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Joseph Conrad's Independence Journalism and its "Post-romantic Entanglement"

ABSTRACT

The following study of a small collection of Conrad's journalism related to Polish independence distinguishes *The Crime of Partition* as the final and most mature voicing of the Polish-Romantic, tyrtaean, and balladic intertextuality of *Lord Jim*'s author. Conrad, however, while referring to Adam Mickiewicz's *Lilie* and *The Books and the Pilgrimage of the Polish Nation*, does maintain some distance from his allusions and reminiscences. Rather, the romanticizing that saturates the sketch integrates the entire argument, and what is more, it also promotes intriguing intellectualization: the Polish literary tradition, here reduced to a colorful convention (e.g. frenetic, as in *Lilie*), released from its "limiting" framework, is a kind of carefully planned, sophisticated literary play for Conrad. It can be appreciated by Conrad's non-Polish reader, uninitiated in the pathos of the Polish problem, the one to whom the writer speaks in particular in this case.

KEYWORDS: Joseph Conrad, Adam Mickiewicz, intertextuality, interfigurality, *The Crime of Partition*, *The Books* and the Pilgrimage of the Polish Nation, Lilie

STRESZCZENIE

Publicystyka niepodległościowa Josepha Conrada i jej "postromantyczne uwikłania"

Studium spośród niewielkiego kręgu Conradowskiej publicystyki niepodległościowej i okołoniepodległościowej wyróżnia Zbrodnię rozbiorów jako ten tekst autora Lorda Jima, w którym ostatecznie i w pełni dojrzale dochodzi do głosu polskoromantyczna, tyrtejsko-balladowa intertekstualność. Conrad wszelako, odnosząc się do Mickiewiczowskich Lilii oraz Ksiąg narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego, nie pozostaje bynajmniej niewolnikiem własnej aluzji czy reminiscencji. Romantycyzacja, którą nasyca swój szkic, integruje raczej cały wywód, co więcej – sprzyja też jego intrygującej intelektualizacji: polska tradycja literacka, zredukowana tutaj bowiem do barwnej (np. frenetycznej jak w Liliach) konwencji, a uwolniona ze swoich "usztywniających" ram, stanowi dla Conrada rodzaj skrzętnie zaplanowanej, wyszukanej "gry literackiej", którą docenić może niewtajemniczony w patos sprawy polskiej, zagraniczny czytelnik Conrada – ten, na którym pisarzowi zależy w tym przypadku najbardziej.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:

Joseph Conrad, Adam Mickiewicz, intertekstualność, interfiguralność, *The Crime of Partition, Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego, Lilie*

1

"Now it is about starting to live, breathe, and above all, about putting on some weight,"¹ Joseph Conrad explained the Polish problem with his characteristic swing to Józef Henryk Retinger in a letter from Capel House dated 21 August 1916. However, when there was no space for epistolary gusto, or the recipient's authority did not allow a rather risky (for the uninitiated) play with taste, Joseph Conrad hid behind the facade of his alleged ignorance in the field of the so-called Polish Problem, declaring that it was too complicated for him. This is what he said he imagined, with the

J. Conrad, 212. To Józef Hieronim Retinger, Capel House, Orleston near Ashford, 21 August 1916, [in:] Polskie zaplecze Josepha Conrada-Korzeniowskiego. Dokumenty rodzinne, listy, wspomnienia, eds. Z. Najder, J. Skolik, vol. 2, Lublin 2006, p. 107.

appropriate pathos, in a letter to Eustachy Sapieha from Oswalds on February 20, 1920:

In the general confusion of minds and consciences caused by the events which had darkened the future of all mankind, I could not learn much, and could not even think logically about the specifically Polish problems. In the course of events of the last three years I have been absolutely clueless, not so much as to the facts themselves, but to their deeper meaning.²

Importantly, the rhetoric of this fragment was determined to a large extent by the pressure exerted (subtly, but nevertheless) on Conrad by Sapieha, the first Polish MP in Great Britain and Foreign Minister in the years 1920-1921, who encouraged the author of the Nostromo to join an association defending the matters of Polish-English friendship. As always, also here Joseph Conrad did not catch the bait of agitation and political promises. His response about being lost "amidst the confusion of minds and consciences," however, sounds sincere. It is confirmed by the tone of the letters to his English correspondents, including the famous passage from the letter to Edward Garnett of December 22, 1918 quoted by Zdzisław Najder, which can be accurately summarized by the "winged words" of Kamil Norwid from his Aerumnarum Plenus, about the fundamental distrust that "it comes more easily to say / Waking from a dream: «Let us go back to sleep!»."³ Characteristically, Conrad in 1918 was in a remarkably similar mood to Norwid in 1850. Conrad confides this more willingly to his English correspondents than the Polish ones, which is equally noteworthy. It is Garnett to whom he writes that

A cloud of unreality hangs about men, events, discourses, purposes. The very relief from long-drawn anguish is touched with mistrust as it were if not a delusion then at least a snare.⁴

His attempt at a dialog with John Galsworthy maintains a very similar mood. $^{\scriptscriptstyle 5}$

Conrad did not understand Roman Dmowski, and he interpreted Józef Piłsudski in an extremely unusual, to say the least, strikingly hyperbolic

² J. Conrad, 216. Joseph Conrad do Eustachego Sapiehy, Oswalds, Bishopsbourne, Kent, 20 lutego 1920, [in:] Polskie zaplecze Josepha Conrada-Korzeniowskiego, op. cit., p. 112.

³ C. Norwid, *Aerumnarum plenus*, [in:] idem, *Pisma wszystkie*, collected, edited and provided with a foreword by J.W. Gomulicki, vol. 1: *Wiersze. Część pierwsza*, Warszawa 1971, p. 134.

⁴ J. Conrad to Edward Garnett, 22 December 1918, [in:] G. Jean-Aubry, *Joseph Conrad. Life and Letters*, vol. II, London 1927, p. 285.

⁵ J. Conrad to John Galsworthy, 24 December 1918, [in:] G. Jean-Aubry, *Joseph Conrad. Life and Letters*, op. cit., pp. 215-216.

manner.⁶ Roman Dmowski wrote to him to Capel House in 1917, sending his Cambridge-published pamphlet, *Problems of Central and Eastern Europe*, and he apparently cared very much about it being reviewed by Conrad (which he did). The answer from Conrad arrived on October 1, however, it was more courteous than substantive: "Your arguments and conclusions seem to be completely uncontested. I trust that your words will be heard,"⁷ Conrad said. The correspondence between the two gentlemen was never again reestablished.

As for Piłsudski, "this is the only great man who appeared in the audience of the world during the war," the writer supposedly believed, adding that "he is in some respects similar to Napoleon, but of a higher order of a man."⁸ "Napoleon," Conrad effused, "despite his genius, was like all the other people, and Piłsudski is different from all people."⁹ The same Conrad, eagerly remembered by Karola Zagórska, was unable to finish reading the rhapsodies of Stanisław Wyspiański, and especially his *Kazimierz Wielki* ("I am crushed by it. It is difficult then to pick oneself up,"¹⁰ he allegedly told his niece).

2

According to Stefan Zabierowski (who it is indeed difficult to argue with), "the most important text in which Conrad acted as a *defensoris Poloniae* is his extensive essay entitled *The Crime of Partition*, originally published

⁶ As demonstrated by Stefan Zabierowski, Conrad's apologetic hyperbole in this case could be justified as a result of a psychological effect, which the author of *Prince Roman* might have experienced (rather continuously after 1918): "Let us put a period on it. Poland, whose revival was greatly contributed to by the young master from Zułów, was the country which Józef Teodor Konrad Nałęcz Korzeniowski from Berdyczów could unreservedly identify himself with." S. Zabierowski, *O Conradzie i Pilsudskim*, "Teksty Drugie," 2009, 3, p. 45. So, if Conrad thought about returning to Poland to stay there in the last years of his life, we must not forget that this was Pilsudski's Poland at the time when he wrote and published *The Rover*, the Poland of 1921, 1922, and 1923. "We, the old," says Jessie Conrad, "had to return to his beloved country. We discussed the plan in the last months of my husband's life many times." W. Tarnawski, *Conrad a Polska*, [in:] idem, *Conrad. Człowiek – pisarz – Polak*, Londyn 1972, p. 230.

⁷ The idea behind Dmowski's pamphlet is, as Najder explains, that "defeating German imperialism and depriving the Reich of ethnically non-German territories will resolve the political problems of Central and Eastern Europe." J. Conrad, 215. Do Romana Dmouskiego [Capel House], 1 października 1917, [in:] Polskie zaplecze Josepha Conrada-Korzeniowskiego, op. cit., p. 110.

^{8 279.} Karola Zagórska. Pod dachem Konrada Korzeniowskiego (Josepha Conrada), [in:] Polskie zaplecze Josepha Conrada-Korzeniowskiego, op. cit., p. 283.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 279.

in "Fortnightly Review" in 1919.¹¹ Unlike Conrad's other, earlier studies on this subject, e.g. *Poland Revisited* (1915) published in the "Daily Mail" or *A Note on the Polish Problem* (1916) submitted to the English Ministry of Foreign Affairs, his "journalistic essay," *The Crime of Partition* is a chameleon-like literary quality, which makes it controversial as a piece of political journalism, which researchers noticed relatively late.

Early opinions, indicating that "one could be under the illusion that we are reading some kind of emigration prose of Polish messianism in English translation"¹² revealed that the journalistic element is only a (very!) unusual element of the literary creation presented in *The Crime of Partition*. The "genre blur" of the text should stand out even stronger against the "journalistic purity and communicativeness" of Conrad's other texts: the already mentioned *Poland Revisited* and *A Note on the Polish Problem*. That is, however, not the case, of course. The suggestive case of *The Crime of Partition* casts a long shadow over all the other political sketches by Conrad and results in unmotivated generalizations, as in Czesław Miłosz's *Stereotyp u Conrada* wherein the author maintains that "Conrad represents the stereotype of Polish political emotionality."¹³

I would like to take a longer look at this perspective, but at the same time I would like to keep investigating the shocking stylistic precedent that Conrad's variation on *The Books and the Pilgrimage of the Polish Nation* of Adam Mickiewicz has become, as this is how we should approach *The Crime of Partition* (following, for instance, Ujejski's pre-war observation). For this purpose, I outlined the image of Joseph Conrad on the eve of Poland's independence in a rather unconventional way: "In the general confusion of Conrad's written contribution to the case of independence for the furthest, distant outpost of the Western powers, the Polish "outpost of progress."¹⁵

- 12 J. Ujejski, O Konradzie Korzeniowskim, Warszawa 1936, p. 25.
- 13 Cz. Miłosz, Stereotyp u Conrada, [in:] Conrad żywy, ed. W. Tarnawski, London 1957, p. 93.
- 14 This is where my study clearly moves away from the current interpretation presented by the important (and decisive) study by Anna Szczepan-Wojnarska entitled "Pilsudski crushes the enemy." Kilka uwag o związkach Josepha Conrada z Polską w perspektywie I wojny światowej and thus becomes a specific study of Conrad's "problems" with the Polish independence and the most appropriate ways to articulate them. Cf A. Szczepan-Wojnarska, "Pilsudski crushes the enemy". Kilka uwag o związkach Josepha Conrada z Polską w perspektywie I wojny światowej, [in:] Na granicy epok. O literackich dyskursach lat 1914-1918, eds. D. Kielak, M. Makowska, J. Niewiarowska, Warszawa 2015, pp. 203-223.
- 15 "Racially I belong to a group that historically has its own political past and Western culture, first drawn from Italy and then from France; its temperament is rather southern; it is a post of the West with Roman traditions located between Slavic-Tartar Byzantine barbarity on the one

S. Zabierowski, Joseph Conrad-Korzeniowski i sprawa niepodległości Polski, "Arcana," 2017, 3, p. 193.

Significantly, as Conrad was writing *The Crime of Partitions* as if (more than ever) uncertain of his own homogeneous style, he created a conglomerate of overlapping political intertexts, which was first noticed by Andrzej Busza, indicating that Conrad refers to Adam Mickiewicz's *The Books* and to Joseph Jerome Retinger's *La Pologne et l'Equilibre européen* (1916), paraphrased throughout the text, in equal measure.¹⁶ After Busza, John Stape developed this theme significantly, but he did not stop there either, and he proved the existence of another intertextual counter-theme, even a pastiche of *The Partitions of Poland* (1915) by George John Shaw-Lefevre, known as Baron Eversley.¹⁷

Is this not too much? And this is not all, since Conrad even resorts to auto-allusion in *The Crime of Partition*: above all, to *Heart of darkness*, translating (ironically, thus *à rebours*) the partitioning powers as colonial powers that "thus even a crime may become a moral agent by the lapse of time and the course of history"¹⁸ and "progress leaves its dead by the way, for progress is only a great adventure as its leaders and chiefs know very well in their hearts."¹⁹ "It is a march into an undiscovered country; and in such an enterprise the victims do not count."²⁰

The crime of partition is also spoken about in the language of Mickiewicz's balladic poetry, especially concerning criminal subject matter, for example, the ballad *Lilie* [*Lillies*]. The corpse of the Polish Republic, or its ghost, haunted European conferences, congresses, and the offices of ministers,²¹ where it "waved indecently its bloodstained robes."²² If you take the *Lilie* intertext as equally legitimate, as contained in *The Crime* of *Partition* intertext to *The Books*, it will turn out that the hypocrisy of the West towards this crime against a nation has a quality of a fairy tale, if not a dark Lithuanian ballad. Conrad writes elsewhere as well²³ in

- 18 J. Conrad, Zbrodnia rozbiorów, [in:] idem, Dzieła, edited and with an introduction by Z. Najder, vol. XXVIII: Szkice polityczne, Warszawa 1996, p. 48.
- 19 Ibidem.
- 20 J. Conrad, The Crime of Partition, [in:] idem, The Works of Joseph Conrad. Notes on Life and Letters, ed. by J.H. Stape with the assistance of A. Busza, Cambridge 2004, p. 96.
- 21 J. Conrad, Zbrodnia rozbiorów, op. cit., p. 49.
- 22 J. Conrad, The Crime of Partition, op. cit., p. 96.
- 23 A separate case of "feedback," which can occur between a specific Conradian story and Mickiewicz's ballad, is his short story *The Idiots*. The closer to the final of the story, the more

hand and Germanic tribes on the other. It has always been desperate to resist outside influences and has remained true to itself to this day." J. Conrad to G.T. Keating, 14 December 1922, [in:] G. Jean-Aubry, *Joseph Conrad. Life and Letters*, op. cit., pp. 435-436.

¹⁶ A. Busza, *The Rhetoric of Conrad's Non-Fictional Political Discourse*, "Annales de la Faculte des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Nice" 1978, (34), pp. 159-170.

¹⁷ J. Stape, The Crime of Partition". Conrad's Sources, "Conradiana" 1983, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 219-226.

such a manner as if he was immersed in the axiosphere of Mickiewicz's ballad:

As an emotional outlet for the oratory of freedom it was convenient enough to remember the Crime now and then: the Crime being the murder of a State and the carving of its body into three pieces. There was really nothing to do but to drop a few tears and a few flowers of rhetoric upon the grave [as in the famous *Lilie* passage: "plants the lilies on the tomb/as she plants them thus she sings²⁴ – KS]. But the spirit of the nation refused to rest therein. It haunted the territories of the Old Republic in the manner of a ghost haunting its ancestral mansion, where strangers are making themselves at home; a calumniated, ridiculed, and pooh-pooh' ghost, and yet never ceasing to inspire a sort of awe, a strange uneasiness in the hearts of the unlawful possessors.²⁵

It is rather odd that this type of topic and poetics co-create Conrad's literary splendor. I say odd, because when leaving a safe thematic path leading only along the theses of *The Crime of Partitions* (the defense of the Polish case in the international arena), we venture into a thicket of intertextual and even interfigurative references: Retinger, Eversley, or Mickiewicz, in two equally functional versions (*The Books* versus *Lilie* and similar ballads). The novelty in this case is found in the auto-allusions, which are extremely rare in Conrad: the eloquent crypto-references to *Heart of Darkness*, which may suggest that the triad of the partitioning countries

evident the balladic, Mickiewiczian flavor of the whole. The punishment of Susan Bacadou for killing her husband has an otherworldly quality, and what is more, in this respect it is clearly realized as a consequence of balladic ethics and a balladic manifestation of raw, folk morality. The mariticide is persecuted by the face of the dead Jean Bacadou, from whom she escapes, which seems to be a very visible reference to Lilie by Mickiewicz. Pursued by one of the villagers, Millot runs along the flat bottom of the Fougère bay, where she encounters the tide. At this point, the storyline intersects Lilie with Świteź [another ballad by Mickiewicz – KSD]. Raven Island, around which the last scenes of The Idiots are played out, where Susan Bacadou falls from the slope into water, suggests the landscape of the Lake Świteź with a sequence of images fairly typical for Mickiewicz's ballads and the legend which was used in its creation: the bottom of the bay and the tide immersing it, as well as the image of a persecuted woman with the raw balladic context of the whole situation taken from Lilie. Conrad's finale of The Idiots on the shore of the Fougère bay reproduces Mickiewicz's finale "u Świtezi wody" [at the water of Świteź – KSD], also in terms of composition and the characteristic "aquatic resolution" of all the threads of the plot and the fate of the main character. The story was included in Tales of Unrest self-published by Conrad in 1898.

²⁴ A. Mickiewicz, *Lilije*, [in:] idem, *Dziela*, ed. J. Krzyżanowski, vol. I: *Wiersze*, Warszawa 1955, p. 156.

²⁵ J. Conrad, Zbrodnia rozbiorów, op. cit., p. 48.

co-created something that could almost be defined as a Polish *heart of darkness*.

In all this, i.e., in the techniques of progressive "genre blurring" of *The Crime of Partition*, Conrad is close to the creative strategies used before in his work on *Some Reminiscences/A Personal Record*.

So we can determine *Some Reminiscences* as a collage of quotations, a quasi-quotes, paraphrases and travesty as a sophisticated literary game, in which the only active reader can be the one familiar with the extensive list of rules of the game, a list called the literature,²⁶

Agnieszka Adamowicz-Pośpiech said with great insight. The fact that Conrad's "anti-journalism" or "counter-journalism" of 1919 was created according to a model (so!) similar to the earlier model of the author's intertextual autobiography, a kind of a "sophisticated literary game," was a certain discovery for me, since that is also what *The Crime of Partition* turns out to be: a game to be played with an erudite reader.

3

What could this all mean? Of course, it is difficult to predict with certainty. In my opinion, however, *The Crime of Partition* is the text which ultimately breaks the disciplined style of Conrad's political journalism on the Polish problem (*A Note on the Polish Problem*), and even Conrad's political essay about Poland (*Poland Revisited*). The emphasis present in *The Crime of Partition* leads to the loss of a transparent style to crystallize a separate, post-Romantic narrative, which draws its arguments only from the texts of Retinger and Eversley. And yes, *La Pologne et l'Equilibre europeen* or *The Partitions of Poland* are also used as a source for pastiche, but that takes place only in the first step of the adaptation of the text material. Step two, the much less noticed one, is the "romanticization" of this very material, but here, the real, indisputable reference point is the constantly reiterated return to the style of *The Books and the Pilgrimage of the Polish Nation*.

Of course, one could look at *The Crime of Partition* as a text that seals the indomitable, stylistic chaos, proving – to put it most kindly – the "eclecticism" of Conrad's ruminations on Polish history. We are somewhat justified by the "Polish political emotionality," so strongly present in Conrad's imaginary "stereotype," as we could repeat after Miłosz. But we should

²⁶ A. Adamowicz-Pośpiech, Autobiografia antykonfesyjna, [in:] idem, Podróże z Conradem. Szkice, Kraków 2016, p. 30.

also remember the perspective delineated by Agnieszka Adamowicz--Pośpiech. *The Crime of Partition* is, like *Some Reminiscences*, an assembly "strange, noble words" and it does not matter for a fact if it turns out ultimately to be a collage of the Mickiewicz of old, or the young Retinger.

The "editing" itself is important as a rule of verbalization of experiences, a substitute way of articulating one's expression in the "time of confusion of minds and consciences," as Conrad explained to Sapieha. In terms of the "Polish problem," Conrad's state of uncertainty was supposed to never end and it did not matter whether "the decoration of his office was a colorful woodcut of the Commander [Piłsudski – KS] by Wojciech Jastrzębowski,"²⁷ and the "centerpiece" of the library was [the novel – KSD] *Pożoga* by Zofia Kossak, recently published in the free Poland.²⁸ We know from accounts written down by the Zagórski nieces that this indeed was accurate: Piłsudski in the hall, Kossak on a shelf. Despite external manifestations of Polishness and patriotism, Conrad remained, however, uncertain and generally distrustful.

Editing citations from *Some Reminiscences* allowed him to do the impossible, and therefore to create an autobiography which – as explained by Adamowicz-Pośpiech – would remain fully anti-confessional.²⁹ Perhaps, pastiche and paraphrase-filled *The Crime of Partition* was to become a field of a similar "miracle of impossibility." The text being written in the light of the dawn of independence could have afforded a similar "paradoxicality," unlike *A Note on the Polish Problem*, it could emanate its especially post-Romantic "literary" quality. It could have been, just like *Some Reminiscences*, an arena of elite games, i.e. an arena where the codes function between the sender who does the encoding and the decoding receiver. This text, however, will not have a punch line, just like Conrad's journalistic activity on the Polish problem is devoid of a clear conclusion. *The Crime of Partition* may be both a testimony of the writer feeling lost in the era, as well as him masterfully positioning himself on long forgotten, post-Romantic grounds.

²⁷ S. Zabierowski, Joseph Conrad-Korzeniowski i sprawa niepodległości Polski, op. cit., p. 195.

²⁸ Ibidem.

^{29 &}quot;You can say that Joseph Conrad's *Some Reminiscences* is a kind of an autobiography. First, this autobiography meets the main determinants of the literary convention, as they have been outlined by researchers of intimist literature. Secondly, the writer undertakes a multi-level dialog with the literary tradition by rejecting direct, clearly confessional autobiography in favor of indirect presentation of his fate by means of a panoramic vision of the environment (people he met, stories he heard). A very important element of keeping distance to the described events is their presentation through the prism of literary texts he has read, on top of the motifs and images he memorized. These borrowings from literature are a kind of mask for the author who does not want or cannot explicitly write about his past. A. Adamowicz-Pośpiech, *Autobiografia antykonfesyjna*, op. cit., p. 30. See also footnote 26.

The Crime of Partition can be, on the one hand, a testimony to the intriguing "stylistic assurance" and, on the other, a new "mosaic-palimpsest" model of political essayism. Joseph Conrad did not add any "sequels" to this text, so we too (despite its breakthrough and symptomatic nature) should find an end to our reflection, as if protecting it from a "triumphant conclusion." A Note on the Polish Problem was intended to spread the idea of the Polish state as an English-French-Russian tri-protectorate, so as to shield it against "sawing furiously at its throat," and "kissing it on both cheeks in the mystic Russian fashion."30 These words, of course, were not found in that essay. They could not have. They found their way, however (with the full force of the word) to The Crime of Partition. However, they served only as an element of stylistic expression, as if devoid of its sting, masked, as if actually, as stated by Julian Krzyżanowski, "the spirit of Mickiewicz was a source of political inspiration in Conrad's essays"³¹ and soothingly justified any predatory emphasis. In a similar way, Conrad wrote about "the game of disintegration"³² of European internationalists, especially those who wanted to "disintegrate" the myth of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth³³ ("the ways of the internationalists may be dark, but they are not inscrutable"³⁴). In the light of these quotations, so rarely cited, The Crime of Partition seems not so much to be Conrad's different voicing of the Polish problem, but rather the final "collection" of his voices, their condensation, a sharpening apogee, and at the same time, a specific and personal (written in a highly Polish tone, after all!) settlement of the so-called Polish Problem.

First Zdzisław Najder, and Rafał Kopkowski many years after him, pointed out that the draft should be "considered to be the most eloquent example of pro-Polish propaganda in the entire output of the writer."³⁵ I agree with them, however, I call for (just in the case of *The Crime of Partition*) a slightly different interpretative horizon. The text should be read as a paintertextual one, that is (to use a language similar to the analysis by Adamowicz-Pośpiech), collage-like and laboratory-like. It is a painstaking intertextual, or even multi-intertextual, arduous work, in some ways

³⁰ J. Conrad, The Crime of Partition, op. cit., p. 102.

J. Krzyżanowski, U źródeł publicystyki Josepha Conrada, "Ruch Literacki" 1932, 8, year VII, p. 248.

³² J. Conrad, The Crime of Partition, op. cit., p. 107.

³³ J. Conrad, Zbrodnia rozbiorów, op. cit., p. 51.

³⁴ J. Conrad, *The Crime of Partition*, op. cit., p. 98. The activities of internationalists are referred to here as "this task of disruption."

³⁵ R. Kopkowski, Publicystyka Conrada, [in:] idem, Polskie dziedzictwo Conrada, Kraków 2014, p. 177. Also cf. Z. Najder, Polityka w pismach Conrada, [in:] idem, Nad Conradem, Warszawa 1965, p. 134.

similar to inkstation; it is not the hot, patriotic and cosmopolitan intention that makes Conrad's *The Crime of Partition* by far the most pro-Polish output of the writer.

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