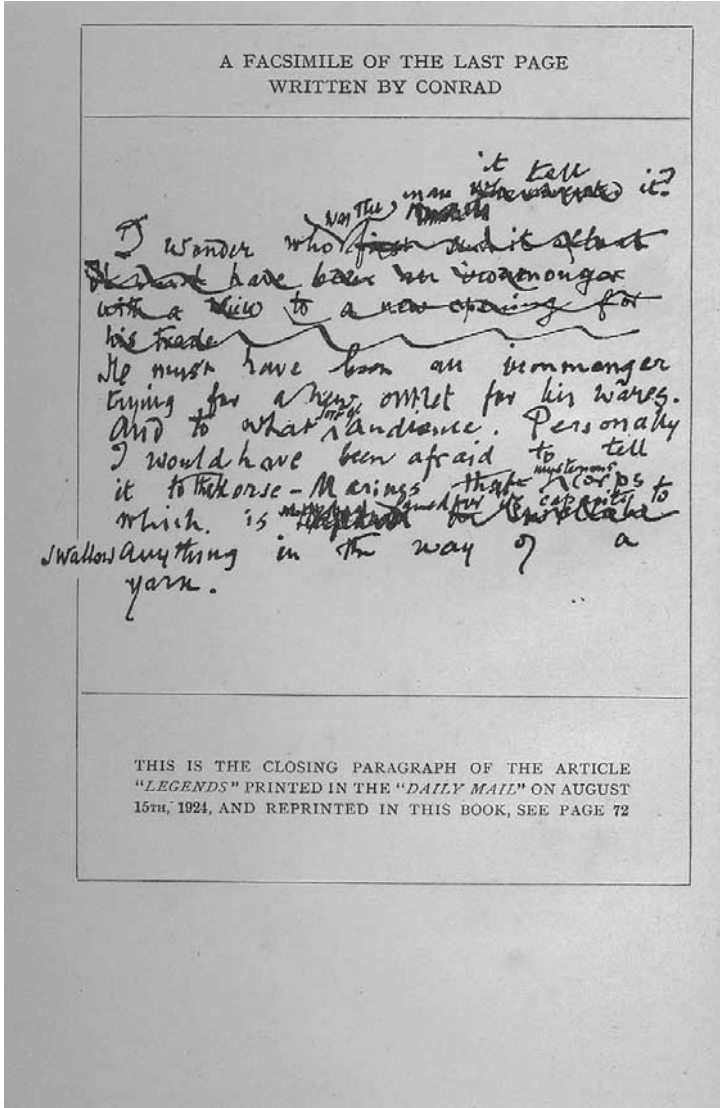


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LAST ESSAYS



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JOSEPH CONRAD

LAST ESSAYS

EDITED BY

Harold Ray Stevens and J. H. Stape

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

Mary Burgoyne and Alexandre Fachard

THE CONGO DIARY

CO-EDITED AND WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES BY

Owen Knowles and Harold Ray Stevens



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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	<i>page</i> xii
General Editors' Preface	xiii
Acknowledgements	xv
Chronology	xviii
Abbreviations and Note on Editions	xxiv
INTRODUCTION	xxvii
Origins	xxix
The Essays	xxxvi
Reception	xlviii
LAST ESSAYS	1
GEOGRAPHY AND SOME EXPLORERS	3
THE <i>TORRENS</i> : A PERSONAL TRIBUTE	18
CHRISTMAS-DAY AT SEA	23
OCEAN TRAVEL	27
OUTSIDE LITERATURE	30
LEGENDS	34
THE UNLIGHTED COAST	37
THE DOVER PATROL	44
MEMORANDUM	50
THE LOSS OF THE <i>DALGONAR</i>	62
TRAVEL: PREFACE TO RICHARD CURLE'S <i>INTO THE EAST</i>	64
STEPHEN CRANE: INTRODUCTION TO THOMAS BEER'S <i>STEPHEN CRANE</i>	71
HIS WAR-BOOK: INTRODUCTION TO STEPHEN CRANE'S <i>THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE</i>	90
JOHN GALSWORTHY: AN APPRECIATION	95
A GLANCE AT TWO BOOKS	101

PREFACE TO <i>THE SHORTER TALES OF JOSEPH CONRAD</i>	106
COOKERY: PREFACE TO JESSIE CONRAD'S <i>A HANDBOOK OF COOKERY FOR A SMALL HOUSE</i>	112
THE FUTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE	115
THE CONGO NOTEBOOKS	121
THE CONGO DIARY	123
UP-RIVER BOOK	138
UNCOLLECTED ESSAYS	169
THE SILENCE OF THE SEA	171
AUTHOR'S NOTE TO <i>YOUTH AND GASPAR RUIZ</i>	175
INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO <i>A HUGH WALPOLE ANTHOLOGY</i>	178
FOREWORD TO <i>LANDSCAPES OF CORSICA AND IRELAND</i> BY A. S. KINKEAD	179
FOREWORD TO <i>BRITAIN'S LIFE-BOATS: THE STORY OF A CENTURY OF HEROIC SERVICE</i> BY A. J. DAWSON	181
THE TEXTS: AN ESSAY	189
Book Editions	191
Copy-texts	197
Emendation	199
The Essays	202
Uncollected Essays	264
The Cambridge Texts	271
APPARATUS	273
Emendation and Variation	273
Emendations of Accidentals	349
APPENDICES	361
A Richard Curle's Introductions to <i>Last Essays</i> and 'The Congo Diary'	361
B The <i>Dalgona</i> Incident: The <i>London Mercury</i> Texts	369

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-19059-6 - Last Essays
Joseph Conrad
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CONTENTS

xi

C Preface to <i>The Shorter Tales of Joseph Conrad</i> : Two Rejected Drafts	376
D Note on the <i>Torrens</i> and Notes for 'Travel'	378
E 'Geography': <i>U</i> -version of 'Geography and Some Explorers'	381
Textual Notes	391
Explanatory Notes	400
Glossary of Nautical Terms	474
Maps	481

ILLUSTRATIONS

Frontispiece to the 1926 Dent edition of *Last Essays*:
 facsimile of the last leaf of 'Legends' *frontispiece*

FIGURES

- | | | |
|---|---|-----------------|
| 1 | First typescript of 'Geography and Some Explorers', page 9
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale
University | <i>page</i> 182 |
| 2 | Typescript of 'The <i>Torrens</i> : A Personal Tribute', page 3
Rare Books Department, Boston Public Library | 183 |
| 3 | Entry for 'To day's march Saturday 5th July', 'The Congo
Diary', pages [10–11]
Houghton Library, Harvard University | 184 |
| 4 | Entry for 'Monday. 28th', 'Tuesday – 29th', 'The Congo
Diary', pages [24–25]
Houghton Library, Harvard University | 185 |
| 5 | 'XII Entrance to Kassai rather broad' and 'XII After passing
Pt xx follow', 'Up-river Book', pages [21–22]
Houghton Library, Harvard University | 186 |
| 6 | 'Loulanga R[iver]', 'Up-river Book', pages [58–59]
Houghton Library, Harvard University | 187 |
| 7 | 'Dazed Scientific Investigator', <i>Punch</i> , or <i>The London
Charivari</i> , 19 July 1922, page 67
Reproduced with the permission of Punch Limited | 188 |
| 8 | Genealogy of 'Geography and Some Explorers' | 207 |

MAPS

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 1 | Conrad's overland journey in the Congo from Matadi to
Nselemba, June–August 1890 | 482 |
| 2 | Route of the <i>Roi des Belges</i> , August–September 1890 | 483 |
| 3 | Stanley Pool | 484 |
| 4 | Routes of the <i>Torrens</i> and the <i>Otago</i> | 485 |

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 posthumously published volume *Last Essays*, compiled and edited by his friend Richard Curle acting as his literary executor. Curle's contents and arrangements are respected; however, Conrad's 'Up-river Book' has been added as an integral element of the volume. Also reprinted here are uncollected pieces by Conrad that Curle did not include in the volume he produced. The Cambridge texts of the essays are based on various copy-texts – the manuscripts, typescripts and early printings that have survived – and incorporate readings drawn from later authoritative documents as well as editorial emendations. The 'Appendices' reprint Curle's introductions to *Last Essays* and 'The Congo Diary', offer supplementary material for appreciating Conrad's letter on the loss of the *Dalgona* and publish the following items for the first time: two rejected draft openings to the 'Preface to *The Shorter Tales of Joseph Conrad*'; a draft of Conrad's prefatory note to his essay on the

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Joseph Conrad
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

xiv

GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

Torrens; draft material for 'Travel'; and 'Geography', the *U*-version of 'Geography and Some Explorers'.

The 'Introduction' provides a literary history of the work focussed on its genesis, sources and reception, including its place in Conrad's life and art. The essay on 'The Texts' traces the textual history of the volume, examines the origins of its individual texts and explains the policies followed in editing them. The 'Apparatus' records basic textual evidence, documenting the discussion of genealogy and authority in 'The Texts: An Essay' as well as other editorial decisions, and the 'Textual Notes' deal with cruxes and textual issues. The 'Explanatory Notes' comment on specific readings that require glosses, dealing with sources, identifying real-life place-names and related matters, as well as explaining nautical terms and foreign words and phrases. Supplementing this material are maps and illustrations.

Although they may interest the great variety of readers, the 'Introduction' and 'Explanatory Notes' are intended primarily for a non-specialist audience, whereas the textual essay and 'Apparatus' are designed with the textual scholar and specialist in mind.

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

THE GENERAL EDITORS

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Special thanks are due to the late S. W. Reid, former Chief Executive Editor of the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Joseph Conrad, under whose ægis this project began and whose encouragement, advice and wisdom were so unstintingly available to Conrad textual scholars for more than two decades; and to Robert W. Trogdon, Director of the Institute for Bibliography and Editing at Kent State University, whose advice and sharing of textual knowledge have been invaluable and who has also assisted with the on-site verification of the texts. We are also grateful to Nancy Birk, Raymond T. Brebach and Ruth Ann Stevens for on-site verifications. Thanks for assistance with support tasks are due to Catherine L. Tisch and, at an early stage of this project, to Gale Graham.

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We join with Mary Burgoyne, who gathered the materials for the uncollected essays and arranged for reproduction of the *Punch* cartoon, in duly thanking the following individuals: Amanda Corp, Head of the Issue Desk, the London Library; André Gailani, Picture Research and Permissions, Punch Limited; Marianne Hansen, Special Collections Librarian, Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Bryn Mawr College; Mike Kelly, Curator of Books, Fales Library and Special Collections, New York University; Laurie Klein, Public Services Assistant, the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; and Aaron Zacks, Technology and Digital Services Intern, the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.

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xvii

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Harold Ray Stevens also wishes to express thanks to the office of the Dean of Academic Affairs of McDaniel College for a sabbatical leave and a travel grant for work on this edition. He is especially grateful to Ruth Ann Stevens, who not only has served as second reader and fellow-traveller in Conrad studies for four decades, but also for more than fifty years has provided support and encouragement in ways too numerous to record here.

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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 (1878–early 1890s); after a transitional period (early 1890s), as a writer of critical esteem (1895–1914); as an acclaimed writer, although perhaps with his greatest work achieved (1914–24). 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, unless otherwise specified. Only the first serial appearance of essays is noted.

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

CHRONOLOGY

xix

1874 October	Takes position in Marseilles with Delestang et Fils, wholesalers and shippers
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>Atmayer’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 captain, of <i>Roi des Belges</i>
June 13	Arrives at Matadi. Begins ‘The Congo Diary’
August 3	Leaves Kinshasa in <i>Roi des Belges</i> . Begins ‘Up-river Book’

xx	CHRONOLOGY
1891	Manages warehouse of Barr, Moering in London
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 his career as a seaman
February	Bobrowski dies. 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 thousandth number of <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 March	Writes 'A Glance at Two Books' (published August 1925)
October	<i>Nostramo</i>

CHRONOLOGY

xxi

- 1905 June *One Day More* staged in London
- 1906 March 'A Middle Class Family' (later 'John Galsworthy') in *Outlook*
- August John Alexander Conrad born
- October *The Mirror of the Sea*
- 1907 January Writes 'Cookery', preface to *A Handbook of Cookery for a Small House* by Jessie Conrad (published as a pamphlet September 1921)
- September *The Secret Agent*. Moves to Someries, Luton, Bedfordshire
- 1908 August *A Set of Six*
- 1909 Moves to Aldington, Kent
- September 'The Silence of the Sea' in *Daily Mail*
- 1910 Moves to Capel House, Orlestone, Kent
- 1911 October *Under Western Eyes*
- 1912 January *Some Reminiscences* (as *A Personal Record* in America)
- October *'Twi'xt Land and Sea*
- November 'The Future of Constantinople' in *The Times*. Writes comment responding to criticism. Begins friendship with Richard Curle
- 1913 September *Chance*, with 'main' publication date of January 1914
- 1914 July–November Visits Austrian Poland with family; delayed by outbreak of First World War; returns via Vienna and Genoa
- 1915 February *Within the Tides*
- September *Victory*
- 1916 September–November Observes First World War naval activity aboard Q-ship *Ready*; writes 'Admiralty Paper' (later 'The Unlighted Coast')
- 1917 March *The Shadow-Line*
- 1919 March Moves to Spring Grove, near Wye, Kent. Dramatic version of *Victory* opens in London
- August *The Arrow of Gold*
- October Moves to Oswalds, Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury, Kent

xxii	CHRONOLOGY
1920 May	Writes on 'Gaspar Ruiz' for Dent's school edition <i>Youth and Gaspar Ruiz</i>
June	<i>The Rescue</i>
July	Writes 'Memorandum' on Liverpool training-ship
1921 January	'Introductory Note to <i>A Hugh Walpole Anthology</i> ' requested by Hugh Walpole
January–April	Visits Corsica. Collected editions begin publication in England (Heinemann) and in America (Doubleday)
February	<i>Notes on Life and Letters</i>
July	'Heroes of the Straits' (later 'The Dover Patrol') in <i>The Times</i>
October	Writes foreword to <i>Landscapes of Corsica and Ireland</i> by A. S. Kinkead
December	'The Loss of the <i>Dalgonar</i> ' in <i>London Mercury</i>
1922 July–August	Writes preface (later 'Travel') to Richard Curle's <i>Into the East: Notes on Burma and Malaya</i> (published March 1923)
October	Preface to <i>A Handbook of Cookery for a Small House</i> by Jessie Conrad opens serialization of extracts from her book in <i>Woman's Pictorial Magazine</i>
November	<i>The Secret Agent</i> staged in London
December	'Notices to Mariners' (later 'Outside Literature') in <i>Manchester Guardian</i>
1923 February	<i>A Handbook of Cookery for a Small House</i> by Jessie Conrad with preface by Conrad
March	Writes introduction to Thomas Beer's <i>Stephen Crane: A Study in American Letters</i>
May	'My Hotel in Mid-Atlantic' (later 'Ocean Travel') in <i>Evening News</i>
May–June	Visits America, guest of F. N. Doubleday
October	'The <i>Torrens</i> : A Personal Tribute' in <i>Blue Peter</i> . Writes 'His War-book', introduction to Stephen Crane's <i>The Red Badge of Courage</i> (March 1925)
November	Foreword to <i>Britain's Life-boats: The Story of a Century of Heroic Service</i> by A. J. Dawson

CHRONOLOGY

xxiii

December	<i>The Rover</i> . 'Christmas-day at Sea' in <i>Daily Mail</i>
1924 February	'The Romance of Travel' (later 'Geography and Some Explorers') in <i>Countries of the World</i> . Begins 'Preface to <i>The Shorter Tales of Joseph Conrad</i> '
May	Declines knighthood
August 3	Dies at Oswalds. Roman Catholic funeral and burial, Canterbury
August 15	'Legends' in <i>Daily Mail</i>
September	<i>The Nature of a Crime</i> (with Ford)
October	<i>The Shorter Tales of Joseph Conrad</i> (30 October in America)
1925 January	<i>Tales of Hearsay</i>
August	'The Enterprize of Writing a Book' (later 'A Glance at Two Books') in <i>T. P.'s & Cassell's Weekly</i> . 'The Unlighted Coast' in <i>The Times</i>
September	<i>Suspense</i> (unfinished)
October	'The Congo Diary' in <i>Blue Peter</i>
October 3–9	Curle drafts introduction to <i>Last Essays</i> on the <i>Mauretania</i> , on voyage to New York
October 9	Curle arrives in New York City to discuss volume with Doubleday; during trip consults 'The Congo Diary' at Harvard University
November 3	Curle returns to England; preparations of book typescript and attending to proofs occur over next few months
1926 February 12	Dent's receive first print order of <i>Last Essays</i>
March 3	<i>Last Essays</i> published in England (26 March in America)
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 and Robert W. Trogdon, 'A Bibliography of Joseph Conrad'. Typescript, unpublished
CDP	<i>Congo Diary and Other Uncollected Pieces</i> , ed. Zdzisław Najder. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978
<i>Chronology</i>	Owen Knowles, <i>A Conrad Chronology</i> . Macmillan, 1989
CWW	Norman Sherry, <i>Conrad's Western World</i> . Cambridge University Press, 1971
<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
Knowles and Stape	Owen Knowles and J. H. Stape, 'Conrad, Galsworthy's "The Doldrums", and the <i>Torrens</i> '. <i>The Conradian</i> , 34, no. 1 (2009), 38–57
<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
Miłobędzki	Józef Miłobędzki, ed. 'Joseph Conrad's Congo Diary', <i>Nautologia</i> (Gydinia), 7, no. 1 (1972), 7–53
Najder	Zdzisław Najder, <i>Joseph Conrad: A Chronicle</i> . New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

XXV

- Portrait in Letters* *A Portrait in Letters: Correspondence to and about Conrad*, ed. J. H. Stape and Owen Knowles. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996
- Register* Gene M. Moore, comp. 'A Descriptive Location Register of Joseph Conrad's Literary Manuscripts'. *The Conradian*, 27, no. 2 (2002), 1–93

LOCATIONS OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

- Berg Berg Collection, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations
- BL British Library
- Bodleian Bodleian Library, Oxford University
- Boston Boston Public Library
- Bryn Mawr Mariam Coffin Canaday Library, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
- Colgate Everett Needham Case Library, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York
- Dartmouth Baker Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire
- Harvard Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts
- HRC Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin
- Indiana Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington
- Morgan Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
- National Archives National Archives of the United Kingdom
- NGS Archives of the National Geographic Society, Washington, DC
- NYU Fales Library and Special Collections, New York University, New York
- Rosenbach Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia
- TTU Special Collections Library, Texas Tech University, Lubbock
- Virginia Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-19059-6 - Last Essays
Joseph Conrad
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

xxvi

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Yale Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library,
Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
Yale-S Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University

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 to author, title and date of publication.

INTRODUCTION

PUBLISHED IN March 1926, less than two years after Conrad's death, *Last Essays* is both an unlikely and rather predictable posthumous volume. Its unlikelihood stems from its heterogeneity and scope: it brings together pieces written during the last thirty-four of Joseph Conrad's sixty-six years, encompassing facets of his literary and maritime careers as well as his personal life. The book's functional title and arrangement are the work of a close friend, the journalist Richard Curle, his literary executor. An act of homage to a writer of pre-eminent significance, it was also published to benefit the writer's widow and sons, taking advantage of the fame and genuine popularity Conrad had achieved by the end of his life.

The 'essays' – a title of convenience for a medley of genres including reviews, diaries, introductions to books and reminiscences – range from an abridged version of a notebook that records events during and observations about Conrad's life-transforming experience in the Congo Free State in 1890 to 'Legends', an essay left unfinished on his desk when he died near Canterbury on 3 August 1924.¹ The earliest piece, 'The Congo Diary', pencilled into one of two notebooks that record Conrad's initiation into life along the Congo river, provides the raw material for understanding why he rejected colonial exploitation while participating in it, a stance that would lead him to write 'An Outpost of Progress' and 'Heart of Darkness'. In 'Legends', a fragment that ends (and closes Conrad's career) with the word 'yarn', he was exploring ways in which memory, personal interests and the passage of time can transform the facts of life into legend, a theme present in critical reactions to his work: 'The facts of a legend need not be literally true. But they ought to be credible and they must be in a sort of fundamental accord with the nature of the life it records that is with the character of its subject-matter.'²

¹ For details of the writing, revision and original printing of the texts collected in this volume, as well as for a history of its production and publication, see 'The Texts', pp. 189–272.

² See pp. 36.5–9. Subsequent references to the texts of this edition appear in round brackets.

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-19059-6 - Last Essays
Joseph Conrad
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

xxviii

INTRODUCTION

Last Essays illustrates the range of Conrad's thought on diverse topics, and its 'subject-matter' is almost bewilderingly diverse, yet, like *Notes on Life and Letters* (1921), which Conrad himself saw into print, it serves, as it were, as an instalment in autobiography, showing the wide range of the writer's interests. These include the transition from militant geographers in ships under sail to merchant seamen in steamships; the rigging of sailing ships and attention to the technical aspects of international travel and to the training of merchant seamen; reminiscences of experiences both on land and at sea; the human element in travel and the progress of the *Roi des Belges* up the Congo river. The First World War, which continued to dominate the life of England long after 1918, is also inevitably present in this volume, in Conrad's first-hand observations of the exploits of men aboard the Q-ship *HMS Ready*. He also pays tribute to the men of the Cinque Ports and to the heroism of the Dover Patrol, which kept enemy forces off the coast.

The volume includes literary criticism: introductions to works by Curle and Stephen Crane and reviews of books by John Galsworthy and W. H. Hudson. Its diversity ranges from the domestic subject of cookery to advice about the future of Constantinople and control of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus Straits. Across the volume are insights into the human condition, most particularly perhaps in the threadbare observations about his experience in the Congo Free State, where he witnessed the ivory trade, slavery and exploitation, 'horrors' that altered his view of life and later turned into fiction. Unsurprisingly for a writer whose canon includes a trio of political novels (*Nostramo*, *The Secret Agent*, *Under Western Eyes*) Conrad also meditates on geopolitics, concentrating on the force that shaped his early life – Russian hegemony over Central and Eastern Europe – and on the Eastern Question that had bedevilled European affairs from before his birth.

Complementing excursions into impressionism and experiments with irony and point of view, the essays illustrate Conrad's wide narrative range, from the functional prose of 'The Congo Diary', the 'Up-river Book' and the 'Memorandum' to a record of his thoughts on the need to differentiate between æsthetic and utilitarian writing in 'Outside Literature'. These forays are balanced by an attempt to discuss the manipulation of fact in the shaping of reputations and biography in 'Legends' and an unsuccessful struggle to combine the two in 'The Unlighted Coast'.

ORIGINS

LAST ESSAYS brings together the nine essays Conrad wrote after the publication of *Notes on Life and Letters* (1921);¹ six that Curle arranged to have published separately with Jessie Conrad's concurrence after her husband's death;² one that Conrad overlooked when compiling the previous volume; one ('Cookery') written originally in 1907 as the 'Preface to Jessie Conrad's *A Handbook of Cookery for a Small House*', but which was not published until 1921; and two pieces printed for the first time (the 'Memorandum' and the second part of 'The Future of Constantinople'). The forgotten essay, 'John Galsworthy: An Appreciation' (1906), was a matter of embarrassment to the writer. A similar fate might have befallen 'The Future of Constantinople', a letter to *The Times* of November 1912, with a previously unpublished draft of a second document responding to criticism of, and elaborating upon, comments in the letter.

Richard Henry Parnell Curle (1883–1968), a journalist whom Conrad had met in 1912, had been instrumental in tracking down Conrad's scattered writings for *Notes on Life and Letters*,³ and was the logical person in the writer's circle to deal with his literary remains, also seeing into print *Suspense* (1925), a novel left unfinished on Conrad's death.⁴ Curle's energies extended to abridging 'The Congo Diary', but he omitted the 'Up-river Book', the second of Conrad's surviving documents from the Congo.⁵ Despite its title and apparent completeness, the collection neither is exhaustive nor gathers every piece of writing by Conrad then uncollected. Curle's task in assembling the material was formidable, because preliminary discussions with Conrad about an additional volume similar to *Notes on Life and Letters* were general at best. Curle recalls Conrad's wish to publish a 'pendent volume' to *The Mirror of the Sea* that would include 'Legends', 'The *Torrens*', 'Christmas-day at Sea', 'Ocean Travel', 'Outside Literature' and,

¹ That is, 'Geography and Some Explorers', 'The *Torrens*: A Personal Tribute', 'Christmas-day at Sea', 'Ocean Travel', 'Outside Literature', 'The Dover Patrol', 'The Loss of the *Dalgona*', 'Travel' and 'Stephen Crane'.

² These include 'Legends', 'The Unlighted Coast', 'His War-book', 'A Glance at Two Books', 'Preface to *The Shorter Tales of Joseph Conrad*' and 'The Congo Diary'.

³ On Curle's involvement in that volume, see *Notes on Life and Letters*, ed. J. H. Stape (2004), pp. xxxvi–xxxviii, 213.

⁴ The task of collecting his letters fell to Jean Aubry (who wrote under the pen name G. Jean-Aubry), a French friend also engaged in overseeing the translation of Conrad's work into French, a project he had taken over from André Gide.

⁵ First published in 1972 (Miłobędzki) 'Up-river Book' was reprinted in *CDP*, pp. 17–38.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-19059-6 - Last Essays
 Joseph Conrad
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

xxx

INTRODUCTION

so Curle says, part of ‘Geography and Some Explorers’.¹ That volume would have emphasized the men Conrad had sailed with rather than the sea itself, extending his desire to be remembered as more than simply a spinner of sea-tales, a concern expressed as late as the spring of 1924 in his ‘Preface’ to *The Shorter Tales of Joseph Conrad*: ‘As a matter of fact I have written of the sea very little if the pages were counted. It has been the scene but very seldom the aim of my endeavour . . . I aimed at an element as restless, as dangerous, as changeable as the sea, and even more vast:– the unappeasable ocean of human life’ (109.26–32). Seventeen months before his death, he requested that his agent obtain permission from the owner of the copyright of ‘Stephen Crane’ to include it in ‘a posthumous vol: of coll[ect]’ed pieces’, a “suite” to the Personal Record, which I have had long in my mind’.² Conrad thus anticipated that a final volume of reminiscences, memoirs and essays would complement *The Mirror of the Sea* and *A Personal Record*. The volume that emerged, however, is much closer to *Notes on Life and Letters* in both subject matter and form.

Curle acknowledged, in his Introduction to the volume he edited as well as in a letter to Conrad’s literary agent, Eric S. Pinker, that ‘additional matter’ might be collected for a later printing of *Last Essays* because it did not, in fact, include all of Conrad’s uncollected writings.³ Curle chose not to print everything ‘to avoid any aspect of absolute completeness, as though a dead author’s desk had been ransacked for every fragment’, and asserted that ‘Nothing has been printed merely for the purpose of adding to the bulk’ (362). Most of the essays chosen were selected from his personal library;⁴ those not readily available to him, such as the text of the ‘Memorandum’ written for Lawrence Holt, he ferreted out. Despite his efforts, at least one piece seems to have been overlooked. Had Curle known of – or remembered – ‘The Silence of the Sea’, published in the *Daily Mail* on 18 September 1909, he would almost certainly have included it. The essay refers to ‘Overdue and Missing’ (collected in *The Mirror of the Sea*), and complements other writings that demonstrate Conrad’s interest in lost and missing ships, such as those on the *Titanic* disaster (collected in *Notes on Life and Letters*), and it discusses disasters at sea as do ‘The

¹ Curle’s ‘Introduction’ (Appendix A).

² Conrad to Eric S. Pinker, 21 March 1923 (*Letters*, VIII, 58–9).

³ Richard Curle to Pinker, 15 June 1926 (Berg).

⁴ Note on the fly-leaf of George T. Keating’s copy of *Last Essays* (Yale).

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-19059-6 - Last Essays
 Joseph Conrad
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION

xxxii

Loss of the *Dalgona*' and the 'Memorandum'. Curle also omitted the 'Foreword' to Alec John Dawson's *Britain's Life-boats* (1923) which, like 'The Dover Patrol' and 'The Unlighted Coast', commemorates the war-time service of seamen in the English Channel and North Sea. Other omitted items show the diversity of Conrad's interests and bear witness to friendships: the 'Foreword' to Alice S. Kinkead's *Landscapes of Corsica and Ireland* (1921), and the 'Introductory Note to *A Hugh Walpole Anthology*' (1921). Finally, Curle omitted the 'Author's Note to *Youth and Gaspar Ruiz*' (1920), which complements Conrad's prefaces to his collected edition.¹

WRITING TO THE MARKET

CONRAD'S OCCASIONAL ESSAYS were well suited to a reading public that by the latter part of the nineteenth century had both expanded and become increasingly diverse.² Writers of fiction variously took advantage of this shift, diversifying their output to suit demand. Once he had established himself as an author with *Almayer's Folly* and *An Outcast of the Islands*, and with his contacts in literary London made, Conrad could count on literary journalism to increase his income. He none the less expressed an ambivalent attitude to writing articles for serial publication, remarking to his friend Edward Sanderson in 1898 that the 'degradation of daily journalism has been spared to me so far' (*Letters*, II, 34).³ Despite such disdain, Conrad was not reluctant to turn out occasional prose, although he did so mainly when commissioned, and, by his late career, as a recourse for meeting immediate financial needs. For example, in 1918 he wrote three

¹ In 1978, CDP brought these pieces together, with a more comprehensive transcription of 'The Congo Diary' than Curle's and a transcription of 'Up-river Book' and various additional essays. Critical texts of the essays mentioned are offered in the present volume, following 'Up-river Book'.

² For authoritative discussions of this topic, see John Gross, *The Rise and Fall of the Man of Letters: Aspects of English Literary Life since 1800* (1969), pp. 199–232, and David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750–1914* (1989).

³ For a comprehensive discussion of Conrad's attitudes towards publishing occasional work and his evolution as a profitable essayist, see 'Introduction', *Notes on Life and Letters* (2004), pp. xxvi–xxxii. Cedric Watts's *Joseph Conrad: A Literary Life* (1989) discusses Conrad's financial matters within the context of the early twentieth-century marketplace; see also his 'Marketing Modernism: How Conrad Prospered', *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace*, ed. Ian R. Willison, Warwick Gould and Warren Chernaik (1996), pp. 81–8.

articles on the British Merchant Service to pay for his wife's hospital bills,¹ and, before travelling to America in the spring of 1923, he proposed writing three pieces to pay for his travel expenses.²

Conrad routinely complained to his literary agent about his financial situation, but considering that the average annual income for an English family in 1924 was £210,³ he was well paid for essays published in newspapers and periodicals: he received £400 for 'Stephen Crane', £50 for 'Ocean Travel', £60 for 'Christmas-day at Sea' and another \$500 for its reprinting in America. By 1916 he was financially secure, earning more than £10,000 in a single year.⁴ His income from writing allowed him to live quite comfortably, and *The Times* reported the value of his estate on his death at £20,045.⁵ Realizing that the end of his productive life was approaching, Conrad worked under increasing, if self-imposed, pressure from about 1920 onwards to complete *The Rover* and *Suspense*, to guide Mrs Conrad's *A Handbook of Cookery for a Small House* through press and to write the preface and organize the contents of *The Shorter Tales*.⁶

The occasional pieces he wrote after the publication of *Notes on Life and Letters* were mainly by request – a pattern long established – or in response to events reported in the press. The origins are quite varied. Thomas Beer, an American journalist and short-story writer, commissioned the introduction to his biography of Stephen Crane, and Heinemann accepted 'His War-book' for an edition of Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*. Curle solicited 'Travel' as the introduction to *Into the East*; Conrad's friend and owner of *The Times*, Lord Northcliffe, asked for 'The Dover Patrol'; and the ship-builder Lawrence Durning Holt requested the 'Memorandum' for his scheme of establishing a training-ship. Curle encouraged Conrad to write reminiscences of his experience in the *Torrens*, and Curle's friend, the publisher J. A. Hammerton, commissioned 'Geography and Some Explorers' for *Countries of the World*. David Bone, a friend, and captain of the *Tuscania* on which Conrad sailed to America, suggested that he write 'Notices to Mariners' (later 'Outside Literature'). Finally, the Admiralty had

¹ *Notes on Life and Letters* (2004), p. xxxi.

² Conrad to Eric S. Pinker, 9 April 1923 (*Letters*, VIII, 74).

³ *Notes on Life and Letters* (2004), p. xxxii.

⁴ Richard Curle, *The Last Twelve Years of Joseph Conrad* (1928), p. 136.

⁵ J. H. Stape, *The Several Lives of Joseph Conrad* (2007), p. 265.

⁶ See 'Chronology' for publication details.