

THE TEXTS AN ESSAY

IN LATE 1916, Conrad described *Under Western Eyes* as ‘the most deeply meditated novel that came from under my pen’.¹ In retrospect, this description lends dignity to what had, at the time, been a tense and exhausting process of composition, revision and proofreading. He had begun writing in December 1907, then believing, as in so many other instances when his small projects grew into large ones, that he had embarked on a short story. The material expanded partly in fits and starts and partly in concentrated bursts, but its progress was never less than pressured. Moreover, at times Conrad laid aside his new novel for other writing. While ‘Razumov’ – as the short story and then the novel were at first called – remained, at least in theory, the major project on his desk, he either composed or revised ‘Some Reminiscences’ (later *A Personal Record*), ‘Prince Roman’, a review of Anatole France’s *L’Île des Pingouins*, ‘The Secret Sharer’ and ‘The Black Mate’.

On completing his manuscript draft in late January 1910, Conrad suffered a nervous breakdown that rendered him unable to turn to revising the typescript until April. The process of revision, completed by May, involved not only the usual stylistic polishing and small-scale changes but also the cutting of almost 18,000 words. The clean copy of the revised typescript was checked not by Conrad but by Robert Garnett, a friend and lawyer with literary interests, who managed Conrad’s affairs during his illness and maintained minimal and necessary communications between the writer and his estranged agent, J. B. Pinker.

In ribbon- and carbon-copy typescripts (now lost), Conrad’s revised text was transmitted, not without mishaps and modifications, to the *English Review* and the *North American Review*, which serialized the novel, simultaneously, from December 1910 to October 1911. In the latter month, the first English and American editions also appeared, published, respectively, by Methuen in London and Harpers in New York.

¹ Conrad to B. MacDonald Hastings, 24 December 1916 (*Letters*, v, 695).

Conrad had read galley proofs of the *English Review* text month by month, although usually not knowing where an instalment would end, and in correcting Methuen's proofs he would be frustrated in his attempt to reconsider the novel as a whole since at no time did he possess a complete set of proofs. A mixture of *English Review* issues and corrected proofs served as printer's copy for Methuen; Harpers set up from duplicate but slightly differently corrected *English Review* proofs. Because Conrad read Methuen's proofs, the first English edition is the principal source of emendation for the present edition, which takes as its copy-text the revised typescript preserved in the Rare Books Department of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

This essay first discusses the novel's complex evolution from conception through writing and revision, from May 1907 to May 1910. It next describes and analyses the textual evidence in the surviving preprint documents, and then goes on to discuss the history of the novel's serialization and its publication in the first English and American editions, as well as in the later editions that appeared in Conrad's lifetime. The essay then takes up editorial matters: the selection of the copy-text and policies for its emendation. Lastly, it deals with the 'Author's Note' of 1920, whose history of writing and publication is distinct from that of the novel as first published.

THE GROWTH OF THE NOVEL

THE SHORT STORY: DECEMBER
1907—MID-MARCH 1908

THE FIRST HINT of the novel that eventually became *Under Western Eyes* is contained in Conrad's letter from Geneva of 18 May 1907 to J. B. Pinker. Hugely in debt to his agent, who had recently financed the Conrads' six-month stay in Montpellier, Conrad was aware that Pinker expected him quickly to revise *Chance*, the novel he was then supposed to be working on, begun as long ago as 1904 and intermittently picked up since. Conrad promised that as soon as he had done so he would try for 'popularity' by writing another novel taking 'a widely discussed subject': 'questions of war and peace and labour . . . my idea is to treat those subjects in a novel with a sufficiently interesting story, whose notion has come into my head lately. And of course to treat them from a modern point of view' (*Letters*, III, 439–40). His new 'idea' was in keeping with his preoccupation since *Nostramo* (1904) with politics, the

processes of history, imperialism, the Russo-Japanese war, revolution, anarchism and the naval arms race between Britain and Germany that threatened the peace of Europe. And as his first biographer, G. Jean-Aubry, reports, Conrad's return to Geneva – the haven of Russian revolutionary exiles from Bakunin to Lenin and the haunt of the Tsarist police – had reminded him of 'a casual conversation he had had with a stranger' during a visit in 1895 that provided 'the idea' from which *Under Western Eyes* sprang (*LL*, II, 5).

Nothing immediately came of this new idea, with Conrad probably beginning 'Razumov' on 3 December 1907, his fiftieth birthday. He was writing it, he said, in order 'to get away from *Chance* with which I was making no serious progress'.¹ The day after his birthday he sent a few pages of *Chance* to Pinker, announcing 'I took your hint of trying to start a short story. You will have it after Xmas ... It's the one about the revolutionist who is blown up with his own bomb' (*Letters*, III, 513). The rudiments of such a neat, ironic tale are clearly discernible in the opening of what is now *Under Western Eyes*. Such a story would sit well in the volume of stories – *A Set of Six* – that Conrad hoped to publish in January 1908 and that he then thought would bring together 'Gaspar Ruiz', 'An Anarchist', 'The Informer', 'The Brute' and 'Il Conde'.² He settled down to work on the new story, making the first explicit reference to a provisional title in mid-December: 'I send you in a hurry 10 pp of *Razumov* the first of the two short stories. It is quite possible that you will get the *rest* (say 35 pp) by Monday or Tuesday' (*Letters*, III, 515). On the 23rd, he forwarded manuscript 'up to p. 30', and a week later sent a further twenty pages, adding 'It's a more difficult job than I thought' (*Letters*, III, 516).

During the early weeks of 1908 Conrad continued to assure his agent that *Chance* was not being 'totally neglected'. Like *Lord Jim*, however, the new story, now 'Razumov', burgeoned inexorably even as Conrad maintained that its end was in sight.³ In early January, when he foresaw two instalments of 7,000 words each, he forwarded 'Razumov 51 to 70' – up to the end of what would eventually become the novel's first chapter – requesting Pinker to 'have it run through the machine 1 copy only as it will have to be corrected considerably – perhaps' (*Letters*, IV, 7). The word-count indicates that Conrad averaged about

¹ Conrad to J. B. Pinker, 6 January 1908 (*Letters*, IV, 9).

² Conrad to Pinker, [1 October 1907] (*Letters*, III, 484–5).

³ See Conrad to Pinker, 7 January and [17? February] 1908 (*Letters*, IV, 15, 43).

a hundred words per manuscript page, and MS 70 ends ominously,¹ suggesting that the story's second instalment would depict Haldin's betrayal: 'On the landing, moving softly, Razumov locked the door and put the key in his pocket.'² Conrad promised the end by Monday (the 6th). Both the optimism and working method are characteristic: he sent batches of manuscript, written in blue-black ink, with instructions to the typist on the first leaf of each batch, asking for one or two copies. Double spaced, with generous margins, the typescripts, quickly prepared at a typing agency, were returned within days.³ This became a 'first' or 'intermediate' typescript, because he typically corrected, sometimes considerably, as he forged ahead with writing.

A letter of 6 January 1908 to John Galsworthy reveals the plot had developed considerably beyond its bare-bones outline of the previous month:

Listen to the theme: The Student Razumov (a natural son of a Prince K—) gives 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']

The psychological developments leading to Razumov's betrayal of Haldin, to his confession of the fact to his wife and to the death of these people (brought about mainly by the resemblance of their child to the late Haldin) form the real subject of the story. (*Letters*, iv, 9)

¹ The sigla used throughout this essay are fully explained in 'Emendation and Variation'. Standard abbreviations (MS for manuscript, for example) require no comment; otherwise, whether in book or serial form, A designates publication in America and E publication in England. S stands for serialization. Lower-case letters are explained as follows: r = revised; t = as typed.

² See pp. 26.20–21. Subsequent references to the texts of the present edition appear in round brackets. Citations of the page and line numbers of this edition refer throughout to its critical texts and to the variants listed in the 'Apparatus'. Lower-case letters immediately following page–line numbers (e.g., 4.2a, 4.2b) distinguish entries that have readings in the same line. When the 'Textual Notes' discuss readings, an *n*. appended to the page–line citation refers to this part of the volume as well. References to deleted or superseded text in Appendices A and B are similarly cited by page–line references (e.g., B449.4).

³ Given that typing agencies worked rapidly and that mail was delivered on Saturdays, four to six days cover the despatch of manuscript and the return of typed copy, but it could be as few as two days.

When Conrad sketched out this plot, in the manuscript draft Razumov had just left his room to find Ziemianitch, suggesting that his later statement in the 'Author's Note' – 'when I began to write I had a distinct conception of the first part only, with the three figures of Haldin, Razumov and Councillor Mikulin, defined exactly in my mind' (5.17–20) – is an exaggeration. There is no mention of the revolutionary world of Geneva and no hint that Razumov becomes a spy, with Conrad seemingly planning a variation on the domestic drama of *The Secret Agent*. The vague, melodramatic reference to 'the death of these people' indicates that Conrad lacked a clear sense of an ending. He thus mistook his story's eventual scale, which explains how, throughout January and February 1908, he foresaw an end in sight even as the narrative continued to grow. During the first fortnight of January, throughout February and into early March, batches of manuscript regularly left Someries, his house near Luton, Bedfordshire, for London. He had written about 21,000 words, and at this stage the short story was clearly moving beyond its generic bounds towards the length of a novella. Even this extension would prove to be insufficient. He had taken the first tentative steps towards a full-length, and, indeed, long and complexly plotted, novel.

THE NOVEL: MID-MARCH–MID-OCTOBER 1908

CONRAD SEEMS to have come to a watershed in composition in March 1908, telling Pinker on the 11th:

I send you some 18 pp of MS. which they forgot to post yesterday. On Friday You will get the end of Chap III and as much of Chap IV (and last) as I can get ready between this and to morrow's post time. . .

Raz. will be 43000 words. You may take this estimate as pretty correct should you have an inquiry. (Letters, IV, 55)

The next day he forwarded '9 pp of Raz to the end of Chap III' (Letters, IV, 56),¹ completing what would become the novel's Part First

¹ Until September–October 1908 Conrad thought of 'Razumov' as divided into chapters. The holograph is so divided until chapter IV, which begins on MS 339 and corresponds to Part II/1. (On citation format, see next note.) Cancelled chapter headings in the typescript confirm his letter of 14 October [1908] mentioning 'IV. V. VI and some of the VIIth' (Letters, IV, 145). The division into parts derives from April–May 1910.

(henceforth Part 1).¹ A rate of some 32,500 words in just over three months is remarkable for Conrad, especially as he also drafted or rewrote his early short story, 'The Black Mate', during this time.² His commitment to 43,000 words is undoubtedly sincere; three days later he told his French translator that he was 'in the midst of finishing . . . a short novel'.³ By the 23rd, he had struggled for nearly two weeks to bring to a close a piece that he now tacitly admitted to his agent was running out of control: 'A serial of 45000 (say) is easier to place than one of 90 000' (*Letters*, iv, 62). The enigmatic talk of a serial of the latter length, with discrepant reports of progress, coincides with a gradual, if reluctant, appreciation in correspondence after this date that, once the story shifted to Geneva, a full-scale novel was almost inevitable.

Conrad had worked surely until mid-March 1908, but once the action moved to Switzerland, 'Razumov' proved 'horribly difficult'.⁴ Throughout April and May he responded evasively to Pinker's prodding: 'I can't let you have Razumov yet. That story must be worked out as it is worth it.'⁵ By mid-May, he was 'well inside the fifth' chapter (*Letters*, iv, 82), dealing with Peter Ivanovitch's visit to Natalia; and he was again, however briefly, envisaging an ending, speaking of a sixth chapter as the last one. His instructions to the typist throughout this period confirm his struggles. Beginning with the first page of 'Chapter IV' (MS 339) and ending part way through 'Chapter VII' (MS 650), he made twenty-five requests for 'one copy only', for he knew that subsequent revision would be needed and, probably, retyping. In mid-July, he was no closer to an ending, suggesting to his agent that because 'The present type is so interlined' he should hire a typist to 'begin typing a clean copy' (*Letters*, iv, 91).

As Conrad acknowledged, this expedient would prove no panacea because he first had to get 'my story arranged in my head and get nearer the end' (*Letters*, iv, 91). Not surprisingly, his prevarication

¹ Hereafter, parts are indicated by roman numerals and chapters by arabic numerals; for example, Part II, chapter 3 is abbreviated as Part II/3. The first seven 'chapters' of 'Razumov' are roughly equivalent to Part I/1-3 and Part II/1-4 of *Under Western Eyes*.

² On the story's dating and revision, see Keith Carabine, "'The Black Mate': June-July 1886; January 1908", *The Conradian*, 13, no. 2 (1988), 128-48.

³ Conrad to H.-D. Davray, 14 March 1908 (*Letters*, iv, 59).

⁴ Conrad to Pinker, 2 April 1908 (*Letters*, iv, 73).

⁵ Conrad to Pinker, [13? May 1908] (*Letters*, iv, 81).

angered Pinker, who delivered an ultimatum, which Conrad succinctly summarized: 'if he has not got the book by the 10 aug. he will have nothing more to do with me'.¹ In response, Conrad informed his agent that he had been suffering from gout, and, with the deadline already passed, asked him to finance a move from Someries to Kent.² He made the cost-cutting offer that his wife, Jessie Conrad, type 'two clean copies of Razumov herself'; for his part, he would continue to send 'the MS for the first type, unless she finds she can manage that too'.³

Pinker paid for Lilian M. Hallows, later to become Conrad's regular 'typewriter',⁴ to travel from Kent to Someries; and, on 29 September, she began to type 'a clean copy' of 'at least 62 thou words'.⁵ On about 7 October, Conrad could tell Pinker, 'I corrected as Miss Hallow[e]s typed thus making it absolutely ready for pub[lication]: in serial form' (*Letters*, IV, 137). She left on the 17th, having stopped work on 'Razumov' three days earlier when Conrad sent Pinker 'typed clean IV. V. VI and some of the VIIth' chapters.⁶ This 'clean copy' (approximately 55,000 words) constitutes the first 288 of the 843 pages of the surviving typescript.⁷

A comparison of TS 1–288 with the manuscript reveals noteworthy patterns in Conrad's revisions of the intermediate typescript. Very many of his revisions delete fewer than a hundred words; some are considerably longer.⁸ He deleted some material that contrasted Razumov's personal and political predicament with typical Dostoevskian spiritual ones and also other material that cast Peter Ivanovitch's prison experiences as a parody of Dostoevsky's memoir *The House of the Dead* (1862) and as a mockery of Tolstoy's great theme of the battle between the

¹ Conrad to John Galsworthy, [23? July 1908] (*Letters*, IV, 93).

² Conrad to Pinker, [11 August 1908] (*Letters*, IV, 101). ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ For a discussion of her career as Conrad's typist, see David Miller, 'Amanuensis: A Biographical Sketch of Lilian Mary Hallows, "Mr. Conrad's Secretary"', *The Conradian*, 31, no. 1 (2006), 86–103.

⁵ Conrad to Pinker, 30 September 1908 (*Letters*, IV, 133).

⁶ Conrad to Pinker, 14 October [1908] (*Letters*, IV, 145).

⁷ MS 1–620, its equivalent, totals approximately 60,500, a difference of some 5,500 words. The word-totals are derived from a computer-generated count, from which Conrad's estimates often vary.

⁸ See, for example, 'Apparatus' reports at 11.30 (31 words deleted), 12.18 (68 words) and 12.34 (299 words). These all adjust the narrator's account of Razumov's diary. The most substantial deletions occur towards the end of Part II/1 and throughout Part II/2 and II/3; see, for example, 94.19, 95.32, 99.37^b and 107.37.

flesh and the spirit.¹ Miss Haldin's conversations with the narrator were repeatedly shortened, including her attempts to understand her brother's fate and her expressions of political idealism.²

The termination of the clean-copy typescript, at the beginning of 'Chapter VII', which records the narrator's accidental meeting with Natalia in the Bastions and with Razumov's arrival in Geneva pending, marks the end of this second stage of progress. In marked contrast to the sure development of Part I, Conrad, since mid-March 1908, had written only around 28,000 words in nearly seven months. As he admitted at the end of November, he had laboured and experimented 'to invent an action, a march for the story'.³ Now that Conrad was switching the setting to Geneva, the narrative device he had adopted from the outset – to have Razumov keeping a diary – would further complicate his task since the characters would have to become objects of representation in the diary as well as in the language teacher's narrative.

A different explanation of the novel's relatively slow evolution is suggested by Conrad's surviving correspondence from this period: his turning aside from 'Razumov' to write less demanding, more readily saleable prose. In part motivated by a review of *A Set of Six* that had stressed his foreignness to the language in which he wrote, and encouraged by his sometime collaborator, Ford Madox Hueffer (later Ford), who was making preparations for the forthcoming first issue of the *English Review* in December 1908, Conrad decided to write a series of four autobiographical essays called 'Some Reminiscences'. He went on to compose another three during February–May 1909; with a long preface, they would be published in book form as *A Personal Record* in early 1912.⁴

A distinct advantage from Conrad's point of view of what was, in effect, a laying aside of 'Razumov' was that Ford would pay him £20 per essay, without Pinker's deducting his customary 10 per cent fee.

¹ On Peter Ivanovitch as 'fair game', see the 'Author's Note' (6.40), and Carabine, pp. 134ff., and 'From *Razumov* to *Under Western Eyes*: The Case of Peter Ivanovitch', *Conradiana*, 25 (1993), 3–29. See also, for example, 'Apparatus' reports at 12.34, 99.37b, 102.5a, 103.7, 106.17, as well as B58o.10–614.23.

² E.g., 95.32, 107.19a, 107.37, 108.32a.

³ Conrad to Galsworthy, 30 November 1908 (*Letters*, iv, 155).

⁴ The title of the UK edition was *Some Reminiscences*. The full story is told in the 'Introduction', *A Personal Record*, ed. Zdzisław Najder and J. H. Stape (2008), pp. xxiii–xxxi. The review, by Robert Lynd, appeared in the *Daily News* of 10 August 1908 (rpt *CR*, iii, 446–8).

There was an expectation of a future share for Conrad in profits from the *English Review*, should there be any;¹ and, in due course, he would have another book ready. Despite his assurances to his agent in mid-September that the new enterprise would not 'delay the novel by a single day',² Pinker was understandably unhappy with this unusual arrangement; and, as progress on 'Razumov' faltered, their relationship was further strained. But Conrad's rate of production from mid-March to mid-November 1908 was not at all unusual for him once the first three and most of the fourth of 'Some Reminiscences' are taken into account: say, about 26,000 of the '32 000 words' he would estimate all four made. It was still less unusual if the '8000' words that he put aside in early December 1908 as probably the basis of what he would revise in September–October 1911 as the short story 'Prince Roman' are added.³ Nor was it atypical for Conrad to turn aside from a difficult 'main' project to write what he effectively and profitably could.⁴

THE NOVEL: NOVEMBER 1908–AUGUST 1909

CONRAD DID NOT RETURN to chapter VII of 'Razumov' until late November 1908, when the inaugural issue of the *English Review*, containing the first instalment of his 'Reminiscences', was published. By early January 1909, he had, in the interval since Miss Hallowes's departure, completed the sequence recounting the narrator's meeting with Miss Haldin in the Bastions up to her meeting with Razumov (113.16–132.17), comprising 80 holograph leaves (MS 621–700) and corresponding to 39 typed pages. Conrad numbered the first 25 of those typed pages (TS 289–313) in blue pencil, and appended them to the clean-copy typescript Miss Hallowes was preparing. The remaining 15 pages comprise Batch A. From this point on, the typescript consists

¹ The direct payment nevertheless added to Conrad's debt to Pinker, and he was to have no part in future profits; see Conrad to Ford, 17 December 1908; to Pinker, 17 December 1908 (*Letters*, IV, 165–9).

² Conrad to Pinker, 18 September 1908 (*Letters*, IV, 126).

³ Conrad boasted to Pinker that he had written 100,000 words since 24 December 1907. While his estimates are often rough at best, he believed that 'It is as good as when I first began to write, quite' ([25? November 1908], *Letters*, IV, 154). The average of around 9,000 words per month compares favourably with his production rate for *An Outcast of the Islands* and *Lord Jim*.

⁴ This was true, for instance, of his writing short stories when struggling with *Nostromo* in 1904–06.

of 20 unpaginated batches, which Conrad lettered A–T, and an untitled lead-pencil version of the novel's ending (here called Batch X for the sake of convenience).¹

Three letters to Pinker, written in November 1908, allow us to gauge Conrad's progress.² One is dated 'Wednesday evening' [25? November]: 'I send you some pages for *clean copy* to add to the final MS in your possession [*sic*]' (*Letters*, iv, 154). (The '*clean copy*' refers to that Miss Hallowes had prepared some six weeks previously; and, by 'MS', Conrad means, in the way usual in the trade, not holograph but typed copy.) In this letter, Conrad refers to another letter 'posted tonight' about his wife's taking over the 'intermediate typing'; in the letter referred to, written probably on 24 or 25 November, Conrad informed Pinker: 'I send you some more Raz. a *clean copy* to join the batch you have in your possession' (*Letters*, iv, 153). He went on to promise 'Tomorrow I shall send you 2 to 3 thou words more of *interlined type* to be *clean copied* (with carbon set) for the set. I find that I can (for the present at any rate) save sending you the *pen MS* for intermediate typing.' Then, in the third letter, dated '25th Nov 08', Conrad told Pinker that he was sending on 'some 2000 of Raz^{ov} for clean typed copy. More will be ready to morrow'. Once typed, the new pages of holograph would add to the pile of '*clean copy*', and Conrad promised to concentrate on the novel's 'last pages' (*Letters*, iv, 153–4) after finishing the fourth Reminiscence paper. In all, then, by 26 November, Conrad had sent his agent about 6,700 words, possibly based upon material composed before, as well as after, Miss Hallowes had finished 'the clean copy' a month earlier.³

¹ Typescript batches are indicated with a capital letter. Batch X is, in fact, holograph, but is continuous with the typescript. For a detailed description of the typescript's organization in April and May 1910, see the section 'The Typescript' (under 'Preprint Documents'), below.

² See Conrad to Pinker, [24 or 25] November, [25?] November and 25 November 1908 (*Letters*, iv, 153–4). The sequence is difficult to establish, and the dating remains tentative (see *Letters*, iv, 153 n. 1).

³ The two references to pages for '*clean copy*' comprise the typescript's first ten pages (TS 289–98); the 'some 2000' make up the next nine, reckoned at '2100 words' (TS 299–307); and the 'More . . . ready to morrow' comprise a seven-page clutch (TS 308–14), which is estimated, in Conrad's hand, to contain '1700 words' (TS 308). Despite Conrad's saying these would be '*interlined type*' for clean copying, they are in fact a clean (but non-professional) copy and may be Jessie Conrad's typing. For a discussion of other pages of what are more probably her work, see p. 323 below. There are only a couple of examples of their punctuation spacing problems in TS 308–14, but punctuation (commas and full stops) in TS 308–14 is placed mostly outside the closing inverted commas of speeches, whereas Miss Hallowes and the agency typist of the last pages of Batch A invariably placed them inside.

Talk of finishing the 'last pages' of the novel smacks of desperation: its protagonist had still to appear in Geneva. Moreover, a collation of TS 289-313 and the following first two pages of Batch A against MS 621-71 shows that the former derive from a (now-lost) intermediate typescript that Conrad had revised.¹ The extant typescript contains material not present in the manuscript, and it omits other material in the manuscript that must have been deleted in an intermediate (now-lost) document.

The struggle to compose throughout this period is most evident in the great differences between the 850 words of MS 662-9 and the 1,700 words of TS 308-14 (124.5-128.21). The additional material includes Tekla's report that Peter Ivanovitch 'had not foreseen that such a blow was going to be struck'; Natalia Haldin's questioning of Tekla to discover 'What is it precisely that you heard people say about my brother', as she desperately tries to understand her brother's failure 'to save himself'; and Natalia's new-found reluctance to meet either 'the heroic captive or Madame de S—' because of their cruelty towards Tekla.²

Felled by an attack of gout, Conrad did not then return to his novel until 7 December 1908, when he assured Pinker that he would retain Miss Hallows (who had paid another visit to Someries from 4 December) to work on 'Razumov' until the 10th.³ The first nine pages of what would later be designated Batch A may also have been typed by Jessie Conrad.⁴ Next, in early January 1909, Conrad sent to Pinker the remainder of the holograph text that, when typed, would conclude Batch A; he also requested him to send 'one typed copy of these pages (up to N^o 700 in MS.)' (*Letters*, iv, 183). Thus, since the completion of the clean-copy partial typescript in mid-October, which was supposed to clear the way for sustained work on the end of 'Razumov', Conrad – otherwise occupied with 'Some Reminiscences', the story that became 'Prince Roman' and a short book review for the *English Review* – had written, or rewritten, only 80 manuscript pages. After revision in an intermediate document, they amounted to slightly fewer than 10,000 words.

¹ MS 671 is actually numbered (by Conrad) '670 and 671'.

² 124.27-28, 125.4, 125.7, 126.3-4.

³ Conrad to Pinker, [3 December 1908], [7 December 1908] and [9 December 1908] (*Letters*, iv, 156, 158, 159).

⁴ The first two pages were probably typed in late November and the next seven after 9 December.

At least half of MS 668–700 (Batch A) is very messy. Conrad clearly struggled with the problem of transmission occasioned by the language teacher's knowledge of Madame de S—'s past and present life and with the reintroduction of Razumov into the Geneva transactions. Yet after MS 672 (the equivalent of the second page of Batch A immediately following the last typed page that Conrad paginated by hand, TS 314), collation shows that the typescript is a direct copy of the manuscript and that Conrad did not revise in an intermediate typescript. What accounts for this shift in his working practice?

Towards the end of 1908 Conrad had not only promised Pinker that 'The end is in sight' but also repeated the claim to friends.¹ However, for this to occur, Razumov would have had to confess to Natalia the very moment he met her. The grouping of manuscript pages ('650 bis'–669) that would produce a section of Batch A in typescript bears the request for 'one copy one'. One copy would do because, as Conrad later told Pinker in mid-January when he sent another batch of holograph: 'There is no hurry as I am too busy writing to bother about revising just now.'² He reiterated this a few days later when he sent him 'some 1800 words for rough type'.³ Conrad gave up revising on receipt of typescript pages to avoid further delay and probably because he now felt confident about where the novel was going, but he called it 'rough' typed copy because he knew that it would eventually need to be revised. His letter of early March 1909 asking Pinker to send him 'the rough type-copy which is with you yet corresponding to pp 763–791 of MS which of course you have also' indicates that he had written a modest 63 holograph pages (729–91) during the preceding six weeks,⁴ making up typescript Batch C and half of Batch D. From the middle of Batch C the typescript, on cheap paper, is triple spaced with wide margins to allow for future revision. Again focusing upon the immediate task of composition rather than revision, Conrad instructed Pinker in mid-March: 'Don't send me the type of these pages till I ask for it; and this request will apply to all the batches of MS which I am going to send you as fast as I can get them ready for typing.'⁵

¹ Conrad to Pinker, 17 December 1908; to Galsworthy, 18 December 1908; to Sidney Colvin, 28 December 1908 (*Letters*, iv, 170, 170–71, 175).

² Conrad to Pinker, 18 January 1909 (*Letters*, iv, 188).

³ Conrad to Pinker, 21 January 1909 (*Letters*, iv, 189).

⁴ Conrad to Pinker, [7 March 1909] (*Letters*, iv, 200). For the calculation relating to MS 729, see p. 307 n. 1, below.

⁵ Conrad to Pinker, [11 or 18 March 1909] (*Letters*, iv, 203). These pages are inferred to belong to Batch D because of the appearance of handwritten dates on the first

Relatively slow progress on the novel in February 1909 coincided with the Conrads' move from Someries to Aldington, Kent, and Conrad's struggles to complete the fifth instalment of his reminiscences for Ford;¹ and he again interrupted 'Razumov' to write the sixth Reminiscence paper in April and what, in the event, proved to be the last in May.² During this time his relationship with Ford deteriorated, and Conrad suffered sickness and stress, symptoms of the nervous collapse that would occur eight months later. Unable to write an eighth Reminiscence paper to deadline, he took the opportunity to break with Ford on 31 July over his notice in the *English Review's* July 1909 issue that 'serious illness' compelled the postponement of Conrad's 'next instalment of his Reminiscences'.³

Between mid-March and the end of July 1909 only one letter to Pinker refers to 'a batch of copy' (*Letters*, iv, 231). Conrad's fitful progress can, however, be followed via the dates written on manuscript leaves.⁴ They reveal a modest 131 pages (MS 792–922) composed over five months – covering the end of the language teacher's awkward conversation with Razumov in the Bastions and concluding with Razumov deep in conversation with Tekla near the end of Part III/2 (150.35–180.7). This marks the end of the third stage of composition. Thus, over nine and a half months, between finishing the clean-copy typescript in mid-October 1908 and the (probable) completion of the manuscript producing the first half of typescript Batch I on 28 July

pages of clutches of subsequent holograph; '28 JULY' was the last. From Batch J onwards (although possibly from H: see p. 308 n. 4, below), typescript batches were returned to Conrad as they were completed.

¹ In the first three months of 1909, Conrad sent to Pinker for typing several separate batches of manuscript (established by physical evidence, including fresh leaves after a previous, unfilled one): to MS 700 in early January (*Letters*, iv, 183); five batches (MS 701–13, 714–28, 729–61, 762–76, 777–91) – two dating to 18 January and 19 January (*Letters*, iv, 188, 189), three undated – before another (MS 792–817) of 11 or 18 March (*Letters*, iv, 203). On the next batch, comprising MS 818–41, see Appendix C, p. 600 n. 4.

² 'Introduction', *A Personal Record* (2008), pp. xxiii–xxxii.

³ On the break, see Max Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life* (1996), 1, 272, and *Letters*, iv, 222, 239, 263–6.

⁴ '31 MCH' on MS 818 (the first page of the manuscript batch (MS 818–41) that would produce typescript Batch F) and '8 MY' on MS 842 (similarly, 842–78 producing Batch G) prove that he had at least finished up to MS 817 and 841, respectively, by those dates. Dated '24 JU', MS 879 begins Batch H, composed of MS 879–98; and '28 JULY' appears on MS 899, which is the first page of a clutch (MS 899–922) that would produce the first half of Batch I. The 28 July date may also cover the next manuscript batch (MS 923–60) that produced the second half of Batch I and the first twelve pages of Batch J, but this appears to be a separate stint since Batch J begins halfway down MS 946 not, as typically, at the start of a new manuscript page.

1909, Conrad in fits and starts wrote only approximately 31,000 words of 'Razumov'.

For the next six weeks, progress stalled further, with the Conrads spending much of August with their friend 'Reggie' Gibbon and his family at Trosley, West Malling, Kent. While there, Conrad asked Pinker to forward 'the typed pages' he had kept, and he probably made the very light revisions in blue-black ink, evident in Batches D–I. His later confession to Galsworthy that he 'could not write' in Trosley is an exaggeration.¹ He apparently managed to do some work there, even if less than planned, for, shortly after mid-August, he sent to Pinker a batch of holograph to be typed and promised not only to revise the typed copy on receipt but also to send him more manuscript draft.²

THE NOVEL: SEPTEMBER 1909– 30 JANUARY 1910

IN EARLY OCTOBER, Conrad promised Pinker that he would finish 'Razumov' in 'three weeks'.³ Because Conrad dated in blue indelible pencil ten of the remaining eleven batches of unnumbered typescript pages (Batches J–T), progress can be charted with some precision up until the last weeks of January 1910.⁴ The dates show that Conrad worked steadily on holograph that produced Batch J from about mid-September 1909 and that the manuscript batch that produced the end of typescript Batch M had been typed by 19 November. This signalled the end of Part III, as it would be designated in due course. The narrative's return to St Petersburg and attendant time-loop triggered a burst of creative energy: thus, in the last three weeks of November Conrad wrote about 11,000 words (MS 1128–1224), the equivalent of Batches N–P, dated 19 November–4 December 1909. In terms of the action, he had reached half way into Natalia's visit, accompanied by the narrator, to the revolutionaries, in search of Razumov (226.13–250.16).

¹ Conrad to Galsworthy, 7 September 1909 (*Letters*, IV, 271).

² Conrad to Pinker, [c. 19 August? 1909] (*Letters*, IX, 138). Presumably he had reached to the end of Batch I at this point.

³ Conrad to Pinker, [5 October 1909] (*Letters*, IV, 276).

⁴ The dates from 'Spt 24' forward were inscribed vertically on the extreme left of the left-hand margins, presumably upon receipt of individual batches from Pinker.

Having completed the two parts of the manuscript that comprise Batch P on or just after his fifty-second birthday on 3 December 1909,¹ Conrad suddenly broke off work on 'Razumov' to write 'The Secret Sharer'.² On 14 December, he told Galsworthy he had 'just finished', explaining a week later: 'I wrote it on purpose to ease the strain' (*Letters*, IV, 296, 304). In mid-December, he reported to Pinker, while sending him 'the end of the story' for typing, that he was 'going on with it ["Razumov"] even now',³ doubtless an attempt to mollify his agent's likely anger at yet one more delay in being able to sell rights to the new literary property, a sale necessary if Pinker were to be repaid for the advances he had been making Conrad against future income. The tactic failed: on the 18th Conrad received a demand from Pinker that the novel be completed within a fortnight or their arrangement would be terminated (*Letters*, IV, 301–02). Conrad deeply resented this threat, but even as it heightened the tension it must have spurred him to action. The next day he told Gibbon that he had reached MS 1228: only four pages beyond what he had sent for typing by the 4th.⁴ But by the end of December he had reached MS 1246 (251.6–256.28),⁵ up to the last two-thirds of Part IV/2 and the beginning of Part IV/3.

As a bout of influenza brought work to a halt, Conrad now fantasized about finishing 'Razumov', telling Gibbon that it 'wants 15–20[000] words'.⁶ Progress during the three weeks before Conrad's nervous breakdown on Sunday, 30 January 1910, is difficult to gauge, not least because the extant letters to Pinker of this period are undated. MS 1247–66 would produce Batch R, whose first page is dated 'January 15 '10'. Conrad described this holograph grouping on 6 January, when he was yet to complete it, as 'the penultimate batch'; he forwarded it to his agent on Monday, 10 January.⁷ The section of narrative covers Razumov's interview with Mrs Haldin and his surprise encounter with

¹ Batch P's first page is dated 'Dec 4'.

² On the story's composition, see 'The Texts', *Twixt Land and Sea: Tales*, ed. J. A. Berthoud, Laura L. Davis and S. W. Reid (2008), pp. 205–14; Keith Carabine, "The Secret Sharer": A Note on the Dates of its Composition', *Conradiana*, 19 (1987), 209–13; and S. W. Reid and Robert W. Trogdon, "The Secret Sharer": A Further Note on the Dates of its Composition', *Conradiana*, 39 (2007), 169–73.

³ Conrad to Pinker, [15 December] (*Letters*, IV, 297). See also *Letters*, IV, 298 n. 4.

⁴ Conrad to Perceval Gibbon, 19 December [1909] (*Letters*, IV, 301).

⁵ MS 1225–46 produced Batch Q, itself dated 'Dec 31'.

⁶ Conrad to Gibbon, [29 December 1909?] (*Letters*, IV, 311).

⁷ Conrad to Pinker, [6 January 1910] and [10 January 1910] (*Letters*, IV, 317, 318, and see 318 n. 1).

Natalia in the Haldins' apartment (256.28–260.39). It could, however, only have been the penultimate section if the novel ended with Razumov's confession there. On 12 January, Conrad broached a new title – 'Would *Under Western Eyes* do at all – or something of the kind?' (*Letters*, IV, 319)¹ – and, on 'Wend 2 pm.', either the same day or, more likely, on the 19th, he wrote to Pinker: 'Herewith the pages up to 1300', marking what would produce the end of Batch S (MS 1267A–1300; 261.1–269.18).² Characteristically, he also claimed 'Twelve more ought to do it – or perhaps a few more' (*Letters*, IV, 320). Given that Batch S ends with Razumov's confession and Natalia's collapse, a conclusion was still proving elusive.

Extraordinarily, the letters, together with evidence in the manuscript and typescript, show that there were two manuscript endings and suggest that the first was probably only a feint, fabricated to deceive Pinker. The evidence for this conclusion, not straightforward, revolves around a crucial event: Conrad's visit to London on 27 January 1910 to see his agent. If the dating of Conrad's letter of 'Wend 2pm.' to 19 January 1910 is correct, then by the time he wrote his letter dated only 'Thursday' (probably 20 January), he was well into the holograph that would produce Batch T (269.18–281.18),³ which is dated 'Jan 29 1910'. In this 'Thursday' letter, Conrad promised 'probably [to] come myself on Monday with the last pages . . . I keep all the MS by me till then' (*Letters*, IV, 319). Arriving at the 'last' of them was, however, yet again delayed, but on the 26th Conrad was able to send a telegram to Pinker, pronouncing the novel 'finished' (*Letters*, IV, 320). He evidently took the (supposedly) final pages of manuscript with him to

¹ As early as March 1908 Conrad had signalled his doubts about the title 'Razumov'; see Conrad to Pinker, 23 March 1908 (*Letters*, IV, 62).

² The first page of Batch S is dated '21 Jan '10'. Its text, and that on the first half of the next page are the same as the text on MS 1267A; this page contains several lines of typing with heavy revisions in lead pencil and it incorporates material from and follows MS 1266, which closes Batch R. Conrad must have returned MS 1267A as the first page of holograph ('up to 1300') that would produce Batch S on 12 December 1909 or, more likely, the 19th.

³ At issue is MS 1301–40. Dating the letter as 20 January is supported by Conrad's remark that 'The title *Under Western Eyes* was meant for the novel – not for the short stories as I fear I have given you the false impression of' (to Pinker, *Letters*, IV, 320). Presumably, Conrad was responding to a letter from Pinker, replying to his inferentially dated 12 January, where he first suggested his new title. For further discussion, see Keith Carabine, 'Conrad, Pinker and *Under Western Eyes: A Novel*', *The Conradian*, 10, no. 2 (1985), 144–53.

London on 27 January and the typed pages of Batch T were returned to him two days later.

Batch T is incomplete. It would originally have copied a further page-and-a-bit of holograph up to the end of MS 1341. At the foot of this manuscript page, heavily scored through and only just discernible, is the word 'END'.¹ Thus the novel would have ended with the passing of Razumov's diary to the narrator and his remembrance of Natalia's vision: 'And some day when the voices of discord are heard no more the cry of misery shall be changed into a song of love', followed by a last paragraph.² That this limp conclusion was the intended ending is difficult to credit: that is, unless it was for Pinker's benefit only. By 26 January, as the resort to a telegram suggests, Conrad seems to have become finally unable, in conscience, to stall his delivery of a completed novel any longer. But he must have known that, while the clutch of holograph that he delivered was being typed, he would have at least another couple of days to make good with something fuller. It could be slipped in as a revision.

The ruse – if it was such – did not forestall what had become increasingly inevitable. Conrad had so furious a row with Pinker on the 27th that it led to an estrangement that lasted until the autumn of 1911. Having signally failed to stay within the terms of his agreement with his agent, to whom his financial debt had grown exponentially, Conrad had, to his discredit, a string of broken promises to complete the novel stretching back over two years. Pinker would have been saintly not to have at least mentioned this, doubtless with a reminder that the typescript had urgently to be shortened so that he could get on with selling the magazine rights. In these fraught circumstances, on returning home from London Conrad sketched out the last holograph pages (to MS 1351; see Fig. 1) – as he had probably intended to do all along – and just before his complete collapse on the 30th.³

When this occurred the novel stood at roughly 129,000 words. Whereas the ten months between October 1908 and the end of July

¹ For a fuller description, see Appendix C, pp. 601–2.

² This final paragraph and Natalia's vision from '... more' are also scored through. Appendix A gives the subsequently developed text in MS 1343. The elaboration of her vision (285.15–25) originates in the next version in Batch X, pp. [12–13].

³ On 6 February 1910, Dr Clifford Hackney described Conrad as 'much too ill to attend to any sort of work or to undergo the slightest mental exertion – He will not be anything like well for another ten days' (Berg). (The letter lacks an addressee, but was presumably written to Pinker, as suggested by its preservation at the Berg.)

1909 had yielded a mere 31,000 words of 'Razumov', Conrad had brought the tale to its conclusion by writing 43,000 words in about five and a half months from mid-August 1909, constituting over a third of the typescript and somewhat more of the final novel (185.4–281.31).

REVISION: LATE MARCH—MID-MAY 1910

THE FIRST LETTER after Conrad's recovery had begun, dated 'six weeks' after the collapse, confesses that he could not 'do anything in the way of revising Raz. yet'.¹ By 31 March, however, he was promising to 'try to go on with the revision' of it 'to morrow' (*Letters*, IV, 322). Whatever his hesitations, he could announce in mid-May: 'I finished the revise of Raz. on the night of Wednesday last' (that is, on 11 May).² Indeed, during these six weeks he completely rewrote and expanded the manuscript's fragmentary ending and extensively revised and reshaped the typescript. He forwarded this document, now called the 'rough typed copy', in batches to Robert Garnett, who took over the role of Pinker's office in arranging 'clean final copy' for serialization (*Letters*, IV, 328). The process of revision – thorough, intensive and now controversial – saw Conrad excise approximately 18,000 words.³

In early October 1909, Conrad had promised Pinker that 'The preparation for serial form will not take me more than 3 days being merely excision of analysis and some shortening of conversations' (*Letters*, IV, 276). Some of the more important deletions reflect that intention. Deletions are especially heavy in Part II/3, where about 8,350 words were cut; another 5,500 were deleted from Part II/1, 2 and 4; and Part I/3 lost 1,200 words.

These were the very sections of the novel Conrad had struggled with after March 1908. The bulk of the deletions have to do with Natalia and Peter Ivanovitch. Conrad shortened some conversations, and removed three long ones between Natalia and the teacher of languages, between her and Peter Ivanovitch and between the two men

¹ Conrad to Galsworthy, [mid-March? 1910] (*Letters*, IV, 321).

² Conrad to Galsworthy, 17 May 1910 (*Letters*, IV, 328).

³ An edition based on TSt, with the identifiably pre-breakdown corrections incorporated but ignoring the revisions made during April and May 1910, is available in Roger Osborne, 'For Art and Money: A Textual History and Scholarly Edition of Joseph Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of New South Wales, 2000.

in a café. Conrad later told Robert and Edward Garnett's sister, who had just read the first edition, that he had reduced Natalia's 'possibilities' deliberately, and while acknowledging that she had become 'a mere peg' that 'does not move', he explained: 'I wanted a pivot for the action to turn on. She had to be the pivot. And I had to be very careful because if I had allowed myself to make more of her she would have killed the artistic purpose of the book: the development of a single mood.'¹

Whether Conrad wrote the new ending, Batch X, before, during or after the reshaping of the typescript is unclear. The only evidence in the correspondence is slight: an apology in mid-April to Robert Garnett that the batch he was sending was 'slender'.² Was this Batch X? A 24-page holograph written in lead pencil, this document, sold at the Edward Garnett sale of April 1928 for \$2,200, is housed along with the typescript at the Free Library of Philadelphia. A continuation of the typescript, it greatly amplifies the manuscript's hurriedly written last pages, but it created a new problem. At TS 247-9, the language teacher encourages Natalia to return to Russia 'to devote herself to the case of the wives and children of political prisoners', but she resists the idea of simply 'Doing good' (Appendix B: 524.1). This is a small part of a multi-page, blue-pencilled deletion. On TS 257, an undeleted passage briefly reiterates the advice: 'once more I say: go back' (107.38-39). The new ending in Batch X has her telling the teacher: 'It is as you would have it. I am going back to Russia at once' (282.17). The detail must obviously have been lodged in Conrad's mind as he wrote this, but he did not resolve the three versions when he cancelled one of them. Perhaps he forgot precisely what he had deleted when subsequently writing the new ending. (He cut in swathes.) Whatever the case, Natalia's grateful remark remains a loose end in the final novel, for it survived revision in proofs as well.

Although the novel's new ending is much longer than that in the last manuscript pages, MS 1340-51 (see Appendix A), the two versions share an internal division into two parts: the language teacher's

¹ Conrad to Olivia Rayne Garnett, 20 October 1911 (*Letters*, iv, 489-90). For an extended discussion of this matter, see David Leon Higdon and Robert F. Sheard, 'Conrad's "unkindest cut": The Canceled Scenes in *Under Western Eyes*', *Conradiana*, 19 (1987), 167-81; and Higdon, 'Conrad, *Under Western Eyes* and the Mysteries of Revision', *Victorian Authors and their Works: Revision, Motivations and Modes*, ed. Judith Kennedy (1991), pp. 169-85.

² Conrad to Robert Garnett, [14th April 1910] (*Letters*, iv, 323).

last conversation with Natalia, and the coda relating his subsequent meeting with Sophia Antonovna two years later when she reads the protagonist's diary and reports on the fate of Natalia, Tekla, Razumov and Peter Ivanovitch. From Batch X onward, through the serializations and book editions, these parts are divided almost equally. The second part in manuscript (MS 1344–51; see Appendix A) is broadly similar to that of Batch X, lacking only the tale Sophia Antonovna tells the language teacher about Mikulin's informing on Nikita to Peter Ivanovitch. But the first part in manuscript (MS 1340–43; see Appendix A) contains only about 250 words, about 80 of which are dialogue. Thus it cursorily notes the narrator's visit 'a week after Mrs Haldin's funeral', Natalia's handing over of Razumov's diary to him, her plans to return to Russia, her ecstatic vision quoted above and the narrator's meditation on it. Apart from the meditation, these were greatly reworked and re-focused in the first 1,700 words of Batch X.

The expansion of the teacher's interview with Natalia is especially significant. The scene serves to cut down on her 'possibilities' in ways that reflect the revisions between the manuscript and clean-copy typescript in 1908; and her decision to return to Russia, reinforced by fresh material in Batch X, would be intensified in later revision.¹ The narrator's fond appreciation of Natalia's new maturity of manner and attitude registers a change in her, which she in turn ascribes to Razumov's account of her, especially in his written confession. She acquiesces now in the justice of his recognition (in the diary) of her defencelessness – a recognition itself added to the diary-confession during the revisions of April and May (273.27–274.7) and extended by his praise of her 'pure forehead! It is low like the forehead of statues – calm, unstained' (273.40–274.1).

Natalia proves her independence when she hints to the language teacher in Batch X that Razumov's decision to give himself over to the revolutionaries for punishment – rather than claim her as his own, given that there was no chance of exposure – has confirmed her sense of the power of love. She can return to Russia to a life of self-sacrifice because 'My eyes are open at last and my hands are free' (285.10–11). Thus, Natalia's assertions of release (from her drive to plumb her

¹ See, for example, the differences from the manuscript at 107.1, 107.37 and 108.32a. The series of intensifications of Miss Haldin's new resolve stretches across several pages of Part IV/5 (e.g., 282.33b, 282.35, 285.16a–24).

brother's motives and her advocacy of revolution) serve to support Conrad's decision to maintain the focus on Razumov.

The large excisions of typescript material also removed the obvious evidence that Tolstoy provided the principal model for Peter Ivanovitch and was a target of scorn. This included the latter's proud boast that his writings are widely read in several languages and that 'societies of cultured men and women' in England and the United States have been founded 'for the purpose of studying my writings' (TSr 218–19; B456.16–20). The narrator also informs us that the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church excommunicated Peter Ivanovitch; and, in the excised café scene, the language teacher reveals his 'instinctive repulsion' towards the man and such works as his 'The Resurrection of Yegor, The Pride of Darkness, the thrice famous Pfenning Cantata' (TSr 274; B591.14–17) – titles that guy Tolstoy's *Resurrection*, *The Power of Darkness* and *The Kreutzer Sonata*. Conrad's 'excision of analysis' also comprised a systematic pruning of the language teacher's opinions on other subjects, including women, and many of his summaries of, or speculations about, Razumov's writing habits or motives for keeping a diary.

With a series of minor temporal markers and some longer additions, Conrad also fixed a gross chronological implausibility. The one long 'day of many conversations' in Geneva (184.14) occupies about three-fifths of the novel in both the manuscript and typescript, leaving Razumov no time to write his diary nor to mature his plans in respect of Natalia. In the revision of the typescript the time-scale is stretched; it would be further expanded in proofs.¹

PREPRINT DOCUMENTS

THE MANUSCRIPT

CONRAD SOLD the manuscript of *Under Western Eyes* (MS) as completed in January 1910 for £40 to the New York lawyer and art and manuscript collector John Quinn in autumn 1911.² This document lacks the last chapter, which is preserved with the typescript.³ When Quinn's collection of literary manuscripts was auctioned off in

¹ See, for example, 153.24, 157.15a, 157.15b, 257.18c, 274.34–35.

² Conrad to John Quinn, 25 September 1911 and 3 November 1911 (*Letters*, IV, 480–81, 499).

³ For the original manuscript ending, see Appendix A.

1923, the novelist and short-story writer Jerome Kern purchased the manuscript for his collection.¹ On Kern's death, it was acquired by the Brick Row Bookshop; and in 1936, the manuscript dealer and collector Gabriel Wells (1862–1946) acquired it at auction for \$2,400. Wells bequeathed it to Yale University, and it is housed in its Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.²

The manuscript, which consists of 1350 leaves, is paginated throughout in Conrad's hand in ink, with the occasional use of blue pencil. He sometimes caught his pagination mistakes later, but gaps, duplications and joined numberings remain.³ Writing is always on the recto, the main medium used being blue-black ink. The writing-paper used varies. It is mainly lined and lacking a watermark;⁴ it normally measures approximately 10 in. × 8 in. (25.4 cm × 20.3 cm), with pages 101–84 measuring 9 in. × 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. (22.8 cm × 17.9 cm).

Five typewritten pages containing revisions are included in the manuscript.⁵ Other anomalies may be simple mistakes of memory or carelessness, or might reflect *ad hoc* solutions to temporary problems of document supply and retention during the prolonged to and fro between Conrad and his typists.

Occasional markings in lead or blue pencil, including such instructions as '2 copies today please' or 'One copy, today please', punctuate the pages, often with a capital R (for 'Razumov'), usually in blue pencil, to identify the job. Calls for two copies cease on MS 179; from MS

¹ See Geoffrey D. Smith, 'Great Auctions of the Past. Part Two: The John Quinn Auction', *Fellowship of American Bibliophilic Societies*, 2, no. 2 (2008), 7–9.

² For details, see *Register*, p. 84.

³ The pagination sequence 1–1351 is interrupted at the following points, making 1350 leaves in total: 91 91[A]; 154 156; 250 252; 311 & 312 (i.e., a single page bearing both page numbers); 332 & 333; 415 416A 415B 416C 417; 440 & 441 (a revised page of typescript); 447 & 448 (another revised typescript page whose typed text copies holograph 447 and 448, which are also present); 470 476 (with 476 later corrected in blue pencil to '471 to 476'); 521 521A; 576 & 577; 650 650bis; 670 & 671; 848 848bis; 1104 1104[A]; 1166 1166[A]; 1187 1187bis; 1220 1220[A]; 1267A (a revised typescript page) 1267B; 1312 1314; 1336 1336[A]; 1341 1343. Alternative pagination appears at 136–138 (58A 58B 58C).

⁴ Exceptions include the ribbon-copy typescript pages 440 & 441, 447 & 448 and 842 (the other two – 899 and 1267A – are carbon copies) and watermarks on the following manuscript leaves: 1, 285–310, 630–3, 650bis, 661–4 – 'HIERATICA | (a vegetable parchment) | JS & CO LTD'; 665–73: 'ENGLISH MADE BANK | ROCK BROS LTD'; 674–954: [unclear: decorative device, shield?, '139' and 'BB']; 955–60: 'EXCELSIOR | SUPERFINE | BRITISH MAKE'; and 1343: 'FINE COMMERCIAL'.

⁵ That is, 440 & 441, 447 & 448, 842, 899, 1267A.

244 to MS 729 the request is always for one copy. Towards the middle of the document, directions occur on pages 701 and 729, which bear the last such requests; their typescript counterparts begin Batches B and C. As notations meant for a typist, these are typical of those in other manuscripts that Conrad sent to Pinker. Less usual are the dates that then succeed them on later pages: '7, AP. 09', '31 MCH', '8 MY', '24 JU' and '28 JULY'.¹

Impressions from what were probably fasteners remain in the top left-hand corner of these as well as many other pages, but the occasional failure of these marks to correlate with Conrad's directions about the number of copies to be made suggests that the gathering may have been done later, perhaps upon the receipt of typescript or when the manuscript was being prepared for sale.²

Ash burns, presumably from Conrad's smoking while writing, have left scars, and doodles figure here and there. For example, above the text at the top right-hand of MS 524 are what appear to be the curved tops of a ship's twin thick round ventilation pipes. More suggestively, the capital letter K appears, occasionally in the first half of the document and then with greater frequency from page 961, and especially so in the 1100s. MS 1182, for instance, has three of them. As the Ks are usually in the same position (around the mid-point of the left-hand margin, often at the extreme edge of the sheet) they are unlikely to be a symbol for passages to which Conrad needed to return. While an autobiographical reading for them has been proposed – either Kirylo (for Kirylo Sidorovitch Razumov) or Konrad Korzeniowski, or both, so that 'K' could perhaps have been Conrad's private nickname for his character³ – the cause of their inscription, over and above the usual function of doodles to represent a pause in the flow of composition, may be at least partly physical: the need to clear a clogged nib.⁴

¹ These appear on MS 792, 818, 842, 879, 899, respectively. Although MS 792 matches up with Batch D, p. [13], the other four dates correspond to the opening pages of other batches. The formal appearance of these inscriptions in an unidentified hand has led to their being described as 'stamped', but they are not. On the reversal (7 April then 31 March), see Appendix C, p. 600 n. 2.

² Fasteners are still preserved with the typescript (Philadelphia).

³ David R. Smith, 'The Hidden Narrative: The K in Conrad', *Joseph Conrad's 'Under Western Eyes': Beginnings, Revisions, Final Forms*, ed. David R. Smith (1991), p. 54.

⁴ Most such Ks are very dark, and occasionally only the stem is present, making a capital 'I', or the K has been inscribed, turned into a rectangle and then filled in. Pressing hard with the pen to make the ink flow or to dislodge paper fibre would explain this, and a printed rather than a cursive K is a useful letter for performing

Far more significant, in any case, is the appearance of heavy interlinear revision. Although this varies considerably and although at times, as we have seen, Conrad wrote faster, four pages (about 400 words) per day seems to have been a typical maximum speed. Conrad knew the figure all too well, lamenting to a friend and fellow-writer when the novel was well in hand: 'it takes me a day to write 4 pages. But I don't even average that.'¹ This is so few words that he must have spent much of every writing day gazing at what he had just written, and reading must have been an intimate and interwoven part of composition. It is not surprising, then, to find that a great many revisions are of whole lines – often two, three or many more – entirely scored through. The replacement text is typically similar in wording, and sometimes very much so, but invariably features development or alteration. Occasionally, the pattern of deletions shows the writer making a third or even fourth attempt to push the narration forwards in this way.² Perhaps he kept the variant versions in suspension, visible, rather than deleting before proceeding.³ Whether he did so or not, it seems clear that reading a passage and then rewriting it with some variation, gave him the run-up needed at the creative task. Having typescript prepared immediately after writing each section, especially during composition of the novel's first half, is probably another expression of this need: typescript was easier to read than holograph, and thus likely a creative stimulus.

Normal interlinear revision is frequent (with one or more words replaced); but it often extends further, through two, three or even more lines at a time, thus making for messy copy. Far more often,

this action. There are other markings: doodles that do not seem representational, and faint short lines next to one another, which equally may have been attempts to clear the nib. Similar non-textual features also appear in the manuscripts of *Chance* (Berg) and *Victory* (Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin).

¹ Conrad to Stephen Reynolds, [September? 1909] (*Letters*, iv, 275).

² For example, at MS 314-15, 'for- | getfulness of facts' is hyphenated over a line-break. A five-line section of text starting 'getfulness' has been written and later deleted; next a three-line extension also starting with 'getfulness' has been inscribed and deleted; and another attempt, also three lines long, suffered the same fate before Conrad hit upon wording he found acceptable, although even it has several interlinear revisions. He later deleted the whole passage in typescript (78.6).

³ This method occasioned errors in *Lord Jim*, where phrasing evidently intended for deletion was inadvertently retained, with the result that repetitions descended to the final text. For a discussion, see 'The Texts' and 'Textual Notes', *Lord Jim, A Tale*, ed. J. H. Stape and Ernest W. Sullivan II (2012), p. 362, and pp. 488 (33.5*n.*), 498 (229.36*n.* and 234.40*n.*), 500 (286.29*n.*).

because Conrad's method of deleting whole lines was a heavy wavy line, his typists must have had difficulty in deciphering the wording intended, let alone the punctuation, despite the fact that Conrad's hand is usually large and, even with its distinctly Continental cast, fairly clear. On occasion, he would also neglect to inscribe a required word, leaving a lacuna for the typist either to respect or to fill in.

THE TYPESCRIPT

THE EXTANT TYPESCRIPT of *Under Western Eyes* (TS) remained in the possession of Robert Garnett until it was auctioned in New York along with his brother Edward's *Conradiana* in November 1928.¹ Gabriel Wells purchased it, and it was later acquired by Colonel Richard A. Gimbel (1898–1970). The latter's widow, Julia (née de Fernex Millhisser) Gimbel, presented it, along with other Conrad typescripts and manuscripts, to the Free Library of Philadelphia in December 1977.²

¹ Robert Garnett to Edward Garnett, 23 February 1928 (Northwestern): 'Curle sails I think on the 2nd March, and I presume it will be best to ask him to be so good as to attend the sale on your and my behalf, that is to say, to bid up to £450 for your "Nigger" and also for me with regard to my typescript' – that is, to push the prices up during the auction. Edward Garnett might have been interested in doing something with the typescript in 1910 and could have borrowed the document from his brother after its retyping, either on a whim as a literary curiosity, or more purposefully; however, the evidence suggests otherwise. On 12 January 1911, in response to a letter from Garnett, who had evidently mentioned an ongoing sense of obligation to his 'literary child' (*Letters*, iv, 407, and 407 n. 1), Conrad indicated that he could not send a copy of the whole novel – he would, in fact, not have had such a copy – but would send '3 instalments or so' of the *English Review* as soon as he had them to hand. For Garnett, securing the typescript would have been an alternative if he was intending at first to write a puff for the novel while it was being serialized. In the event, he wrote a considered review (*Nation*, 21 October 1911, 140–42; rpt *CR*, III, 571–4), to which Conrad's touchy reply (*Letters*, iv, 488–9) gives no indication that Garnett was responding to the novel other than for the first time. Garnett's copy of Methuen's first edition (Philadelphia) contains his notes on four blank end-pages, as well as markings of passages of text in the margins. Thus the typescript does not appear to have provided the source for Garnett's review. On Garnett's annotations, see David Leon Higdon, 'Edward Garnett's Copy of *Under Western Eyes*', *The Conradian*, 10, no. 2 (1985), 139–43.

² On this collection, see Donald W. Rude, 'The Richard Gimbel Collection of Conrad's Manuscripts and Typescripts at the Philadelphia Free Library', *Conradiana*, 15 (1983), 233–4. On Gimbel, a collector of literary manuscripts (notably of Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin and Edgar Allan Poe) and the grandson of the founder of a chain of well-known American department stores, see Colonel George Fagan, 'The Man behind the Gimbel Collection', *Newsletter: The Friends of the Air Force Academy Library*, 1, no. 4 (November 1990), 1–2.

The typescript (see Fig. 2) consists of 841 leaves, only 2 of which have text (in lead pencil) on the verso, making 843 pages in total.¹ The quarto-sized typing paper varies slightly in size but measures mostly around 10 in. × 8 in. (approximately 25.4 cm × 20.3 cm). The first 314 pages are paginated (type-paginated up to page 288), but thereafter arranged only in batches, designated A–T by Conrad.² The typing is nearly all ribbon, and until the end of Batch G nearly all the leaves are watermarked; thereafter the opposite is the case.³ Batch X, Conrad's holograph of the last chapter, is paginated 1–24 and is on paper bearing the watermark 'FINE COMMERCIAL'. With the exception of those pages attributed to Jessie Conrad, the typing was obviously done by professionals.⁴ Up to Batch C, page 15 it is double-spaced; it is triple-spaced thereafter. Conrad's revisions and corrections appear on the great majority of the pages; the media used are blue-black ink, blue pencil and lead pencil. On Batch E, page 6 the typing is completely scored through and interlined with holograph additions in lead pencil. These continue onto the verso, and thence onto the recto and verso of an inserted leaf, making four complete pages of holograph in total.⁵

¹ See also *Register*, p. 84; Rude, 'The Richard Gimbel Collection', items 6 and 7; David Leon Higdon, "'Complete but uncorrected': The Typescript of Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*", *Joseph Conrad's 'Under Western Eyes'*, ed. David R. Smith (1991), pp. 83–119; and Osborne, 'For Art and Money' and 'The Typescript of Joseph Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*: Motivations, Intentions and Editorial Possibilities', *Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand Bulletin*, 26 (2002), 105–18.

² After Conrad had stopped paginating, he inscribed 'A' on TS 314 and a note to the typist in lead pencil about thereafter observing the sequence of named batches. He scored through '314'; for simplicity's sake, that page will be referred to here as TS 314. Pages 299–314 were, in fact, paginated twice, at first in lead and then in blue pencil. Conrad must have placed two batches of typing in the wrong order at first. Because TS 315 also has an 'A' inscribed on it, Conrad evidently, in the confusion, wrote his note a page too soon and so deleted '314' for clarity.

³ TS 1–288 are comprised of purple ribbon-copy watermarked 'OCEANA SUPERFINE', except for pages 152–6; these are carbon-copy and on paper watermarked 'EXCELSIOR | SUPERFINE | BRITISH MAKE'; TS 289–306 are comprised of black ribbon-copy (EXCELSIOR); TS 307 is a blue carbon-copy page on paper lacking a watermark; TS 308–13 (the last paginated page) are purple ribbon-copy (OCEANA); Batch A leaves [1–7] are purple carbon-copy (leaf 1 [TS 314] on paper watermarked EXCELSIOR; 2–7 OCEANA); then, to the end of Batch F, blue ribbon-copy (OCEANA) except for Batch E, leaf [7] ('ORIGINAL | ROCK LEIGH | MILL'), 8 7/10 in. × 6 4/5 in. (22.1 cm × 17.3 cm); and Batches H–T are blue ribbon-copy on unwatermarked paper.

⁴ For the argument that these are her work, see p. 323 below.

⁵ For a detailed discussion of this insertion, see Appendix C.

For roughly the first half of the novel, Conrad asked for and received 'intermediate' typing; when revised, it would need to be retyped in duplicate, as Pinker needed clean copy to circulate for sale. The decision to have one copy made immediately rather than allowing manuscript to accumulate had the effect, in practice, that composition and revision would proceed in tandem since Conrad, on receipt of the typed pages, would typically revise them before proceeding with or returning to the next batch of manuscript. In some cases he would have already gone further in manuscript, and even perhaps kept back a few pages from the typing, which meant that the typed pages he had just received needed to be brought into correspondence with following manuscript.

This process can be seen operating at the level of changed sentences and paragraphs, the evidence for which, in a heavily revised page of first typing, remains as the last page of some manuscript batches: Conrad has made alterations to ensure continuity with the next extant manuscript page.¹ It is likely that some part-completed or completed pages from the start of the next batch of manuscript would have been discarded as part of this process if Conrad decided to start afresh under the impetus of the just-completed revision of the previous typescript batch. A similar working method continued in the second half of the typescript. Despite the absence of intermediate typing from Batch A onwards, the typescript shows a related pattern of discarding.² Equally, if he had already gone further in manuscript, his revision of the typescript would have reflected where he had reached. Either way, the manuscript and typescript became interdependent: in

¹ A page of intermediate typescript, type-paginated '178', replaces 'MS. 447 & 448' (Conrad's handwritten note). The typing stops in mid-sentence, several lines from the bottom of the page, representing the last part of a batch of manuscript. Conrad heavily revised it, but he failed to discard MS 447-8. (MS 448 also ends at the same mid-sentence point.) The typed page ('178') has then served as the first page of the next batch, and Conrad has added '1 copy today, please.' at the top of the page. The next extant manuscript page (MS 449) follows on directly from the revised holograph wording at the foot of '178' but does not follow on from the end of MS 448 or its typed equivalent. Conrad has started afresh, and a page or more of manuscript, at least finishing the sentence, has been discarded. Another such typed page, MS '175', replaced MS 440-41, but in this case the manuscript pages were not preserved. In both cases the handwritten revised text is continuous with the text on the following manuscript page, but the cancelled typed text is not. Both end-of-batch sites of heavy revision reflect other revisions made in intermediate typescript earlier in the batch.

² For a more detailed discussion of this topic, see Appendix C, pp. 600-01.

effect, they are textually intertwined.¹ Crucially, the manuscript lost its independent status, and only the typescript contains the full result of the compositional process.

Often, as far as can be determined, the effects are minor; but at times they can be significant. For instance, the narrator in the first manuscript chapter states that 'I must mention that I have resided and taught for many years in Geneva, and it was there that I had Mr Razumov for a pupil' (MS 5). The typescript, on the other hand, reads: 'I must mention that I have lived for many years in Geneva' (TS 2). In holograph drafted some months later, when Razumov goes to Geneva, he meets the narrator for the first time. This change must have been made in an 'intermediate' typescript discarded when Miss Hallowes came to stay at Someries in early October 1908. Similarly, the manuscript sections written afterwards take into account the extensive revisions of his portraits of Natalia Haldin and Peter Ivanovitch.

During Miss Hallowes's stay with the Conrads, Conrad reported to Pinker: 'I corrected as Miss Hallow[e]s typed' (*Letters*, IV, 137).² This statement explains the existence of a thin layer of pencil and ink correction in this section of the (ribbon-copy) typescript; but many of the alterations, undoubtedly authorial, are not in Conrad's hand. It is clear that Miss Hallowes prepared ribbon and carbon copies for, on 13 October, Conrad warned his agent that 'Before sending out the carbon copy of *Raz* – the few corrections will have to be copied from

¹ Conrad's instruction to Pinker of mid-March 1909 no longer to return typescript of the manuscript batches proved impractical [11 or 18 March 1909] (*Letters*, IV, 203). For example, Conrad must have received Batch H (the equivalent clutch of MS 879–98 is dated by hand '24 JU') because MS 899 is a page bearing five lines of type corresponding to the end of MS 898. Conrad has, then, proceeded to use the remaining white space of this typed page for his continuing holograph narrative. MS 899, dated by hand '28 JULY', is the first page of a 24-page manuscript grouping (MS 899–922), corresponding to the first half of Batch I. This clutch was probably the '25 pp. of MS Enclosed' with a letter to Pinker tentatively dated early August 1909 (*Letters*, IX, 136 n. 1). There must have been a holograph page continuing on from the end of MS 898 because it stops in mid-sentence. Thus Conrad probably neglected to discard the (now redundant) holograph page and sent it with the next clutch of pages, making '25'. The typist presumably noticed the duplication and discarded it.

² Likely evidence of Conrad's correcting Miss Hallowes's typing appears on TS 274–7 where no upper-case letters appear even though there is a space for each one. Evidently the ribbon had become defective. Someone (presumably Conrad) noticed this and began to supply the capitals in ink until TS 275. At this point Miss Hallowes reassumed control and reinserted the already typed pages one by one into the typewriter, typing the missing letters, which, all slightly misaligned, are darker than the surrounding type. From TS 278 she carried on with the new ribbon.

the Type copy' (*Letters*, iv, 145). The readiest explanation is either that Conrad undertook a phase of revision in the carbon copy and dictated the changes as well as, at some stage, working in the ribbon copy himself, or that he worked in the ribbon copy in pencil and that his pencilled revisions were copied in ink and then (most, but not all) rubbed out. The hand – which is exceedingly neat, in places imitating typewritten letter shapes – is unidentified.

Whether Pinker did send out this substantial section of the novel to magazine editors is unknown, as is the fate of the carbon copy. He may have decided to retain the copies until Conrad had actually delivered the rest for, in later correspondence but well before finishing his manuscript draft, Conrad would ask Pinker to allow various of his friends to read the 'clean copy'.¹

The loss is, of course, of minor significance since the extant typescript is the document that Conrad would revise and that would be 'clean'-copied for further transmission. Nevertheless, other evidence in the surviving typescript bears on the loss. Some mis-collation of ribbon- and carbon-copy pages must have occurred because TS 152–6, 307 and Batch A leaves [1–7] are carbon copy whereas the remainder are ribbon. TS 37–44 (originally paginated in the bottom left-hand corner A2–H2) were not typed during the same stint as the rest of TS 1–288, but their second pagination (part of the overall sequence) was presumably added by Miss Hallowes. Punctuation spacing problems occur throughout TS 37–44 – for example, 'within, three' (TS 43.2), 'that. Saint' (TS 43.15) – and are typical of Jessie Conrad's typing,² and the initial pagination implies another typing (not extant) paginated A1–?H1. Furthermore, Conrad's reference to 'rough' typed copy relating to MS '763–791'³ might point to more of Jessie Conrad's intermediate typing, only professionally retyped at the last moment. This would explain why Batches B and D are dated, probably in Conrad's hand, 'Jan 21 '10' and 'Febr '10', whereas, in fact, early 1909 dates would be expected.

¹ On 20 December 1909, Conrad told Pinker that 'Three men have seen it to date' (*Letters*, iv, 303). The three were: John Galsworthy in November 1908 (*Letters*, iv, 154, 155); Perceval Gibbon in August 1909 (*Letters*, iv, 269); and, possibly, Edward Garnett: see p. 319 n. 1, and also p. 326 n. 5, p. 328 and p. 328 n. 3.

² Cf. the typescript of 'A Smile of Fortune' (Yale). She was not a professional typist, and her typewriter appears at times to have suffered from mechanical problems.

³ Conrad to Pinker, [7 March 1909] (*Letters*, iv, 200). Batch D relates to MS 777–806.

Miss Hallowes's typing ended at page 288 of the typescript; Jessie Conrad then took over the 'intermediate' and perhaps some clean-copy typing until the second page of Batch A.¹ Thereafter, as noted above, because of the lack of noteworthy textual variation, the typescript must be the first typing of manuscript. The main exceptions concern several individual pages dealt with in Appendix C, but elsewhere the variant wordings are explicable as typist's misreadings, eye-skip or her provision of an expected word.² The chapter numbering 'II', 'III' and 'IV' in the manuscript (MS 71, 216 and 339, respectively) was probably effected in October 1908 as Conrad was correcting the Hallowes typing of TS 1–288 and marking equivalent divisions in it. Conrad continued with the typescript divisions but stopped marking the manuscript counterparts. By late March 1909 he marked 'End of III' on MS 806 before beginning the next page as 'Part IV', once again paralleling a marking in the typescript. This division of the typescript would be superseded in April–May 1910 when he arrived at the final part and chapter divisions.

At some stage before the end of this process, Conrad must have corrected a (now-lost) copy of the new last chapter because an array of unquestionably authorial readings that vary from the holograph manuscript Batch X appears in all printed forms. Conrad presumably revised an intermediate typing and forwarded it to Robert Garnett for retyping. Given the state of her husband's relations with Pinker, Jessie Conrad might have prepared that intermediate document.

TYPESCRIPT REVISIONS

BY THE END of January 1910, the novel was in one sense complete. The narrative had been brought to a conclusion, and Conrad had

¹ Jessie Conrad's intermediate typescript work here must have ended at the foot of MS '670 and 671' (as Conrad paginated it); its final words ('For me', 128.11) mistake 'For my' – the last in a series of wordings that Conrad must have revised in the intermediate typescript (see 128.6–9). Presumably he had handed over the completed manuscript leaves to his wife up to what he at first correctly paginated as MS 670, and later went on writing on a not yet paginated leaf, guessing it to be 672 and later adding 'and 671' to the previous page when his wife returned the manuscript leaves and intermediate typing to him for revision. When the typist of the clean-copy typescript received a mix of intermediate typescript and then manuscript from 672 she presumably found the point of linkage on MS 672 and began typing from there.

² For a significant example of eyeskip, see 150.35b.

arranged the various sections of the typescript into an integral document, parts of which had undergone at least minor revision. Yet the typescript still needed to be shortened for serialization and lacked the extensive revisions that Conrad would carry out during April and May. His intention to do this was longstanding, but, as the shortening would become a central aspect of the revisional process, it needs to be considered first.

In December 1909, 'following the psychology of M^r Razumov', Conrad had told 'Reggie' Gibbon, was 'like working in hell'.¹ The pressure began to tell, and just before Christmas Conrad was writing to his doctor for a prescription because 'the brain . . . isn't steady'.² At the end of the month, again to Gibbon, he let off steam: once he had finished 'Razumov' he would, 'to give [Pinker] a chance of serialising . . . take the guts out artistically. It'll take me three days extra. And then I shall come to see you whooping and singing savage warsongs with an eagle's feather in my hair and Pinker's scalp at my waist' (*Letters*, IV, 311–12). Discounting the comically desperate bravado, we are still left with Conrad's expressed intention of shortening the novel for serialization, a plan in keeping with his earlier pronouncements.³ To this chore he had to return as soon as his health permitted, following his nervous breakdown. Oddly, yet understandably, and although he cannot have been at his best when he began to revise, Conrad would gradually become committed to the new shorter form and take it with great care through proofs for the *English Review* and Methuen's first English edition (E1).

Given the time he had expended in writing the novel, it was imperative that he maximize his income by simultaneous magazine serialization, and then, as usual, first editions, in London and New York. *Under Western Eyes* would be his first novel serialized in both places. The question became how best to maintain control over a text that would need revision but for which four printer's copies, each perhaps of different length, might be required. Conrad cared about the precise wording of his works, and even their translations. In mid-November 1909, having just read proofs of the French translation of *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'*, he admitted to his translator: 'I have a regrettable mania

¹ Conrad to Gibbon, 19 December 1909 (*Letters*, IV, 302).

² Conrad to R. D. Mackintosh, 22 December 1909 (*Letters*, IV, 306).

³ E.g., *Letters*, IV, 81, 275 n. 2, 301. For the initial intention to shorten *The Secret Agent* for serialization, see Conrad to Pinker, 4 October 1906 (*Letters*, III, 364).

for corrections. I very much want to touch up all my books' (*Letters*, IV, 287–8). Probably he was trying to mollify a translator who was about to receive proofs with 'a lot of writing on the margins'; but Conrad's rhetorical question to his friend William Rothenstein a few days later rings true: 'How could I resist the chance of putting something of my real self into the translator's prose?' (*Letters*, IV, 290). Revision of his prose was, as we have seen, an integral part of composition;¹ and it was a process that could extend into successive sets of proofs. If, however, he was satisfied that the revision was finished before that, he was sometimes content to have a publisher's reader identify and correct the typesetter's errors.²

Conrad first felt able to get on with revising on 1 April 1910, and was finished by 11 May. Although he was still 'muddled' at the end of March,³ things must have been improving by 7 April when he wrote to Robert Garnett: 'I send you this batch trusting to your kindness to have it put in hand at some good typing office' (*Letters*, IV, 323). Garnett must have indicated he would read it because in a letter to him of mid-April, accompanying another 'rather slender' batch, Conrad commented: 'A request I must make that if you feel inclined to look at the stuff at all you will use the shortened copy such as I mean it to appear serially.'⁴ Edward Garnett was intending to visit, Conrad notes in the first letter: so the shortening had occurred either before his visit or was still in progress.⁵ It is likely that they would have discussed the project in hand. Conrad was revising the typescript thoroughly: organizing it for the first time into parts and chapters, making hundreds of verbal changes, some extensive, deleting about 18,000 words and rewriting the last chapter.⁶ He was also correcting punctuation and other presentational matters as he went along.

Inevitably in all of this, the revised typescript had become an untidy document, and was not paginated from page 315. In newly arranging the rest of the typescript in consecutive, named batches for the typist

¹ Witness further the following note on the manuscript of *Lord Jim* (Rosenbach): 'Where MS illegible leave blank space. mistakes – repetitions and imperfect sentences to be typed *exactly* as written.'

² See Conrad to Pinker, [12 October 1908] (*Letters*, IV, 144).

³ Conrad to Galsworthy, 31 March 1910 (*Letters*, IV, 323).

⁴ Conrad to Robert Garnett, [14? April 1910] (*Letters*, IV, 323–4).

⁵ Correspondence confirms that he did visit in 'April last when I was in bed still' (*Letters*, IV, 380).

⁶ This is a computer-generated calculation. Conrad believed the number to be approximately 30,000 (*Letters*, IV, 486).

(whom Robert Garnett was using to produce duplicate clean copy for Pinker to sell), Conrad was assisted by his twelve-year-old son Borys, who worked 'with a quiet perseverance for an hour or so every morning' (*Letters*, IV, 328). Conrad 'finished the revise of Raz.' on 11 May and spent the next day in bed, 'but not so broken up as I feared'.¹ In the same retrospective account Conrad reported on Robert Garnett's helpfully 'volunteering to read over and correct the clean final copy. With three superimposed revisions there were a good many phrases without grammar and even without sense to be found in the rough typed copy. And I dreaded the task of wading through all that shallow, sticky stuff again' (*ibid.*). Although Conrad had found the strength to revise and radically extend *The Secret Agent* after its serial appearance in 1906, he could not face undertaking major narrative surgery this time.²

The dread he felt at the prospect is readily explicable: his recent breakdown; his heroic two-year struggle immediately prior to that to complete a novel that skirted too close for comfort to his background, outlook and situation; and the cramped domestic conditions in the rented four-room cottage at Aldington where the Conrads lived from February 1909 until they moved on 24 June 1910. (Apparently Conrad worked at a desk at the turn of the stairs, with no window, hearing the occasional squeals from his landlord's slaughterhouse below.³) The dread explains why, although Conrad started the revision with the longstanding and perhaps uninspected idea of shortening only for serialization (and by implication maintaining a separate, longer version for the book form), he gradually became committed to a single form of the novel during the four weeks after the letter of 14 April 1910. It also explains why he would later state that the text 'as

¹ The typescript would have been in the shape of the Miss Hallowes section (TS 1–288), some hand-paginated typing to TS 315, then unpaginated typing in batches. Only Batches J and N fail to observe typing-batch divisions. Conrad explained his arrangement of the document in a 'note for [Robert Garnett's] typist' as follows: 'All the pages are in sequence and the batches are lettered. Please carry on the numbering of the clean copy. This is the end of part II containing end of Chap IV and Chapter V' (Batch A, p. [1]).

² Conrad finished the instalments for *Ridgway's Militant Weekly* hurriedly, aware that he would revise and expand the novel for book publication. See *The Secret Agent* (1990), pp. xxiii–xli, 249–59; Cedric Watts, *Joseph Conrad: A Literary Life* (1989), pp. 93, 98–9; and Osborne, 'The Typescript of Joseph Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*', pp. 107–09.

³ Carabine, p. 43.

established in the *English Review* (a serialization arranged by 26 July 1910) would be the basis for 'The book'.¹

On 24 April 1910, probably after Edward Garnett's visit to the Conrads while the revision process was in full swing, Galsworthy had written to Garnett: 'Yes, I agree about Conrad, but personally I know of no young fellow who would take on the job. . . Is the novel cut down for America yet?'² Because Garnett's letter, to which this is a reply, is not extant, it is impossible to know whether the envisaged 'job' was the restoration from the increasingly heavily marked-up typescript of the novel's longer version after its shorter version had been copied from it for serialization. Apparently, Garnett did not read the typescript during his visit; Conrad was later adamant that 'since *Lord Jim* (pub. in 1900) EG has not seen a single line of my work before publication. *Not a line! Not a scrap.*'³ Nevertheless, Garnett, when visiting, could readily have seen what Conrad was doing and discussed with him the best way to maximize the chances of selling serial rights in both the English and American markets. Garnett was experienced in such matters – he would be London agent for the American magazine *Century* by July 1911⁴ – and it is natural that Conrad would have looked to him for advice, as he had in the early days of his career.

In November 1910, he was back to his old habit of cutting a story for magazine publication, making good 'A Smile of Fortune' with some existing material from a rejected version and retaining 'the cancelled papers of the story for eventual re-insertion in book form'. He pronounced himself 'disgusted at the silly job' and never did re-insert, but with *Under Western Eyes* there would be no such dealings.⁵

¹ Conrad to Austin Harrison, 31 July 1910 (*Letters*, IV, 353).

² *Letters from John Galsworthy, 1900–1932*, ed. Edward Garnett (1934), p. 178.

³ Conrad to Pinker, 9 August 1911 (*Letters*, IV, 471). But see Conrad's earlier letter to Pinker of [28? July 1908]: he mentions that Edward Garnett 'is coming this evening to have a look at the MS of *Raz* as the subject interests him greatly' (*Letters*, IV, 97). There is no subsequent mention of the planned visit, but Garnett was an active supporter of the local Russian émigré community. If he was critical of Conrad's account of the Geneva equivalent, it would help explain Conrad's later bridling at Robert Lynd's review of *A Set of Six* of August 1908. Lynd suggested the work might better have been written in Polish, and mentions the great contribution of 'Mrs. Constance Garnett's translations of the novels of Turgénieff' (*CR*, III, 446). However, this was before Miss Hallows's retyping, and Conrad had told Pinker that 'The present type is so interlined that I don't like to show it even to you' ([14? July 1908], *Letters*, IV, 91); nevertheless, Conrad could have read some of it aloud to Garnett.

⁴ Conrad to Edward Garnett, 18 July 1911 (*Letters*, IV, 459).

⁵ Conrad to Pinker, 30 November 1910 and [24 or 25? November 1910] (*Letters*, IV, 392, 391).

After Conrad had been readying the manuscript for sale to Quinn in late September 1911, he reconsidered his decision to shorten it, for, to Galsworthy, who had just read the novel and evidently criticized some aspect of it, he remarked: ‘Revising while ill in bed I am afraid I have struck out whole pages recklessly . . . There are passages which should have remained. I wasn’t in a fit state to judge them. Well – it’s done now and let the critics make what they can of it.’¹ Varying weight has been given to this sad, unstudied remark: we can all feel regret at the path not taken, while at another moment staunchly defend that decision as the wiser alternative. His letter to Olivia Garnett about Miss Haldin as the pivot of the novel’s action is in this latter vein.

Had Conrad been in good health after he finished the manuscript he would have been able to revise more thoroughly – that is, if he chose to do so and felt he could afford the time when the pressure to write more thousands of words to sell was as strong as ever.² In the circumstances, deletion may have been a less taxing way to deal with narrative problems.³ Nevertheless, the inordinate expenditure of nervous energy in finishing *this* manuscript guaranteed that he would not be in good health. Whether the alterations in the typescript were carefully calculated, painstaking (not just a case of taking ‘the guts out’ to achieve a lower word-count), as well as successful in their achievement of larger patterns of changed authorial intentions, is ultimately a literary-critical matter, to which, in the nature of such debates, there can be no closure. The question of whether the great bulk of the changes chronologically succeeded the breakdown is, on the other hand, a textual issue that does admit of a nearer approach to certainty. The three media used for the typescript’s correction and revision – ink, blue pencil and lead pencil – are found in every possible sequence,⁴ suggesting at first that chronology of revisional inscription was merely a matter of which implement Conrad found nearest to hand at a given moment. Nevertheless, upon close study, chronological patterns indicating stages of revision do emerge.

¹ Conrad to Galsworthy, 15 October 1911 (*Letters*, iv, 486).

² On 31 March 1910, Conrad, who had been bedridden for six weeks, regretted ‘this fatal stoppage of work’ (*Letters*, iv, 322).

³ For further discussion, see Roderick Davis, ‘Under Western Eyes: “The most deeply meditated novel”’, *Conradiana*, 9 (1977), 59–75 (62), and Osborne, ‘The Typescript of Joseph Conrad’s *Under Western Eyes*’, pp. 111–12.

⁴ A revision in ink of wording, itself part of a passage later struck through in blue pencil (e.g., TS 144), blue pencil over lead-pencil revisions (e.g., TS 265) and lead-pencil revisions that have been inscribed after those in ink (e.g., TS 291–5).

Blue pencil was used for nearly all the large-scale deletions, which must have been made after Conrad's breakdown. This medium was more convenient (faster and less scratchy) for striking through line after line than was pen-and-ink, yet passages struck through would typically require some new wording before and after by way of narrative linkage. There are two possibilities. In any one instance, Conrad could have revised either immediately (picking up a lead pencil or, much less often, a pen as being neater and easier to read than thick, blunt, blue pencil), *or* in a second run through the typescript. The evidence suggests that the latter is most often, although not always, the case.

In the section of typescript Miss Hallowes prepared (TS 1–288), the light layer of ink correction probably preceded the breakdown,¹ but there are also some examples of ink providing the last layer of revision (that is, following blue-pencil deletion or revision) in this section.² Revision in lead pencil, only sporadic here, dominates thereafter, and is usually the later medium when associated with blue-pencil deletion and revision. Conrad also used lead pencil for a holograph expansion of the end of Batch D, new pages of handwritten text in Batch E, and his instruction to the typist on TS 314 about carrying on the pagination through the alphabetically arranged batches. In addition, and crucially, he made some clarifications in lead pencil to blue pencillings that he had already inscribed to divide the novel into parts and chapters.³ Because these divisions and the large deletions are both in blue pencil and because the divisions take the deletions into account, it is highly likely that Conrad went through the typescript twice: the

¹ In this section of typescript, another hand can be detected making small revisions in ink. The amanuensis remains unidentified, but the changes are likely those of an assistant, helping a bed-ridden author prepare a neat copy for submission to a publisher. These revisions frequently blot out entire words and insert neat replacements such as 'will be able' for 'are sure' (11.20), 'record' for 'diary' (14.4) and 'sleeper' for 'form' (30.28a). The amanuensis is probably also responsible for the addition of occasional punctuation marks in ink, but the presence of ink revisions that are clearly in Conrad's hand make a complete separation impossible.

² For example, on TS 133 there is blue-black ink revising and linking around a passage deleted in blue pencil, and TS 137 witnesses two stages of revision in ink, one before and one after the deletions made in blue pencil.

³ On TS 269, Conrad's blue-pencil 'end of III' has, added to it, 'ch' in lead pencil, and on TS 287 he clarifies his blue-pencil 'Part II' annotation with a lead-pencil 'Chap IV begins'; see further, Osborne, 'The Typescript of Joseph Conrad's *Under Western Eyes*', pp. 114–15 n. 19. In the section that Miss Hallowes typed, the instructions to the typist are in blue pencil.

first time looking for what to delete and how to reorganize the internal divisions,¹ and then making more local revisions mostly in lead pencil.²

SERIALIZATION

AMERICAN SERIALIZATION

PINKER SENT ONE of the clean-copy typescript duplicates to Paul R. Reynolds, a literary agent and publishers' representative who acted for him and for a number of British publishers in New York. Reynolds had received it by 23 June 1910;³ in due course, the *North American Review* showed interest. Its owner, Colonel George Harvey, had also been running Harper & Brothers since 1899, so that Harpers' offer to Pinker of early September 1910, made through Reynolds, apparently entailed both serialization and a book edition.⁴

The *North American Review* was a prestigious venue. The first literary magazine in the United States, it had been founded in Boston in 1815; and Harvey used it to serialize works of important authors, including Henry James, but – almost a badge of honour for literary magazines – without financial success.⁵ During the serialization of Conrad's novel, Harvey ran articles with a sharp political focus as well as broad-ranging literary-critical overviews, including one on Hardy's poetry and another on Tolstoy's religion. There is no evidence that

¹ He had changes of mind during this process, marking divisions and then, because of a deletion of TS 270–86 (and part of each page on either side of this range), deciding to conflate two chapters into one. This meant he had to reinscribe the chapter number (TS 287).

² The original manuscript ending was written in ink. The post-breakdown dating given to the rewritten ending is strengthened by the part and chapter number that Batch X bears on its first page: in lead pencil, the division numbering could not have been made before April 1910. There is also a small difference in the size of the paper used for the original and rewritten endings: the manuscript leaves measure 10 in. × 7 9/10 in. (25.4 cm × 20.1 cm), whereas Batch X's pages measure 10 1/5 in. × 7 9/10 in. (25.9 cm × 20.1 cm).

³ Paul R. Reynolds to Pinker, 23 June 1910 (Northwestern).

⁴ Harper & Brothers (signed Thomas B. Wells) to Pinker, 9 September 1910 (Berg). In light of these negotiations, Conrad's letter to Pinker of 8 February 1911 (*Letters*, IV, 412) probably represents a delayed date for signing the book contract (rather than one for 'The Partner' in *Harper's Magazine's* November 1911 issue, as the editors of *Letters* suggest). Separate contracts, then, must have been entered into, since serialization was already underway.

⁵ See Eugene Exman, *The House of Harper: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing* (1967), p. 190.