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THE
CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF
THE WORKS OF
JOSEPH CONRAD

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JOSEPH CONRAD

VICTORY
AN ISLAND TALE

EDITED BY
J. H. Stape and Alexandre Fachard
With the Assistance of Aaron Zacks

INTRODUCTION BY
Richard Niland



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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

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

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

The present volume contains critical texts of Conrad's novel *Victory*, *An Island Tale* and of its two prefaces. The Cambridge text of the novel, apart from the coda to the final chapter, is based on the first revised typescript, held in the Free Library of Philadelphia. The coda to the final chapter, present fragmentarily in the Philadelphia typescript, has the manuscript as its copy-text. The copy-texts are emended to incorporate authorial revisions drawn from earlier and later authoritative documents as well as editorial emendations to correct errors. The copy-text of the 'Note to the First Edition' is the manuscript, preserved at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin, and that for the 'Author's Note' is the first published text, that in *Note in My Books* (1921).

The 'Introduction' provides a literary history of the work focused on its genesis, sources and early reception, including its place in Conrad's life and art. The essay on 'The Texts' traces the textual history of the volume, examines the sources of its individual texts and explains the policies followed in editing them. The 'Apparatus' records basic

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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

textual evidence, documenting the discussion of genealogy and authority in 'The Texts: An Essay' as well as other editorial decisions, and the 'Textual Notes' deal with cruxes and textual issues. The 'Explanatory Notes' comment on specific readings that require glosses, dealing with sources, identifying real-life place names and related matters. Glossaries explain nautical terms and foreign words and phrases. Supplementing this material are a map and illustrations.

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

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

THE GENERAL EDITORS

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The facsimiles that precede the textual essay are reproduced by courtesy of the Berg Collection, New York Public Library; the Firestone Library, Princeton University; the Free Library of Philadelphia; and the Harry Ransom Center, the University of Texas at Austin.

CHRONOLOGY

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

Publication dates given below are those of the English book editions, except for those of the present volume.

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

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1875		Apprentice in <i>Mont-Blanc</i> (to Caribbean)
1876–7		In <i>Saint-Antoine</i> (to Caribbean)
1878	late February or early March	Attempts suicide
	April	Leaves Marseilles in British steamer <i>Mavis</i> (Mediterranean waters)
	June	Lands at Lowestoft, Suffolk; first time in England
	July–September	Sails as ordinary seaman in <i>Skimmer of the Sea</i> (North Sea)
1878–80		In <i>Duke of Sutherland</i> (to Sydney), <i>Europa</i> (Mediterranean waters)
1880		Meets G. F. W. Hope and Adolf Krieger
	June	Passes examination for second mate
1880–81		Third mate in <i>Loch Etive</i> (to Sydney)
1881–4		Second mate in <i>Palestine</i> , <i>Riversdale</i> , <i>Narcissus</i> (Eastern seas)
1884	December	Passes examination for first mate
1885–6		Second mate in <i>Tilkhurst</i> (to Singapore and India)
1886		Submits ‘The Black Mate’, perhaps his first story, to <i>Tit-Bits</i> competition
	August	Becomes a British subject
	November	Passes examination for master and receives ‘Certificate of Competency’
1886–7		Second mate in <i>Falconhurst</i> (British waters)
1887–8		First mate in <i>Highland Forest</i> , <i>Vidar</i> (Eastern seas)
1888–9		Captain of barque <i>Otago</i> (Bangkok to Australia and Mauritius)
1889	autumn	Begins <i>Almayer’s Folly</i> in London
1890	February–April	In Poland for first time since 1874
	May–December	In the Congo. Second-in-command, then temporarily as captain, of <i>Roi des Belges</i>
1891		Manages warehouse of Barr, Moering in London

CHRONOLOGY xix

1891–3		First mate in <i>Torrens</i> (London and Plymouth to Adelaide)
1893		Meets John Galsworthy and Edward L. ('Ted') Sanderson (passengers on <i>Torrens</i>)
	autumn	Visits Bobrowski in the Ukraine
	November	Signs on as second mate in <i>Adowa</i> , which sails only to Rouen and back
1894	January	Signs off <i>Adowa</i> , ending career as seaman
	February	Bobrowski dies
	autumn	Meets Edward Garnett and Jessie George
1895	April	<i>Almayer's Folly</i>
1896	March	<i>An Outcast of the Islands</i> . Marries Jessie George
	September	Settles in Stanford-le-Hope, Essex, after six-month honeymoon in Brittany
1897		Begins friendship with R. B. Cunninghame Graham; meets Henry James and Stephen Crane
	December	<i>The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'</i>
1898		Meets Ford Madox (Hueffer) Ford and H. G. Wells
	January	Alfred Borys Leo Conrad born
	April	<i>Tales of Unrest</i>
	October	Moves to Pent Farm, Postling near Hythe, Kent, sub-let from Ford
1899	February–April	'The Heart of Darkness' in <i>Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine</i>
1900	September	Begins association with literary agent J. B. Pinker
	October	<i>Lord Jim</i>
1901	June	<i>The Inheritors</i> (with Ford)
1902	November	<i>Youth: A Narrative and Two Other Stories</i>
1903	April	<i>Typhoon and Other Stories</i>
	October	<i>Romance</i> (with Ford)
1904	October	<i>Nostramo</i>
1905	June	<i>One Day More</i> staged in London
1906	August	John Alexander Conrad born

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CHRONOLOGY

	October	<i>The Mirror of the Sea</i>
1907	September	<i>The Secret Agent</i> . Moves to Someries, Luton, Bedfordshire
1908	August	<i>A Set of Six</i>
1909		Moves to Aldington, Kent
	July–September	Memories of Far East stimulated by correspondence from and meeting with Captain Carl M. Marris
1910		Moves to Capel House, Orlestone, Kent
1911	October	<i>Under Western Eyes</i>
1912	January	<i>Some Reminiscences</i> (as <i>A Personal Record in America</i>)
	April	Begins thinking of <i>Victory</i> as short story under working title ‘Dollars’; writes first <i>Titanic</i> essay for <i>English Review</i>
	c. May 30	Posts first typescript batch to <i>Pinker</i>
	June 18	Completes second <i>Titanic</i> essay for <i>English Review</i>
	October	<i>Twixt Land and Sea</i>
	October 7	With opening of Part II/5 (first edition) finished, now sees ‘Dollars’ as short novel
	December	Breaks off novel to write ‘The Inn of the Two Witches’
1913	mid-January	Sends first batch of manuscript after hiatus
	April–July	Works on ‘D. novel’ concurrently with revising and then proofreading <i>Chance</i>
	c. July 7	Reaches Part III/4
	c. August 21	Finishes ‘Dollars’ to manuscript page 66o (mid-point of Part III/8) and turns to revision in typescript of work done to date
	September	<i>Chance</i> , with ‘main’ publication date of January 1914
	mid-September	Returns to writing after hiatus for revising typescript

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	late October	Breaks off <i>Victory</i> for some two months to write commercial short stories ('The Planter of Malata', 'Because of the Dollars')
1914	January	Agrees to terms for serialization in <i>Munsey's Magazine</i> , with due date of 1 May, later extended
	February–June	Works steadily, posting typescript batches to Pinker with some regularity
	c. June 27?	'Completes' drafting manuscript
	late June–early July	In Sheffield and Harrogate, with son Borys and Richard Curle; revises clean-copy typescript
	c. July 19	Clean-copy typescript dispatched to Pinker for forwarding to <i>Munsey's Magazine</i>
	July 25	Departs for Austrian Poland with family; delayed by outbreak of First World War
	September	'Because of the Dollars' in <i>Metropolitan Magazine</i>
	November 3	Arrives back in England (via Vienna and Genoa) from Continent
1915	January 20	<i>Victory</i> in February issue of <i>Munsey's Magazine</i>
	c. January 23	Doubleday's sends book proofs of <i>Victory</i> to Pinker
	February	<i>Within the Tides</i>
	February 3	Sends marked-up Doubleday proofs of <i>Victory</i> to Pinker
	March 26	<i>Victory</i> published in America by Doubleday, Page & Company
	March 28–31	Reads Methuen's proofs of <i>Victory</i>
	early April	Writes 'Note to the First Edition' for Methuen's edition
	August 24	First instalment of <i>Victory</i> in London's <i>Star</i> (concludes November 9)
	September 24	<i>Victory</i> published in London by Methuen
1917	March	<i>The Shadow-Line</i>

1919	March	Moves to Spring Grove, near Wye, Kent. Dramatic adaptation of <i>Victory</i> by B. Macdonald Hastings opens in West End (closes in June)
	August	<i>The Arrow of Gold</i>
	October	Moves to Oswalds, Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury, Kent
1920	late May	Writes ‘Author’s Note’ to <i>Victory</i> for the collected editions
	June	<i>The Rescue</i>
1921	January–April	Visits Corsica. Collected editions begin publication in England (Heinemann) and in America (Doubleday)
	February	<i>Notes on Life and Letters</i>
1922	November	<i>The Secret Agent</i> staged in London
1923	May–June	Visits America, guest of F. N. Doubleday
	December	<i>The Rover</i>
1924	May	Declines knighthood
	August 3	Dies at Oswalds. Roman Catholic funeral and burial, Canterbury
	September	<i>The Nature of a Crime</i> (with Ford)
	October	<i>The Shorter Tales of Joseph Conrad</i>
1925	January	<i>Tales of Hearsay</i>
	September	<i>Suspense</i> (unfinished)
1926	March	<i>Last Essays</i>
1928	June	<i>The Sisters</i>

ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTE
ON EDITIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

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

<i>Bibliography</i>	William R. Cagle, ‘A Bibliography of Joseph Conrad’. Typescript, unpublished
<i>CEW</i>	Norman Sherry, <i>Conrad’s Eastern World</i> . Cambridge University Press, 1966
<i>Conrad: Intertexts</i>	<i>Conrad: Intertexts and Appropriations: Essays in Memory of Yves Hervouet</i> , ed. Gene M. Moore, Owen Knowles and J. H. Stape. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996
<i>CR</i>	<i>Joseph Conrad: The Contemporary Reviews</i> . General Editors Allan H. Simmons, John G. Peters and J. H. Stape, with Richard Niland, Mary Burgoyne and Katherine Isobel Baxter. 4 vols. Cambridge University Press, 2012
<i>Documents</i>	<i>Conrad between the Lines: Documents in a Life</i> , ed. Gene M. Moore, Allan H. Simmons and J. H. Stape. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000
<i>Letters</i>	<i>The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad</i> . General Editors Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies, with Owen Knowles, Gene M. Moore and J. H. Stape. 9 vols. Cambridge University Press, 1983–2007
<i>Portrait in Letters</i>	<i>A Portrait in Letters: Correspondence to and about Conrad</i> , ed. J. H. Stape and Owen Knowles. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996
<i>Register</i>	Gene M. Moore, comp. ‘A Descriptive Location Register of Joseph Conrad’s Literary Manuscripts’. <i>The Conradian</i> , 27, no. 2 (2002), 1–93

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xxiv ABBREVIATIONS AND NOTE ON EDITIONS
LOCATIONS OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

- Berg Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and
 Tilden Foundations
Free Free Library of Philadelphia
HRC Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin

NOTE ON EDITIONS

REFERENCES TO Conrad’s works are to the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Joseph Conrad where these have been published. Otherwise, references are, for the sake of convenience, to Dent’s Collected Edition, 1946–55, whose pagination is identical with that of the various ‘editions’ published by Doubleday throughout the 1920s. References to the Cambridge Edition take the following form: title (year of publication), whereas publication dates are not provided for citations from Dent’s Collected Edition.

Citations from critical and other works are identified by author, title and date only.

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INTRODUCTION

FIRST PUBLISHED in 1915, *Victory* has marked a problematic moment in Conrad's career for successive generations of academic critics. Its fusion of romance, melodrama and realism has occasioned lively debate about the author's alleged 'decline' in his later years; but in its Far Eastern setting, mixed narrative strategies, dense allusiveness and thematic concerns, it remains one of Conrad's more characteristic works. The novel's somewhat incongruous qualities, with its high intellectual and philosophic concerns unabashedly confronting demotic elements, have undoubtedly contributed to the widely varying critical assessments of it. Nevertheless, since its initial publication, *Victory* has fascinated and elicited praise from such figures as Jack London and Graham Greene. In its philosophical scepticism and melodramatic intensity it embodies a mixture of the first and last of Conrad, combining his major strengths – originality, inventiveness, the bold transformation of materials derived from several scattered sources – with the writer's oft-perceived recurring later weaknesses, including a loosening of style and a marked tendency to prolixity. Significantly, it stands as one of Conrad's most textually complex works, and the present edition allows the reader access to many effects and wordings never before seen in print.

ORIGINS

BEGUN SHORTLY AFTER mid-April 1912 and launched to great fanfare in the United States in March 1915, *Victory* forms part of a number of works in the author's *œuvre* that see him return to the world and concerns of his earliest fictions. After the political novels of *Nostromo* (1904), *The Secret Agent* (1907) and *Under Western Eyes* (1911), the stories in *Twixt Land and Sea* (1912) marked the first step on a journey back to earlier territory, a fact gratefully noted by contemporary reviewers who heaped considerable praise on the volume. *Twixt Land and Sea* and, subsequently, *Within the Tides* (1915) and *Victory* engage with Conrad's time in the Malay Archipelago in the 1880s. If this past had seemed increasingly remote to the older Conrad, something artistically

consigned to an earlier phase of life in *The Mirror of the Sea* (1906), contact with Captain Carl Murrell Marris (1875–1910), home from the Far East in the summer of 1909, made it suddenly quite actual.¹

Engaged in mercantile ventures in Penang and, despite his relative youth, with his life at sea behind him, Marris wrote to Conrad out of the blue in July 1909 to acknowledge the importance of his early novels to sailors in the East and to seek advice and contacts for his tentative attempts at literary expression. Giving plentiful detail of local colour, trade routes, language, individual ships and further information on the real-life figures of Conrad's early work, such as the family of William Lingard (1829–88), on whom Conrad based the adventurer Tom Lingard of *Almayer's Folly*, *An Outcast of the Islands* and *The Rescue*, Marris also evoked an offhand Conradian strain of retrospection by calling upon their shared experience of 'the old days that have gone by never to return'.² As importantly, he expressed a hope that 'you will give us some more tales of the East, & weave some further romances about Rajah Laut & the old times of the 70's & 80's: If you want any facts or figures about Eastern ways or waters I fancy I could supply them'.³ The appeal obviously touched a sensitive spot, and Conrad responded to it enthusiastically, receiving Marris at his Kentish home and continuing to refer to the significance of his correspondence with him as late as August 1911.⁴

Although Marris himself possibly offered suggestions for *Victory's* Morrison, the immediate effect of this contact was a return to Eastern materials and memories in the composition of 'The Secret Sharer' (1910), which rescued Conrad from the inspirational impasse and the physical and psychological breakdown following upon his completion of *Under Western Eyes*. In his fiction, Conrad was spurred on by Marris's explanation on departing England for Malaya that 'the East is calling too strongly, & I must return'.⁵ Conrad's own 'return' provided him with a renewed estimation of his past as fruitful terrain for work on

¹ For a fuller discussion of Marris's importance to this collection, see 'Introduction', *Twixt Land and Sea: Tales*, ed. J. A. Berthoud, Laura L. Davis and S. W. Reid (2008), pp. xxxi–xxxii, lvi–lix. For details about him, see Tyrrell Marris, *A Genealogical Account of the Marris Family* (2001), and J. H. Stape and Richard Niland, 'Conrad and Captain Marris: A Biographical Note', *The Conradian*, 39, no. 2 (2014), 80–100.

² C. M. Marris to Conrad, 18 July 1909 (*Portrait in Letters*, p. 66).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁴ Conrad to Edward Garnett, [4 August 1911] (*Letters*, IV, 469).

⁵ Marris to Conrad, 6 September 1909 (*Portrait in Letters*, p. 69). Marris had arrived at Southampton on 9 June 1909; he departed from the same port on 15 September (*UK Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878–1960* and *UK Outgoing Passenger Lists, 1880–1960*).

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Victory and the stories collected in *Within the Tides*. In addition to '*Twixt Land and Sea*, a volume dedicated to Marris 'IN MEMORY OF THOSE OLD DAYS OF ADVENTURE',¹ *Victory* in its tone and setting undoubtedly owes its conception to this correspondence and meeting. Writing in December 1913 about his new work, Conrad evoked the provenance of Marris as well as his own impending departure from the worlds of *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes*: 'I can only say that the subject is not European. Neither is it a sea-tale. It's in the East. There's a man and a girl in it with some rascals and other people round them.'²

Victory and *Within the Tides* are intimately linked through the intertwined nature of their composition and publication, with both appearing in Britain in 1915. The two volumes also constitute Conrad's major literary endeavours following the completion of the serialization of *Chance* in the *New York Herald* in June 1912. With the serial published and the financial and popular success of its book publication still ahead of him, Conrad turned his attention to new writing. Notwithstanding major plans for the novel's promotion, he remained sceptical of *Chance's* popular potential: 'The possibilities are *Chance* making a success (but don't imagine that I am indulging in illusions. I have had 16 years to sober me thoroughly in that respect).'³ The period following the serialization of *Chance*, therefore, demanded a return to the literary coalface to mine the story of the failure of the Tropical Belt Coal Company.

With the new story in embryo, the *Titanic* disaster immediately occupied Conrad's attention, and the essays he wrote on it examined responsibility for the tragedy in the context of the United States Senate's inquiry into the sinking, with a heavy emphasis on press reporting of the ship's much-mooted indestructibility. An ironic attitude to the press would later feature in 'The Planter of Malata' (1914), written during the composition of *Victory*, in which rumour, hearsay and publicity play a role. 'The Planter of Malata' deals with similar thematic concerns to the story of Axel Heyst, notably Geoffrey Renouard's emergence from a 'solitary manner of life' through contact with a 'striking' woman.⁴ In the story, a newspaper editor, who

¹ '*Twixt Land and Sea*, p. 3.6–7.

² Conrad to J. W. Gilmer, 10 December 1913 (*Letters*, v, 311–12). On the novel's composition and publication, see 'The Texts', pp. 360–72, 401–07.

³ Conrad to J. B. Pinker, [12 July 1913] (*Letters*, v, 249).

⁴ *Within the Tides*, ed. Alexandre Fachard (2012), pp. 14.16–17, 20.5.

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informs Renouard that his solitude on his island plantation is ‘demoralising’ and ‘works like a sort of poison’, asserts to the sceptical planter that ‘the only really honest writing is to be found in newspapers and nowhere else’.¹ ‘Some Reflexions on the Loss of the *Titanic*’, which first appeared in May 1912 in the *English Review*, believed the fate of the liner to be ‘a perfect exhibition of the modern blind trust in mere material and appliances’,² while his essay on the *Titanic* Inquiry, published in the *English Review* in July 1912, castigates ‘the high priests of the modern cult of perfected material and of mechanical appliances’.³ Such emphasis on science and progress, the ‘great stride forward’⁴ that first occupies Heyst in *Victory*, finds Conrad impelled to foreground his credentials as a commentator on modernity. At the same time Conrad, reinvigorated by his past in Eastern waters as a source of inspiration following ‘*Twixt Land and Sea*’, marshalled his memories in these essays to bolster his authority as a writer on maritime issues, moral responsibility and progress. A telling and not dissimilar approach informs the treatment of the ‘scientific age’ in *Victory*’s first pages, with the elaborate narratorial speculations on physical and financial liquidation and the booming of a coal-mining firm echoing Conrad’s assessment of the sensationalized promotion of the *Titanic*’s scientific ‘unsinkability’.

While *Victory* has its immediate contextual origins in Conrad’s engagement with contemporary events and memories of his travels, it has become established critical convention to seek additional elements of the author’s various past lives in the genesis of his novels; and in this respect *Victory* is no different, strengthened by Conrad’s declaration that *Victory* had ‘come out of my innermost self’.⁵ The novel’s focus on paternal heritage has seen the book’s deepest roots traced to Conrad’s relationship with his father, the poet, dramatist and translator Apollo Korzeniowski (1820–69), and his inheritance of, and subsequent tangential links to, the concerns of Polish patriotic commitment. An early commentator asserted that Axel Heyst is ‘nobody else than the *sarcastic* Conrad (a true son of his father) as

¹ Ibid., pp. 14.18, 14.23–24, 22.3–4.

² ‘Some Reflexions on the Loss of the *Titanic*’ (1912), *Notes on Life and Letters*, ed. J. H. Stape (2004), p. 171.10–11.

³ ‘Certain Aspects of the Admirable Inquiry into the Loss of the *Titanic*’ (1912), *Notes on Life and Letters* (2004), p. 180.9–10.

⁴ P. 21.17. Subsequent references to the texts of the present edition appear in round brackets.

⁵ Conrad to B. Macdonald Hastings, [6 September 1916] (*Letters*, v, 655).

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we know him from a good part of his writings'.¹ Alongside such intriguingly limitless but speculative autobiographical possibilities, the emergence of Axel Heyst as a concrete product of Conrad's pen is more traceable. In the developing novel, Conrad's name for his central character until the coda of the last chapter was not Axel Heyst, its protagonist variously named Augustus and Gustavus Berg as well as, briefly, Goertz and Lind.² Towards mid-October 1913, announcing that the novel would have 'a sensational ending', Conrad believed that he 'must settle the name of my hero. *Berg* won't do and I haven't been able as yet to find another name of the proper sonority'.³ The Scandinavian sonority possibly derives from August Strindberg's plays *Easter* (1900) and *Comrades* (1886), which feature central characters named Elis Heyst and Axel Ahlberg, respectively.⁴ Conrad also explained that he found Ibsen's middle plays brought him a special 'contentment'.⁵ Such connections, in addition to offering a certain Nordic temperament for Axel Heyst and his philosophic inheritance, reveal Conrad's understanding of the novel's dramatic and theatrical potential in its earliest origins, something developed in the adaptation of *Victory* for the stage by B(asil) Macdonald Hastings after the War.⁶

As 'Dollars' had become a 'short novel' with the working title 'An Island Tale',⁷ Conrad's conception of the work saw him turning back to engage with scenes and characters from his earlier fiction. He later felt that '*Victory* may make a libretto for a Puccini opera',⁸ and in his 'Note' to the novel's first English edition, he evoked its various musical and theatrical contexts by explaining the reappearance of Schomberg, who had featured in *Lord Jim* and *Falk*. Drawing from the recent re-use of Marlow in *Chance*, Conrad called upon a certain sense of mid-career achievement that allowed him to resurrect notable figures from his writing whose dramatic possibilities had not been entirely exhausted.

¹ Gustav Morf, *The Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad* (1930), p. 179.

² A deleted manuscript passage indicates that Berg is a shortened form of Bergström or Stromberg, with 'Berg' as an 'amputated' form (see 'Emendation and Variation', p. 436 (23.16b)).

³ Conrad to Pinker, [c. 9 October 1913] (*Letters*, v, 288).

⁴ For a discussion, see Anne Luyat-Moore, 'The Swedish Connection to *Victory* and *Chance*', *Conradiana*, 18 (1986), 219–23.

⁵ Conrad to Edward Garnett, 17 April 1909 (*Letters*, iv, 218).

⁶ For the text of this dramatization and reviews, see *Conrad's 'Victory': The Play and Reviews* (2009), ed. Richard J. Hand.

⁷ Conrad to Pinker, 2 November 1912 (*Letters*, v, 126).

⁸ Conrad to Pinker, [March 1915] (*Letters*, v, 452).

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Norman Sherry observes that *Victory* saw Conrad ‘expanding his initial and limited conception of Schomberg’s character’ as delineated in *Lord Jim* and *Falk*.¹ Such a method had been part of Conrad’s early writing: *Almayer’s Folly*, *An Outcast of the Islands*, ‘Youth’, ‘Heart of Darkness’, *Lord Jim* and *Falk* all feature recurring characters or narrators. But with the exception of a brief appearance by *The Secret Agent*’s Professor in ‘The Informer’ (1906), Conrad dropped such an approach until *Chance* returned Marlow to centre stage. In *Victory*, Schomberg’s presence, then, was only natural for an author with a ‘company’ of players to draw on: ‘Schomberg is an old member of my company. A very subordinate personage in *Lord Jim* as far back as the year 1899, he became notably active in a certain short story of mine published in 1902. Here he appears in a still larger part, true to life (I hope) but also true to himself’ (5.27–31). One might also see in Martin Ricardo the lineaments of the roustabout sailor Harry Hagberd of ‘To-morrow’ (1902), a self-serving drifter eager to exploit the weak, indifferent to conventional morality and sporting a devil-may-care temperament, and Morrison’s naïve religious faith echoes that of Captain Whalley in ‘The End of the Tether’ (1902), who similarly falls on his knees to pray at a moment of crisis.

This mining of earlier resources also features in ‘Because of the Dollars’, in which Hollis, who originally appeared in ‘Karain: A Memory’ (1897), relays the story to the narrator. Written between December 1913 and January 1914, ‘Because of the Dollars’ was, like ‘The Planter of Malata’, another creative offshoot drawing from the same imaginative and reminiscent vein as *Victory*, with both works featuring a tropical setting, the character of Davidson and a trio of grotesque villains. While Conrad understood ‘Because of the Dollars’ to be largely one of his ‘silly stories for the magazines’,² a luridly melodramatic tale written to secure the more lucrative income gained from magazine publication, he gradually developed a new understanding of the importance of *Victory*: ‘I suppose you understand thoroughly that this so-called “Dollars” (I have a mind to call it “The Man in the Moon” – only the public would misunderstand) is nothing second-class. It’s a rather queer thing – a little savage in parts.’³ This scornful reference to the public’s understanding perhaps addresses a fear that such a title would evoke the scientific optimism and science fiction of H. G. Wells, whose technological romances offered an attitude to progress far removed from the

¹ *CEW*, p. 239.

² Conrad to John Quinn, 9 February 1913 (*Letters*, v, 175).

³ Conrad to Pinker, [27 January 1913] (*Letters*, v, 168).