject' outlined to Galsworthy – of Razumov's betrayal of Haldin, his subsequent tormented double life and desperate need to justify, confess and be understood – describes the 'very soul' of themes and things Conradian. It is a variant of what he called 'the inner story of most of my books' (*Letters*, IV, 139). This

[1] Richard Curle, *The Last Twelve Years of Joseph Conrad* (1928), p. 99. The genre to which Conrad was antipathetic would include such works as Joseph Hatton's *By Order of the Czar: The Tragic Story of Anna Klosstock, Queen of the Ghetto* (1890), Richard Henry Savage's *The Anarchist: A Story of To-Day* (1894) and Arthur R. and Mary E. Ropes's *On Peter's Island* (1901). For a survey of such writings, see A. G. Cross, *The Russian Theme in English Literature from the Sixteenth Century to 1980: An Introductory Survey and A Bibliography* (1985), and Barbara Arnett Melchiori, *Terrorism in the Late Victorian Novel* (1985).

story partly concerns his awareness of the fact that 'men of unstained rectitude' had accused him of 'desertion' and 'faithlessness' for having left his native land that his ancestors and parents had 'bedewed with their blood'.[1] This imputation of 'betrayal' was compounded by his compatriots' charge of disloyalty for choosing to write in English rather than Polish. The novelist and pioneer feminist Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910), in a highly polemical essay of 1899, notably construed this decision as an affront to, and a betrayal of, a stern patriotic duty to devote one's life and artistic career to promoting Polish nationalism.[2]

Conrad's reticence in dealing with these issues – not, certainly, of especial interest to his English-speaking audience – is understandable, and for the thirty years following his departure from Cracow in 1874 the possibility of Poland's regaining her independent political identity was inconceivable.[3] The wreckage of his father's Messianic dreams of freeing all the lands of partitioned Poland and uniting all faiths, classes and ethnic groups, and the example of the sober struggle of his uncle Tadeusz Bobrowski (1829–94) to nurture Polish culture and enable Poles 'to fulfil the material needs of life',[4] while enduring the indignities and suppressions of the Tsarist regime, were not lost on Conrad. He was, however, obliged to reconsider his despairing stance when Russia endured a succession of catastrophic losses in her war with Japan, beginning on 6 February 1904 with the near-destruction of the Russian fleet in the harbour of Port Arthur, Manchuria. Russia's defeat in August 1905 marked a new period in international political relations. During the months of the war, Russia's losses ignited internal strife and revolution within the country and throughout her vast Empire as oppressed groups rose up to confront a severely weakened state.

This momentous series of events and their future implications, as Conrad told Pinker, weighed on his spirit like 'a horrid nightmare' (*Letters*, IV, 15), probably because for the first time since the 1863 Insurrection the issue of Polish independence had returned to the international agenda. In what must have seemed a replay of his divided

[1] *A Personal Record*, ed. Zdzisław Najder and J. H. Stape (2008), pp. 44.4–5, 44.1.
[2] 'Emigracja zdolności' ('The Emigration of Talent'), *Kraj*, 23 April 1899; trans. in Najder, *Conrad*, pp. 182–92.
[3] Democratic nationalists – including Conrad's cousin Stanisław Bobrowski, who was imprisoned in 1892 for the 'unauthorised teaching of artisans' – continued to nurture such hopes (Najder, *Letters*, p. 162).
[4] Ibid., p. 154.

heritage, Polish resistance in 1904–05 was split and, as in 1863, various factions fought with each other as well as with their common enemy.[1] These events also triggered a new departure in Conrad's literary career, spurring him against the grain of his aesthetic of Flaubertian detachment and his sceptical temperament to assume the public role of interpreter of current events and their background in 'Autocracy and War', written on Capri in early 1905.[2] Conrad acknowledged that this essay was prompted by a sudden 'stirring up of thought (probably worthless) a sort of inwards voice (probably silly)' (*Letters*, III, 275). This 'inwards voice' is distinctly Polish because the essay 'reads like a literal translation from a late-romantic Polish writer; in a word, like a translation from Apollo Korzeniowski' (Najder, *Letters*, p. 25). Najder has in mind Korzeniowski's anguished polemic, 'Poland and Muscovy', whose case against Russia is reprised in both 'Autocracy and War' and *Under Western Eyes* in the 'passions' and 'prejudices' ('Author's Note', 6.3) that threatened Conrad's 'detachment', and that infiltrate the novel (mainly) through the screening device of the old teacher's derogatory 'digressions' on 'the very soul of things Russian'.[3]

SOURCES

CONRAD'S SOURCES for *Under Western Eyes* are essentially of three kinds: autobiographical, calling upon his 'peculiar experience of race and family' ('Author's Note', 6.32) and on the intersections between his life and career and Razumov's; historical, especially involving what in his 'Author's Note' (1920) he calls 'the events of the tale'

[1] For a concise account of these issues, see Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (1982), II, 369–77.

[2] *Fortnightly Review*, 1 July 1905, pp. 1–21; rpt in 1921 in *Notes on Life and Letters*, ed. J. H. Stape (2004), pp. 71–93.

[3] Najder includes part of Apollo Korzeniowski's polemic in *Letters* (pp. 75–8); the full version can be found in Bobrowski, *A Memoir of my Life* (1900), ed. and trans. Addison Bross (2008). For a discussion of the language teacher's digressions in relation to 'Poland and Muscovy' and 'Autocracy and War', see Carabine, pp. 84–9. He notes that all three texts promote what we may call 'a two-worlds thesis' that insists on the otherness of the Russian character and of Russian institutions and history. Thus Korzeniowski lambastes Russia's 'barbarism, ignorance, renegation' (Najder, *Conrad*, p. 84); Conrad affirms Russia's lack of a 'historical past' and of any 'hope for a historical future' (*Notes on Life and Letters*, p. 81.22–23); and the old teacher insists that 'the spirit of Russia is the spirit of cynicism' (58.21–22) – as he tells an approving Razumov, the terrible fate of the Russian people is that they are 'under a curse', an 'evil spell' (151.40, 152.20).

(5.5); and literary, ranging across several languages and traditions. In the early 1960s, Eloise Knapp Hay expressed how discouraged she felt in discovering 'hints for "sources"' of *Under Western Eyes* 'almost everywhere' she looked.[1] Since then, scholars have tried to look 'everywhere' and have demonstrated that *Under Western Eyes* is one of the most richly allusive of Conrad's novels.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

CONRAD OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGED in his letters of early January 1908 that the writing of 'Razumov' was triggered by reflections on his past. As he wrote not long before he began the work: 'Living with memories is a cruel business. I – who have a double life[,] one of them peopled only by shadows growing more precious as the years pass – know what that is.'[2] Parallels between Conrad and Razumov readily suggest themselves. Character and creator share 'a hereditary and personal knowledge of the means by which a historical autocracy represses ideas, guards its power and defends its existence' (27.13–15), and both are orphans with an 'immense parentage' that 'suffered from the throes of internal dissensions' (17.1–2).

Razumov is caught between, and embodies, antagonistic definitions of what it means to be Russian, either a revolutionary or a supporter of the status quo who hopes to ameliorate the Tsarist system from within; and Conrad, by his own definition a 'Homo duplex' (*Letters*, III, 89), is caught between the competing and irreconcilable definitions of his father and his uncle and guardian regarding what it meant to be Polish. His father, Apollo Korzeniowski (1820–69), a poet, playwright and political activist, wanted his son to 'weld his body and awakening soul to the body of our society' and to become a lifelong champion of Polish liberties and rights. By contrast, his uncle, Tadeusz Bobrowski, urged his young ward to eschew such idealistic fantasies, to make peace with things as they were and, through a professional career, to become 'a useful and worthy person' to society.[3] As his *Memoir* records, Bobrowski favoured a gradualist approach: 'the attainment of a fairly

[1] *The Political Novels of Joseph Conrad* (1963), p. 279.
[2] Conrad to R. B. Cunninghame Graham, 7 October 1907 (*Letters*, III, 491).
[3] Najder, *Conrad*, p. 104; Najder, *Letters*, p. 36.

tolerable *modus vivendi* that would result in a complete autonomy' of the Polish Kingdom.[1]

Conrad's hereditary and personal knowledge of the repressive power and divisive effects of Russian autocracy suggests correspondences with his fictional portrait of Razumov's predicament. In the novel, Razumov 'shrank mentally from the fray' of these familial and national dissensions (17.2–3); but Haldin's arrival in his rooms ensures that the 'revolution had sought him out to put to a sudden test his dormant instincts ... and almost wholly unconscious ambitions, by the touch as of some furious and dogmatic religion with its call to frantic sacrifices' (225.26–29). Haldin, therefore, obliges Razumov to choose either revolution or gradual reform. Razumov's reactions to Kostia's misprision that he must be a revolutionist suggest parallels to the pressures on Conrad to justify his detachment from his background in his life and fiction, and, in the terms of Orzeszkowa's strongly worded attack, even to defend and justify his life and career.

Unsurprisingly, the Polish 'shades' that most haunt Conrad in *Under Western Eyes* are those of his parents, Apollo Korzeniowski and Ewa Korzeniowska (née Bobrowska, 1831–65). Schooled by Tadeusz Bobrowski, Ewa's brother, to revere his mother and to reject his father's nostalgic dreams of achieving independence through armed struggle, Conrad had a deeply conflicted relationship with his parents' militant patriotism. He appears to have made creative use of his father in his characterization of Haldin and his family. At St Petersburg University, Korzeniowski was accused of '*independent thinking*';[2] the university authorities mark Haldin 'as "restless" and "unsound"' (19.32–33). More importantly, they share personal and ideological traits: both are enthusiasts and visionaries motivated by 'the desire of freedom, an ardent patriotism, the love of justice, the sense of pity' (14.8–9); both selflessly dedicate and sacrifice their lives – in Haldin's words to his sister, Natalia – to 'something greater than themselves – the idea' of freedom from autocracy (267.16–17). To adopt Bobrowski's judgement of his brother-in-law, he was an idealistic dreamer, a lenient judge of the poor and weak, as is Haldin;[3] and, concomitantly, both express

[1] Najder, *Letters*, p. 36.

[2] Stefan Buszczyński, 'A Little-Known Poet' (1870), Najder, *Conrad*, p. 24.

[3] Bobrowski to Conrad, 18/30 July 1891 (Najder, *Letters*, pp. 147–8). In his memoirs, Bobrowski opines that Apollo had 'two sets of standards, one for the lesser and simple folk, another for the great world': *A Memoir of My Life*, p. 238.

uncompromising scorn for those (usually the bourgeoisie) not sharing their convictions.[1]

Like the Haldin siblings, Conrad's parents were 'profound believers' (85.36) and Messianists, mingling strongly religious elements with their ardent patriotism and seeing in suffering Poland a parallel to the redemptive sacrifice of Christ. Korzeniowski's fervent democratic faith in the spiritual purity and insurrectionary potential of the people matches Haldin's belief 'in the power of a people's will to achieve anything' (107.22–23). Haldin resigns himself to the act of assassination, thinking 'God's will be done' (26.2); Conrad's mother speaks for her husband, in religious images, when praising his underground efforts to overthrow Tsarism: 'Oh God, give your blessing to the goodwill, to the earnest desire of the attainment of Your holy ends!'[2] Razumov's admission that 'After all it is they [the revolutionists] and not I who have the right on their side. Theirs is the strength of invisible powers' (274.21–22) does not mean that he is, therefore, 'converted' to the revolutionary cause, a situation that echoes, perhaps, Conrad's own predicament. His parents' sacrifice for their mutilated country demands his 'haunting fidelity'[3] to their memory; but, as his 'Author's Note' makes clear, he fundamentally, and with finely grained scepticism, rejected violence as a tool of political change, agreeing in this with his uncle, whose response to political strife echoes at times Razumov's attitude at the novel's opening.[4]

HISTORICAL SOURCES

THE NOVEL'S HISTORICAL roots can be traced to two main sources: 'the events of the tale', which include those derived from

[1] In the solitude of exile, Apollo Korzeniowski had envisaged meeting like-minded spirits upon returning to Galicia, but, as his letters reveal, he scorned the Galicians' selfishness, lack of principles and failure to love their country (Najder, *Conrad*, pp. 115, 117, 119, *et passim*).

[2] Ewa Korzeniowska to Apollo Korzeniowski, 4/17 July 1861 (Najder, *Conrad*, p. 53).

[3] 'Emendation and Variation', p. 393 (report on 78.6).

[4] There are other echoes as well. Bobrowski, who studied at St Petersburg University, was a prize-winning medallist who kept a careful distance from the ardent political enthusiasms and activities of some of his fellow students. See, in particular, his account of his uneasy friendship with Zygmunt Sierakowski (1826–63), whom he had known in the Ukraine and who was a close friend of his brother Stefan. Involved in liberal and patriotic causes and a leader in political discussion groups whilst at St Petersburg University, Sierakowski afterwards made a career in the Russian army. A participant in the 1863 Insurrection, he was hanged even though dying from wounds sustained in action. See Bobrowski, *A Memoir of My Life*, pp. 223–6.

an essay by David Vladimirovich Soskice, 'The Azeff Scandals in Russia',[1] and those drawn from Conrad's extensive reading in books and periodicals.[2] Among the latter were the *Fortnightly Review* and *Contemporary Review*, while the books included French accounts of Russia such as that by the Marquis de Custine, *La Russie en 1839* (1843), and Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu's two-volume history, *L'Empire des tsars et les Russes* (1881–2); the outpouring prompted by the 1905 Revolution such as G. H. Perris's *Russia in Revolution* (1905) and Henry W. Nevinson's *The Dawn in Russia* (1906) and *Essays in Freedom* (1909); and, finally, what Conrad called 'sensational novels' (7.6–7).

In the letter to Galsworthy outlining the plot of 'Razumov',[3] Conrad revealed that the assassination of Mr de P— was based upon the real-life murder of Russia's brutal and fanatical Minister of the Interior and sometime Procurator of the Holy Synod, Count Vyacheslav Konstantinovich de Plehve (1846–1904), by a university student, who was a member of the Social Revolutionary Organization of Combat.[4] An anti-Semite who throughout his career was intent on Russifying the Empire's minority populations, de Plehve was killed in July 1904. As the *Spectator* reported the event, a man 'dashed out of a restaurant and flung the bomb at his carriage. The coachman, the horses, and the carriage were all shattered, both legs were torn from the unhappy Minister, and of course he died on the spot.'[5] Details of de P—'s concern for his dying servant and of a second bomb seem to have been borrowed by Conrad from reports of the assassination of Alexander II on 1 March 1881 by the Executive Committee of the terrorist organization Narodnaya Volya ('The People's Will'). As the Tsar's sleigh took him through the snow-covered streets, one Nikolai Rysakov threw the first bomb, which destroyed the back of the sleigh without injuring his target, and was immediately seized. Then, 'The

[1] Soskice (né Soskis, 1866–1941), the brother-in-law of Conrad's friend and sometime collaborator Ford Madox Hueffer, later Ford, was a lawyer and revolutionary who had spent three years in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St Petersburg. Soskice, who had met Ford in 1899, married his sister Juliet in 1902. Conrad disliked him intensely and resented his takeover in May 1909 of the *English Review*, which Ford had founded, partly with Conrad's help, the previous year. His essay on Azeff (signed only with the initials 'D. S.' and under the full title 'III. The Russian Spy System: The Azeff Scandals in Russia') appeared in the monthly alongside the fourth instalment of Conrad's 'Some Reminiscences'; see the *English Review*, I (1909), 816–32.

[2] For borrowings and echoes of Conrad's reading, see 'Explanatory Notes'.

[3] Conrad to John Galsworthy, 6 January 1908 (*Letters*, IV, 9).

[4] Perris, *Russia in Revolution*, p. 295.

[5] *Spectator*, 16 July 1904, p. 142.

Tsar, who was uninjured, left his carriage and hurried to the wounded. Many of his entourage begged him earnestly to drive on' when a second bomb exploded, 'literally dismembering the Tsar and destroying the bomb-thrower, a student named Grinewitsky'.[1]

The figure of de P— is a composite one: the portrait based upon 'the illustrated papers of Europe' (14.20) is not of de Plehve but of Konstantin Petrovich Pobedonostsev (1827–1907), the leading instigator of the reactionary policies invoked after the assassination of Alexander II.[2] Contemporary photographs show a close resemblance to Conrad's de P—: 'narrow-chested', he had 'a face of ... parchment', 'insipid, bespectacled eyes' and a 'skinny throat' (14.17–18). Contemporary photographs of de Plehve – although he wears a 'gold laced uniform' (14.16) in them – show him as burly-chested, moustached, jowly and bull-necked, attributes that, along with his domineering eyes, better fit General T—, who has 'an air of jovial, careless cruelty' (41.29) and whose 'smooth big cheeks rested on the stiff collar of his uniform' (41.13).

Father Zosim, who provides Razumov with a letter of introduction to the revolutionaries in Geneva, is modelled on another figure of the day: the infamous Father Georgy Apollonovich Gapon (1870–1906), who led the huge peaceful delegation of peasants and workers to present a petition to Tsar Nicholas II on 9 January 1905. It appealed for freedoms that he could not have granted without undermining autocracy; and Tsarist troops, ordered to open fire, killed some one hundred demonstrators and wounded many others. After the 'Bloody Sunday' massacre, Gapon fled to Geneva. He was later welcomed in London by David Soskice and wrote his autobiography, *The Story of My Life* (1905) – which Conrad may have read – in Ford's mother's house.[3] In it Gapon rebutted rumours that he was a double agent, claiming that, although he did accept a police subsidy as part of de Plehve's scheme for controlling the political activity of

[1] Konni Zilliacus, *The Russian Revolutionary Movement* (1905), pp. 111–12. See also Peter Kropotkin (Prince Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin), *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899), II, 243–4.

[2] Pobedonostsev, the Tsarevich's tutor, was widely regarded to have been a baleful influence on his pupil, who became Alexander III following his father's assassination in 1881. Conrad may have been familiar with Pobedonostsev's *Reflections of a Russian Statesman*, trans. Robert Crozier Long (1898).

[3] For further details, see Thomas C. Moser, 'Ford Madox Hueffer and *Under Western Eyes*', *Conradiana*, 15 (1983), 163–80.

the workers, he none the less always planned to subvert the Tsarist police.[1]

Nikita, the double agent who deafens Razumov, is modelled on the *agent provocateur* Yevgeniy Filippovich Azef (né Yevno Fishelevich Azef, 1869–1918),[2] a major force in the Social Revolutionary Party between 1901 and 1908, who organized several assassinations, including those of the Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich – the Tsar's uncle, and sometime Governor-General of Moscow – in February 1905[3] and of Father Gapon in March 1906. In February 1908, Azef was finally unmasked as a Tsarist agent who had betrayed many revolutionaries.[4] He was 'stout' with a 'broad round face' and 'heavy jaws';[5] Nikita has a 'great white hairless face, double chin, prominent stomach' (204.11–12). Both have 'insatiable instincts'[6] for, and unparalleled records in, violence and murder, and both married devoted wives who shared their apparent revolutionary fervour and knew nothing of their double agency.

Several of the most picturesque details of the novel's revolutionary underworld come from Soskice's essay. The 'paper with the letters N. N. ... found pinned on the stabbed breast of a certain notorious spy' (205.26–28) reworks his account of Azef's role in the betrayal and hanging of Gapon upon whose body 'a visiting-card' was found.[7] The language teacher's recollection of 'an abortive military conspiracy' (251.25–26) planned by Peter Ivanovitch and Laspara echoes Soskice's story of a secret attempt in 1905 by the Social Revolutionary Party, backed by Azef with Gapon as its leader, to start an insurrection in St Petersburg by landing weapons and revolutionaries from a steamer and arming a few hundred men.

Conrad partly modelled the Mikulin–Razumov relationship on that between Azef and 'the omnipotent chief of the foreign service of the

[1] Soskice dismissed rumours spread by the Russian socialists and aired in the *Daily Telegraph* that Gapon was an *agent provocateur*; see 'The Beginning of the General Strike: Father Gapon', *Free Russia*, 1 February 1905, p. 17.

[2] Spellings of his forename and surname vary. Those used here appear to be in majority use.

[3] Conrad may have drawn upon this assassination as well as on de Plehve's. It occurred in winter, and its main perpetrator, Ivan Kalyayev, immediately arrested, was hanged two months later. By contrast, de Plehve's assassination was in summer and the perpetrator, one Sasoneff, was condemned to penal servitude.

[4] For a full account of Azef's career, see Boris Nicolaievsky, *Aseff: The Russian Judas* (1934), trans. George Reavey.

[5] Soskice, 'The Azeff Scandals in Russia', p. 816. [6] Ibid. [7] Ibid., p. 824.

Russian political police',[1] Pyotr Ivanovich Rachkovsky (1853–1910), and based his account of Mikulin's downfall on Soskice's story of the fate of A. A. Lopoukhine, a de Plehve intimate and 'former director of the Department of Police, in whose service Azeff had been in the time of Plehve', who unmasked Azef and was himself 'imprisoned and his papers confiscated' by the Tsarist authorities in order 'to hush up' their clandestine relationship.[2] Conrad adapted Sophia Antonovna's story of Mikulin's betrayal of Nikita to Peter Ivanovitch from Soskice's account of how Lopoukhine wrote a letter, published 'in the European press', that confirmed the Social Revolutionary Party's suspicions that Azef had once been in his service as a Tsarist double agent.[3]

The figure of Sophia Antonovna recalls the depiction of the career of Sophia Lvovna Perovskaia (1853–81) in Stepniak's *Underground Russia: Revolutionary Profiles and Sketches from Life* (1883).[4] Perovskaia participated in several violent acts and orchestrated the Tsar's assassination; and she and Sophia Antonovna share several human qualities: the former is admired 'for her stoical severity towards herself, her indefatigable energy and ... her powerful capacity', for her 'keen and penetrating mind', for 'The force of her will' that enabled her to endure the 'terrible toil of perpetual conspiracy' and for her 'scrutinizing regard which seemed to penetrate into the very depths of the mind'.[5] The latter, 'grave' and 'intent', pays little attention to her appearance (184.35), and tells Razumov that 'You've got to trample down every particle of your own feelings; for stop you cannot, you must not' (189.40–190.2). Her 'black, penetrating gaze' is a motif (187.3). Moreover, Perovskaia and Sophia are both presented by their authors (to adapt Razumov's thoughts about Sophia) as old

[1] Ibid., p. 817. [2] Ibid., pp. 827, 828. [3] Ibid., p. 827.

[4] 'Stepniak' (né Sergei Mikhailovich Stepniak-Kravchinsky, 1852–95), a revolutionary who became friendly with Conrad's friends the Garnetts in 1892, taught Constance Garnett Russian and encouraged her career as a translator. The revelation in early 1894 that he had assassinated General N. V. Mezentsev, the chief of the secret police, some fifteen years earlier, although it perturbed them, did not diminish the Garnetts' admiration for him. See Richard Garnett, *Constance Garnett: A Heroic Life* (1991), pp. 112–14, and *Olive & Stepniak: The Bloomsbury Diary of Olive Garnett, 1893–1895*, ed. Barry C. Johnson (1993). Hans van Marle notes that Conrad owned a copy of Stepniak's *Underground Russia* ('A Novelist's Dukedom: From Joseph Conrad's Library', *The Conradian*, 16, no. 1 (1991), 73). Conrad may also have read his *The Career of a Nihilist* (1889).

[5] Stepniak, *Underground Russia*, pp. 132, 137, 138, 137–9.

revolutionary hands, 'respected, trusted and influential'; their words have weight 'in the "active" section of every party' (201.31); and they embody 'the true spirit of destructive revolution' (201.33–34). Conrad's reliance on Perovskaia as a source for Sophia Antonovna is, moreover, suggested by the fact that Perovskaia received diplomas in teaching and medicine; in a deleted manuscript section, Sophia Antonovna is reported to have been a medical student.

Peter Ivanovitch is a composite figure, seemingly stitched together from aspects of Leo Tolstoy and several political dissidents – Prince Peter (né Pyotr Alexeyevich) Kropotkin (1841–1921), Rufin Piotrowski (1806–72) and Bakunin (1814–76). The autobiographical writings of Kropotkin and Piotrowski – the former's *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899), which first appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1898, and the latter's *Souvenirs d'un Sibérien*, which first appeared in *La Revue de Deux Mondes* in 1862, and was published in translation as *My Escape from Siberia* (1863) – specifically influence the chapter describing Peter Ivanovitch's escape from penal servitude.[1] An anarchist revolutionary and prolific writer of international reputation, Kropotkin, after his highly publicized escape from a military hospital, was variously and vigorously active in radical circles in Switzerland, France and England.[2] Piotrowski, a Pole condemned to penal servitude for life for clandestine anti-government activities, likewise escaped from captivity, managing to journey across Russia on foot to the West. A theorist-activist whose revolutionary activities took him across Europe, Bakunin also escaped from Siberia and was occasionally resident in Switzerland; like Peter Ivanovitch, he championed women's rights (particularly in his 'Manifesto of the Russian Revolutionary Association to the Oppressed Women of Russia on Women's Liberation'). He is perhaps a more general source, as is Tolstoy, whose romantic involvement with a peasant girl provides yet another influence on the portrayal of Peter Ivanovitch.

[1] Cancelled sequences in the novel's manuscripts show that Conrad drew upon Dostoevsky's *The House of the Dead* and on Tolstoy's life and works to satirize Peter Ivanovitch's ideas and his account of his escape from Siberia. For a discussion, see Keith Carabine, 'From *Razumov* to *Under Western Eyes*: The Case of Peter Ivanovitch', *Conradiana*, 25 (1993), 3–29.

[2] On Kropotkin in England, see Haia Shpayer-Makov, 'The Reception of Peter Kropotkin in Britain, 1886–1917', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 19 (1987), 373–90.

LITERARY SOURCES

HOWEVER LARGE and important Conrad's debts are to real-life events and figures for *Under Western Eyes*, they are eclipsed by his reliance on works of fiction and non-fiction. According to Ian Watt, Conrad's borrowings 'look like unconscious residues of Conrad's remarkable but erratic memory': 'he probably forgot that he was remembering'.[1] However, to adapt Yves Hervouet's response to those anxiously seeking 'to exonerate Conrad from the charge of plagiarism', his borrowings from other writers are 'so obvious, numerous, and varied' that whether or not he had their works on his desk – and it is difficult to believe in the case of Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* that he did not – he 'was highly conscious of those original texts'.[2] In short, 'borrowing' in *Under Western Eyes*, a term not wholly adequate for the complex situation it describes, was a deliberate and enabling method of composition.

Russian literary sources

CONRAD ANTICIPATED that reviewers would 'drag in comparisons with Russian writers of a certain kind' and judge his work 'derivative'.[3] Of these writers, Dostoevsky is undoubtedly the most important: Conrad's engagement in *Under Western Eyes* with Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* is impossible to ignore.[4] When he began writing 'Razumov', the cult of Dostoevsky in England had not begun; encouraged by Constance Garnett, that phenomenon did not get underway until 1912 when her translation – the first in English – of *The Brothers Karamazov* was published. When Conrad was writing *Under Western Eyes*,

[1] *Conrad in the Nineteenth Century* (1980), p. 34.

[2] Hervouet, p. 305 n. 36, citing Andrzej Busza's attempt to explain the similarity between the passages describing Ewa's death in Stefan Żeromski's *The History of a Sin* and Lena's in *Victory*.

[3] Jessie Conrad, *Joseph Conrad as I Knew Him* (1926), p. 56. For example, the dust-jacket of the first English edition of *Under Western Eyes* suggests that the novel reaffirms his work's 'kinship with Turgenev' before citing Conrad's own words that his novel is 'the sustained psychology of a mood having its origin in a crime, and ending in a moral revolt which breaks it down'.

[4] He could have read *Crime and Punishment* translated by Victor Derély into French as *Le Crime et le châtiment* (1884) or in the English version, translated from the French by the prolific Russian-born historical novelist Frederick Whishaw, published in 1886 in Vizetelly's One-Volume novel series. A bowdlerized translation, Whishaw's version differs greatly from Constance Garnett's and all later English ones.

many of Dostoevsky's works were available to him only in French: *Les Possédés* (1886), *Les Frères Karamazov* (1888) and *Un adolescent* and *Journal d'un écrivain* (1902).[1]

Unlike Conrad's recourse to those French writers he greatly admired, such as Flaubert and Maupassant, his engagement with *Crime and Punishment* in *Under Western Eyes* – as his friend and confidant Richard Curle first pointed out – was fuelled by both awe and loathing:

> There was no name in literature that Conrad detested more than that of Dostoievsky, and usually the mere mention of it drove him into a fury. . . . Dostoievsky represented to him the ultimate forces of confusion and insanity arrayed against all that he valued in civilization. He did not despise him as one despises a nonentity, he hated him as one might hate Lucifer and the forces of darkness.
>
> (*The Last Twelve Years of Joseph Conrad* (1928), pp. 16, 29)

This distinction is important. Conrad's extensive borrowing from (say) Anatole France's *Le Lys rouge* towards the end of *Victory* enabled him 'to take the shortest and quickest route to his final destination', and his borrowings from French literary works become part of a pattern of acceptance and dependence and of 'a process of identification and assimilation'.[2] Conrad's extensive borrowings from *Crime and Punishment*, on the other hand, are part of a pattern of challenge, transformation and repudiation that is immediately discernible in the opening pages of the novel (especially in the holograph) where 'the very soul of things Russian' (*Letters*, IV, 8) is captured, in part, through Conrad's hostile engagement with Dostoevsky's values and beliefs, and the scope and significance of the story of Razumov's divided life and heritage are explored through reconfiguring and refuting Raskolnikoff's in *Crime and Punishment*.[3] The striking similarities in the plots of the two novels, in the careers of their protagonists and in their heroines, interrogators and suffering mothers signal a systematic rewriting and rebuttal

[1] The publication dates are those of the French translations. These works have been translated into English under the following titles: *The Possessed* (alternatively, *The Demons* or *The Devils*), *The House of the Dead*, *The Brothers Karamazov*, *The Raw Youth* and *A Writer's Diary*. Conrad could have read *The House of the Dead* in French in Charles Neyroud's translation or in either of two English translations – *Buried Alive; or, Ten Years of Penal Servitude in Siberia* (1881), translated by Marie von Thilo, and *Prison Life in Siberia* (1888), translated by H. S. Edwards.

[2] Owen Knowles, 'Conrad, Anatole France, and the Early French Romantic Tradition: Some Influences', *Conrad: Intertexts and Appropriations: Essays in Memory of Yves Hervouet*, ed. Gene M. Moore, Owen Knowles and J. H. Stape (1997), p. 99; Hervouet, p. 225.

[3] The spelling of names in *Crime and Punishment* follows Whishaw's translation; hence, for example, 'Raskolnikoff' and 'Porphyrius' are used here rather than the now universal 'Raskolnikov' and 'Porfiry'.

of *Crime and Punishment* that affects the warp and woof of *Under Western Eyes*, with the former work acting as a form-shaping intertext.[1]

Raskolnikoff and Razumov are students and divided men who commit a murder that renders them delirious and both suffer from 'great moral loneliness' (505.2–3) because their deeds cut them off from the social fabric, and both contemplate suicide. Both discover that they are not exceptional; confess when they are, in fact, safe; and recognize that their crimes have redounded upon them. Raskolnikoff acknowledges to Sonia that 'it was myself I killed! – It was myself I have irrevocably ruined!' (v/4),[2] and, after his mendacious interview with Mrs Haldin, Razumov realizes 'It's myself whom I have given up to destruction' (259.28). Both are induced to confess and face punishment by young women they fall in love with *before* they meet them, and make private and public confessions. Madame Raskolnikoff and Mrs Haldin both collapse; and although attempts are made to keep them in the dark, the former suspects her son, and the latter does not believe Razumov's (false) story of Ziemianitch's betrayal of hers. Both women die deliriously imagining that their sons will return to them. Lastly, Dounia's pledge to her brother, 'Call me and I will come' (vi/1), is echoed in Tekla's promise to Razumov: 'You have only to let me know. I will come to you' (181.7–8).

The interviews between Mikulin and Razumov cite from and transform those of Porphyrius with Raskolnikoff. In his first interview, Porphyrius posits 'a *special case*' that is clearly Raskolnikoff's: 'And what

[1] Variations on this idea of intertext characterize most of the many accounts of the interrelationships between the two works. See Zabel, 'Introduction'; Leonard Zellar, 'Conrad and Dostoyevsky', *The English Novel in the Nineteenth Century: Essays on the Literary Mediation of Human Values*, ed. George Goodin (1972), pp. 214–23; Andrzej Busza, 'Rhetoric and Ideology in *Under Western Eyes*', *Joseph Conrad: A Commemoration*, ed. Norman Sherry (1976), pp. 105–18; L. R. Lewitter, 'Conrad, Dostoyevsky, and the Russo-Polish Antagonism', *Modern Language Review*, 79 (1984), 653–63; Jeffrey Berman, 'Introduction to Conrad and the Russians', *Conradiana*, 12 (1980), 3–12, in an issue devoted to the subject; Paul Kirschner, 'Revolution, Feminism, and Conrad's Western "I"', *The Conradian*, 10, no. 1 (1980), 4–25, and 'Introduction', *Under Western Eyes* (1996); Catherine Dalipagic-Csizmazia, 'Razumov and Raskolnikov: The Path of Torments', *L'Époque Conradienne*, 19 (1993), 71–84; Keith Carabine, '"Where to?": A Comparison of Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* and Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*', *Inter-Relations: Conrad, James, Ford and Others*, ed. Keith Carabine and Max Saunders (2003), pp. 211–60. Conrad deleted the most obvious evidence linking the satirical treatment of Peter Ivanovitch to Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. Appendix B reproduces his deletions from the typescript. See 'Emendation and Variation' for a 400-word manuscript sequence (pp. 373–4) in which Razumov's diary resembles Dostoevsky's work in manner and subject.

[2] On the citation of Whishaw's translation, see 'Note on Editions'.

is it to me whether such a man [a murderer] walk about the place in perfect liberty? Let him be at ease – I know ... that he won't escape me! Where, I ask you would he go to? You may say abroad. A Pole may do so, but my man, never! ... he is mine from a *psychological* point of view' (IV/5). Porphyrius's chauvinistic comparison signals that nothing less than Russia's present and future is at stake in Raskolnikoff's case. In Conrad's reconfiguration, Mikulin's chilling question 'Where to?' closes Part First of the novel, leaving Razumov's fate hanging, but strongly implying that even for a loyal Russian who has done the State much service there is no liberty available and nowhere to go psychologically.

The novel's middle sections function as a sustained reply to Dostoevsky's diagnosis of Raskolnikoff's predicament and of his vision of his own and Russia's future. In Conrad's re-envisioning, Razumov's secret political 'mission' condemns him, like all of the novel's Russian characters, to endure 'the moral corruption of an oppressed society' (14.7), while a 'prison of lies' (275.20) replaces the charm of Christian sympathy that links Porphyrius, Sonia, Dounia and even Svidrigaïloff whose financial gift to Sonia allows her to follow Raskolnikov to Siberia. Moreover, in Conrad's reconfiguration, although Razumov desperately asserts 'Russia *can't* disown me. She can not! ... I am *it*!' (163.2–3), the narrative demonstrates that he embodies the tragedy of his nation, denying him 'all hope of saving his future which depended on the free use of his intelligence' (70.12–13). Conrad refutes Dostoevsky's diagnosis of Raskolnikoff's '*special case*' whose 'Where to?' represents Holy Russia's need to eschew Western atheism and to find a way back to her God. In *Under Western Eyes*, then, Conrad subverts the grounds of his predecessor's moral, spiritual and political beliefs.

Gilbert Phelps observed in the 1950s that Conrad's revolutionaries resemble Turgenev's 'descriptions of similar circles in *Smoke* rather than anything in Dostoevsky'; and Paul Kirschner has rightly noted that Razumov's interview with Madame de S— in Part Third, chapter 2 is modelled on the hotel-room scene in *Smoke* (1867), in which Madame Suhantchikov rages 'with peculiar exasperated vehemence' at the decay of the nobility.[1] More generally, correspondences between Natalya Alexevnya of Turgenev's novel *Rudin* (1855) and

[1] Phelps, *The Russian Novel in English Fiction* (1956), p. 130 n. 83; Kirschner, ed., p. 284. See *Smoke*, trans. Constance Garnett (1896), pp. 23–6.

the character of Conrad's Natalia Victorovna have been noted.[1] Stepniak's introduction to Constance Garnett's translation calls attention to Natalya Alexevnya as a 'quiet, sober, matter-of-fact girl ... an enthusiastic and heroic nature ... a child fresh to all impression of life, and as yet undeveloped'. Conrad's sharpest borrowing from Turgenev, however, arguably occurs at the very end of the novel where Sophia informs the teacher of languages that Peter Ivanovitch 'has united himself to a peasant girl', soliciting the tart response 'I hope that she won't hesitate to beat him' (298.5–6, 17–18). This elegant grace note is an homage to the epilogue to *Rudin* where the eponymous hero, a superfluous man of the 1840s, asks his old friend Lezhuyov if the cynic Pigasov is still living: 'Oh yes . . . and only fancy he is married to a peasant woman who they say beats him' to which Rudin replies 'Serve him right.'[2]

French sources

THE RANGE OF ALLUSIONS in *Under Western Eyes* points to Conrad's wide reading in seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French literature. The novel alludes to or borrows from no fewer than eleven French-language writers: Rousseau, Pascal, Madame de Staël, Voltaire, Stendhal, Joseph de Maistre, Pétrus Borel, Gustave Flaubert, Henri-Frédéric Amiel, Anatole France and Guy de Maupassant.[3] He may, in part, have been inspired to draw upon these sources by his return, imaginatively, from a French-speaking environment that he knew at first hand.

Arguably the two most important French source-texts are *Fragments d'un journal intime* (1882) by the Genevan philosopher and poet Amiel (1821–81) and Anatole France's novel *Le Lys rouge* (1894), from which, according to his friend and first biographer Jean-Aubry, Conrad could quote by heart.[4] Amiel's journal is largely set in Geneva; and, as Owen Knowles has demonstrated, Conrad's reflections on the contrast between 'the cradle of democracy and the birthplace of Rousseau' and the 'Polar despotism ... glittering with cold brilliancy of snow' of Imperial Russia echo Amiel. Knowles also persuasively argues

[1] Moser, 'Ford Madox Hueffer and *Under Western Eyes*'; and Thomas C. Moser, 'An English Context for Conrad's Russian Characters: Sergey Stepniak and the Diary of Olive Garnett', *Journal of Modern Literature*, 11 (1984), 3–44.

[2] *Rudin*, trans. Constance Garnett (1894), p. 249.

[3] For details, see Hervouet and 'Explanatory Notes'.

[4] *Lettres françaises de Joseph Conrad*, ed. G. Jean-Aubry (1929), p. 12.

that Conrad could not 'avoid being consciously reminded of Amiel's *Journal* during the composition of *Under Western Eyes*' because 'the former is exactly the same kind of diary as that ascribed to Razumov, "something in the nature of a journal, a diary ... most of it was not written up from day to day, though all the events are dated"'. Again, 'both works persistently ask questions of the diarist's motives (and motives in general) through an enquiry into the status and authority of language'.[1] Conrad's debts to Custine's travelogue, organized as a series of letters, is more oblique: Custine sees Russia and her inhabitants from the outside, as a Western European gazing upon an exotic Otherness about which he is deeply curious but towards which he feels no special sympathy. To what degree his stance might inflect the stance of the teacher of languages is a point allowing for no easy resolution. More direct are the borrowings 'of a descriptive, psychological or intellectual nature' from Anatole France's *Le Lys rouge*.[2] Conrad's debt extends to physical description too: he turned to France's heroine Thérèse Martin to describe Natalia's eyes, but his most significant borrowing from France, a writer of philosophical inclination whose views he had called upon in several works, is Razumov's angry outburst to Mikulin about Haldin's politics.

RECEPTION

TEN DAYS AFTER *Under Western Eyes* was published on 5 October 1911, Conrad faced his completed task with a pose of indifference: 'Well – it's done now and let the critics make what they can of it. I have ordered no press-cuttings, not because I am afraid of them but that I am really indifferent to what may be said – or left unsaid' (*Letters*, IV, 486).[3] The next sentence immediately subverted this pose. Having read the *Morning Post*'s review, sent to him by a friend, he commented: 'It was all right; but there was a passage in it which is incomprehensible unless meant as a hint that I, being a Jew, am especially fit to hold the balance between East & West!' Aptly titled 'The Riddle of Russia', the unsigned review was, in fact, a glowing tribute, beginning grandly:

> Here is a book that admirers of Mr. Joseph Conrad's work have been waiting for for some time now, ever since, in fact, the publication of 'Lord Jim.' 'Under Western Eyes' is written with that intensity of vision, that complete absorption in and by

[1] Ibid., p. 158. [2] Hervouet, p. 102. See 'Explanatory Notes' for details.
[3] Conrad to Galsworthy, 15 October 1911.