

CONRAD UNDER POLISH EYES – OR: IS CONRAD STILL “ONE OF US”?

Joanna Skolik

The University of Opole

Abstract: This article discusses the attitude of Polish Conrad scholars towards Conrad and his works from the very beginning of his literary career to the present day, discussing the way they have perceived Conrad’s national identity and his cultural belonging. Although I aim to present a review of Polish criticism over the years, I pay particular attention to modern criticism, i.e. that of the period since the end of the Second World War, which includes the years of de facto communist rule (1945-1989). I try to determine whether Conrad is still “one of us”, whether he can be perceived as a moralist in the twenty-first century and whether there is a need for such a moralist in present-day Poland.

Keywords: Joseph Conrad, censorship, communist rule, Home Army, Conradian values, literary criticism

Both at sea and on land my point of view is English, from which the conclusion should not be drawn that I have become an Englishman. That is not the case. *Homo duplex* has in my case more than one meaning.¹

Conrad’s books have been present in the Polish cultural consciousness since 1897, the year in which the weekly magazine “Tygodnik romansów i powieści” published his novel *An Outcast of the Islands* (*Wyrzutek*). Stefan Zabierowski has observed that legends concerning Conrad’s life and letters – legends created by Polish readers, critics and writers – came into being from the very start of Conrad’s literary career.² Biographical legends were interwoven with legends about Conrad’s works. On the one hand, Conrad was perceived as being the heir of Polish Romantic literature, while on the other he was accused of having betrayed his country and his mother tongue. Questions such as: “is Conrad a Pole or an Englishman?” or “Is he one of us?” were asked in Poland almost as soon as his first novels appeared. However, if there was one

¹ Joseph Conrad to Kazimierz Waliszewski, 5 December 1903. In: *Conrad’s Polish Background. Letters to and from Polish Friends*. Ed. Z. Najder. Transl. H. Carroll-Najder. London: Oxford University Press, 1964, p. 240. Henceforth quoted as: *CPB*.

² S. Zabierowski. “Legenda Josepha Conrada w Polsce. ‘Tu spoczniij, między nami, wędrowcze zawily’”. *Śląsk* 1998, № 3, pp. 50-52.

person who was “responsible” for tarnishing Conrad’s ‘image’ in Poland, it was the writer Eliza Orzeszkowa. And it did not matter that her accusations rested on the false information that had been supplied by Wincenty Lutosławski, who in an article had previously presented Conrad in the worst possible light (as a person who had consciously decided to stay abroad on account of his “material interests”) and who in fact was the real culprit in the matter of blackening Conrad’s name. It was Orzeszkowa and not Lutosławski who in 1890 wrote: “But no Polish teenager will ever shed a single altruistic tear or make a noble resolution over Mr Konrad Korzeniowski’s novels.”³

The year 1904 was crucial for Conrad’s reception in Poland, as it was the year in which his reputation was rehabilitated. *Kraj* – the same weekly that had published Orzeszkowa’s disparaging article – carried a serious study on Conrad by Kazimierz Waliszewski entitled “Polski powieściopisarz w angielskiej literaturze” (A Polish Novelist in English Literature). Waliszewski looked for traces of Polishness in Conrad’s writing and claimed that the tragic nature and enduring sadness of his works reflected his Polish origins and the memories of his Polish childhood. Waliszewski substantiated this statement by quoting from a letter in which Conrad had written:

I consider it a great happiness and honour to return to my home country under your guidance, [...] And if you are prepared to take my word for it and say that during the course of all my travels round the world I never, in my mind or heart, separated myself from my country, then I may surely be accepted there as a compatriot, in spite of my writing in English.⁴

1904 also saw the first Polish translation of *Lord Jim* (made by Emilia Węśławska). The novel was reviewed in the same year by Wiktor Gomulicki, who was the first Polish critic to view the novel in the context of Conrad’s alleged sense of guilt for having abandoned Poland. It was Gomulicki who posed the question: “A Pole or an Englishman?”⁵ He related how, having searched in vain for vestiges of Polishness in *Lord Jim*,

I was on the point of closing Conrad’s book, saying to myself quite dispiritedly: “No, this writer did not break away from Poland – he was never part of her.” But suddenly some voice inside me seemed to call out: “And perhaps all this is just symbolic?” That ship doomed to sink . . . those travellers overcome with sleep and exhausted by religious ecstasy . . . those selfish men who, driven by greed for life, escape from the ship they are responsible for . . . and particularly that basically noble-minded young man, a stray among scoundrels, who for the rest of his life suffers pangs of conscience that prey on his heart like the Promethean vulture . . . that szlachcic [Polish nobleman] who had found prosperity, love and trust in a foreign land and yet looked for ultimate relief in voluntary death . . . Is it possible that the hidden meaning of it all is only such as it appears to English readers? Sometimes we are woken up at night by a loud moan. We rub our eyes and look around: there is no one else in the room. The moan came from our own breast.

³ E. Orzeszkowa. “The Emigration of Talent”. *Kraj* 1899, № 16 (23rd April). In: *Conrad under Familial Eyes*. Ed. Z. Najder. Texts translated by H. Carroll-Najder. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 188. Henceforth quoted as: *CuFE*.

⁴ Joseph Conrad to Kazimierz Waliszewski, 15 November 1903. In: *CPB*, p. 237.

⁵ W. Gomulicki. “A Pole or an Englishman?”. *Życie i Sztuka* 1905, № 1. In: *CuFE*, pp. 193-196.

We had gone to sleep peacefully making plans for future amusements; our dreams had even been pleasant.

Then our soul artificially put to sleep regained momentary consciousness and revealed its presence by means of a moan.

In Conrad’s novel I detect a moan – perhaps unconscious ...

Well, is it symbolic?

Only Konrad Korzeniowski could answer that question.⁶

Gomulicki’s dramatic interpretation suggesting that the novel had been shaped by Conrad’s sense of guilt was not taken up immediately and it was only later that other critics – Stefan Żeromski, Maria Dąbrowska, Józef Ujejski and Gustaw Morf – began to discuss the issue.⁷ However, the whole discussion on “the emigration of talent” resulted in a modification of Conrad’s legend, as it became a legend about his writing and not just a legend about his life.⁸

Conrad wanted to be known in Poland. In 1902 he asked Blackwood to send a copy of “Youth” to the Polish literary magazine *Chimera*: “The third [copy] I want to send to Poland, for the very young lions of an extremely modern literary review in Warsaw, *the Chimera*. Let them chew it up and snarl over the flavour of the fossil.”⁹ According to Barbara Koc, Zenon Przesmycki – who was the mastermind behind the idea – wanted to give his readers *Lord Jim* at the same time as its review appeared in *Chimera*.¹⁰ The review was written by Maria Komornicka, who described *Lord Jim* as a

book of unusual content and artistry, a delight for any, even slightly, discriminating reader. It’s a drama of the “heroic imagination,” of a “greed for power too heavy to bear,” of a half-conscious megalomania, “exalted egoism”; in other words, it is the operation within an individual of the imperative of perfection.¹¹

This review constituted an endorsement of Conrad by modern Polish writers and at the same time a criticism of Orzeszkowa’s style.¹² Conrad was perceived as being a modern writer who had won the approval of other Polish authors who happened to share his views.¹³

Between 1906 and 1908 Conrad was neither translated nor discussed in his native land. In 1908 Maria Gąsiorowska translated *The Secret Agent* and Maria Rakowska published a comparative study on the author.¹⁴

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Gustaw Morf, the author of *The Polish Heritage of Joseph Conrad* (1965), is believed to have been the first to present such an allegorical interpretation of *Lord Jim*, in which Patna stands for Poland and Jim for Conrad himself. Gomulicki presented his interpretation in 1905.

⁸ This issue is analysed by Zabierowski in “Legenda Josepha Conrada w Polsce”.

⁹ Joseph Conrad to William Blackwood, 22 December 1902. In: *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*. Eds. F.R. Karl, L. Davies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, Vol. 2, p. 466.

¹⁰ B. Kocówna. *Polskość Conrada*. Kraków: LSW, 1967, p. 130.

¹¹ M. Komornicka. “Lord Jim”. *Chimera* 1905. In: *CuFE*, p. 192.

¹² B. Kocówna, *ed. cit.*, p. 131.

¹³ M. Komornicka, *ed. cit.*, p. 193.

¹⁴ B. Kocówna, *ed. cit.*, 136.

Although Conrad published “Amy Foster” (1901), “Autocracy and War” (1905) and “Prince Roman” (1910) – three texts that were of particular interest and importance to the Polish reader – and also two other stories – “Il Conde” (1908) and “The Duel” (1908) – none of these attracted much attention in Poland at that time. Only two of them were translated¹⁵ – both in 1911: “Il Conde” and “Amy Foster” (“Janko Góral”). However, Polish critics did notice *Some Reminiscences* – in which Conrad had at long last proclaimed his Polish origins – and this despite the fact that the book had not been translated into Polish. Critics such as Tadeusz Nalepiński stressed Conrad’s Polish heritage, declaring that he was a Pole – a compatriot.¹⁶ Like Stanisław Brzozowski, they also gave an aesthetic assessment of Conrad’s work.¹⁷

The year 1914 was a turning point in Conrad’s relations with Poles and Poland. In 1912 he had met Józef Hieronim Retinger – a Polish political activist who literally brought Conrad to Poland in 1914. Not only had Retinger arranged for the Conrads to visit Poland, but he had also arranged for Conrad to give an interview to a Polish newspaper correspondent – the only one he ever gave “in Polish and for a Polish periodical” – before he and his family were due to set out on their journey.¹⁸ This interview was of great importance for the author’s relations with his native land. His visit to Poland – as well as his meetings with representatives of Polish cultural and political life – can be viewed as a *direct and immediate consequence* of that conversation, which also had an influence on the later reception of his works by the Polish reading public.

Marian Dąbrowski’s interview with Conrad presented the author as the last Polish Romantic – a prophet and repository of the Polish national consciousness. In this interview, Conrad presents his personal achievements as those of the whole nation, speaking as ‘just another Pole’ who sees his commitment to the Polish cultural tradition as a moral duty.

From the very beginning, Conrad’s reception in Poland has been deeply influenced by two opposing views formulated by Polish writers and scholars on the subject of his life and his writing. On the one hand, he has been celebrated as the heir of the Polish Romantic tradition, while on the other he has been denounced for having betrayed his country and the ideals of his parents.

This dual trend in Poland is by no means a thing of the past. The same arguments were used during a debate on school curricula which took place in 2007, when it was suggested that Conrad’s works (along with those of other authors such as Goethe, Dostoevsky and Kafka) should be removed from school reading lists on the grounds that they had not been written in Polish. In this connection, the old accusation of be-

¹⁵ In partitioned Poland censorship made it impossible to publish translations of “Autocracy and War” and “Prince Roman”.

¹⁶ T. Nalepiński. “Wspomnienia Conrada”. *Kurier Warszawski* 1912, № 84.

¹⁷ Unfortunately Brzozowski could not present all his views on Conrad (he died in April 1911); S. Brzozowski. “Józef Conrad”. In: S. Brzozowski. *Głosy wśród nocy*. Lwów: Nakł. Księgarni Polskiej B. Połanieckiego, 1912, pp. 369-77, quoted in S. Zabierowski. *Dziedzictwo Conrada w literaturze polskiej XX wieku*. Kraków: Oficyna Literacka, 1992, p. 26.

¹⁸ Z. Najder. *Joseph Conrad. A Life*. Transl. H. Najder. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2007, p. 458.

trayal resurfaced – albeit briefly and in anecdotal form – more than a century after the “emigration of talent” debate had subsided.

In 1918, Poland became an independent State again after 123 years of partition. The country had regained access to the sea and the need of the hour was to find values that were common to all Poles, so it was only natural that Conrad was then perceived first and foremost as a maritime author.¹⁹ A selection of his works was published and articles on him appeared in the press and in literary periodicals. On his death in 1924, there was a special commemorative issue of the “Wiadomości literackie” magazine. At first, Conrad was described as an “exotic” writer and the general understanding of his works was rather superficial because critics were still discussing his biography and his sense of national loyalty. Later, interest in Conrad became more diverse and the influence of Western European and Polish literature on his writing was analysed. In the 1930s, an interesting phenomenon was observed: although the authorities wanted Conrad to be present in Polish cultural life and although his collected works were published, discussed and introduced into school curricula,²⁰ there was a decline in the popularity of his books among the general reading public. According to Zabierowski, there were several reasons for this: Conrad’s works presented a challenge to his readers, books as such were expensive because of the economic crisis and Conrad was perceived to be a conservative, which discouraged people from reading his works at a time when literature was polarized, being either socially engaged or avant-garde and experimental.²¹

In the 1930s, Conrad was present in the Polish press and on the Polish literary scene: in 1932 there was a Conradian issue of the literary monthly *Ruch Literacki*, while in 1934 there was a commemorative Conradian issue of the literary and social weekly *Pion*. A translation of *Lord Jim* by Aniela Zagórska was published in 1933. During this period, numerous Polish critics and writers took an interest in Conrad. These included Stefan Żeromski, Rafał Blüth, Julian Krzyżanowski, Roman Dyboski, Maria Dąbrowska and Józef Ujejski.

Żeromski also wrote about the articles on Polish issues which Conrad had written during the First World War and which at the time were relatively unknown in Poland itself:

During the war, Joseph Conrad spoke out twice on the Polish question. In 1916 he published an article entitled *a Note on the Polish Problem* in “The Fortnightly Review” and in 1919 – in the same magazine – he published an article entitled *The Crime of Partition*. Both these articles [...] take up our legitimate cause and constitute a noble defence of our unquenchable desire to join together a nation whose lands have been torn apart. As a distinguished writer, he did what

¹⁹ This issue is discussed by Stefan Zabierowski in his pioneering articles on Conrad’s reception in Poland: “Conrad’s Polish Career, 1896-1968”. *Conradiana* 1974, Vol. 6, № 3, pp. 197-213; “Polskie spory o Conrada w latach 1945-1949”. *Rocznik Komisji Historycznoliterackiej* 1974, № 12, pp. 117-203. Conrad’s reception in Poland during the interwar period is also discussed in: J. Skolik. “Conrad and Censorship in Poland”. *Studia Neophilologica* 2013, № 85, pp. 58-68.

²⁰ “Amy Foster”, “Prince Roman”, and “The Duel”.

²¹ S. Zabierowski. “Conrad’s Polish Career, 1896-1968”, p. 204.

he could. Risking his name and reputation, he threw in his lot with ours. We are grateful to him for intervening on our behalf in those critical and decisive moments.²²

Zabierowski notes that before Żeromski, hardly any Polish critic or writer had noticed Conrad's political articles or his commitment to the Polish cause.²³

During Conrad's lifetime, Żeromski refrained from discussing his national loyalty. Later, however, commenting on Conrad's visit to the Jagiellonian Library in 1914, he wrote: "holding a bundle of his father's letters in his hand, Conrad referred to his son as an Englishman ..."²⁴

In an article written in 1925 and entitled "Autor – rodak," (Author and compatriot), Żeromski presented a different approach to Conrad. Having learnt that Conrad had wanted to return to Poland towards the end of his life,²⁵ he no longer questioned his national loyalty and confirmed the writer's patriotism, referring to his letter of 25th March 1923, in which he had expressed his attachment to Poland:

I confess that I cannot find words to describe my profound emotion when I read this appreciation from my country, voiced by you, dear Sir – the greatest master of its literature.

Please accept, dear Sir, my most sincere thanks for the time, thought and work you have devoted to me and for the sympathetic assessment which disclosed a compatriot in the author.²⁶

Żeromski stressed Conrad's connections with Poland, regretting that neither his biography nor his literary output had been examined from the perspective of his Polishness.²⁷ Moreover, he realized that Western critics had not understood Conrad's Polish heritage and pointed out that it was up to Polish critics and writers to undertake this task "because only we Poles are able to fully understand and grasp Conrad's meanings – symbols which are evident and symbols which are hidden. We alone, for although he wrote in English, he was also a Polish writer."²⁸ The importance of Żeromski's role in Polish Conrad studies cannot be overestimated. As Zabierowski observes, Żeromski not only created a stereotype of the Polish perspective on Conrad, but he also

codified a Polish way of reading Conrad's fiction, an approach which predominated at least during the twenty years between the world wars. It was mainly due to Żeromski that a specific manner of writing about Conrad came into existence. This was a style characterized by a highly emotional load and patriotic ecstasies. It was also Żeromski who participated in creating and encouraging the Polish legendary version of Conrad's biography. And, finally, it was to a large extent Żeromski who laid out the main trends of the Conradian studies.²⁹

²² S. Żeromski. "Joseph Conrad". In: *Pisma literackie i krytyczne*. Ed. S. Pigoń. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1963, pp. 147-48.

²³ S. Zabierowski. "Conrad and Żeromski". *The Conrad News* 1986, pp. 7-32.

²⁴ S. Żeromski. "Joseph Conrad – Autor – Rodak". In: *Pisma literackie i krytyczne*, p. 160.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

²⁶ Joseph Conrad to Stefan Żeromski, 25 March 1923. In: *CPB*, p. 289.

²⁷ S. Żeromski. "Joseph Conrad – Autor – Rodak", p. 165.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²⁹ S. Zabierowski. "Conrad and Żeromski", p. 32.

Many have followed in Żeromski’s footsteps: Maria Dąbrowska, Juliusz Kaden-Bandrowski, Jerzy Andrzejewski, Antoni Gołubiew, Andrzej Braun, Leszek Prorok and Jan Józef Szczepański.

In 1936 Józef Ujejski published a study on Conrad – entitled *O Konradzie Korzeniowskim (On Conrad Korzeniowski)* – which played an important role in shaping the Polish reception of Conrad in the late 1930s. It was Ujejski who placed Conrad in the Polish Romantic tradition alongside bards such as Słowacki, Krasiński and Mickiewicz.³⁰ Ujejski’s study promoted a neo-Romantic approach to the reading of Conrad and an equally neo-Romantic approach to the critical, poetical and literary reception of Conrad’s biography and works.

The Polish reception of Conrad in the 1930s was very uneven: on the one hand, Conrad’s works were admired by “Catholics, socialists and liberals, who stressed the individual basis of his ethical system and approved of his Romanticism and his efforts to justify a moral order.”³¹ On the other hand, Conrad was attacked by periodicals supporting the extreme right and left. Thus in 1933 the far right *Merkuryusz Polski Ordynaryjny* magazine, citing Upton Sinclair’s *Mammonart*, described the writer as a traitor and a servant of the bourgeoisie. Three years later (in 1936) – citing the same passage in *Mammonart* – the far left *Sygnaly* magazine attacked Conrad on social grounds.

In the 1930s such attacks were exceptional, however, as on the whole Conrad was then regarded as a moralist revealing the meaning of human life at a time when public order was in the process of collapsing. Polish readers and critics were interested in Conrad’s metaphysics and ethics, his interpretations concerning the aim of human life and his attempts to justify moral rules.³² Those who appreciated Conrad perceived him as an ally against the rising tide of totalitarianism, chauvinism and fascism in Europe. In 1939, the first generation that had been brought up in independent Poland left secondary school.³³ “This was a generation who knew Conrad above all as a Romantic, a patriot and a humanist.”³⁴

The years 1939-1946 were very significant for Conrad’s reception in Poland. During the German occupation and the postwar period, Conrad became a spiritual guide for Polish readers. Indeed, he has never been more important for Poles than at that time. The problem of his national allegiance seemed to have been forgotten. The soldiers of the Polish Resistance saw Conrad as being “one of them” – speaking on behalf of their generation and understanding their problems and dilemmas. These soldiers lived up to the ideals of Polish Romanticism, which were also those of Conrad, who “furnished an appropriate lesson in patriotic service, within typically

³⁰ J. Ujejski. *O Konradzie Korzeniowskim*. Warszawa: Dom Książki Polskiej, 1936, pp. 294-295.

³¹ J. Skolik. “Conrad and Censorship in Poland”. *Studia Neophilologica* 2013, № 85, p. 61.

³² S. Zabierowski. “Między totalizmem a personalizmem”. In: S. Zabierowski. *Conrad w perspektywie odbioru. Szkice*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1979, p. 24.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

³⁴ J. Skolik, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Polish Romantic convention.”³⁵ Underground activity in an occupied country requires a distinctive attitude on the part of conspirators. “The basis of all secret organizations is mutual trust. Hence, the most dreaded enemy is not the enemy soldier, but the traitor, the informer and the government spy. In such circumstances, loyalty is the virtue of virtues and treachery the crime of crimes.”³⁶ Thus the Conradian ethos corresponded with the moral problems experienced by young Poles during the wartime occupation. Thanks to the relevance of Conrad’s works, “his tragic philosophy with its insistence on loyalty, courage and honour as well as Polish Romantic literature fitted the mood of the time.”³⁷ Polish conspirators perceived Conrad as a moralist who was very close to their lives because his protagonists faced extreme, “borderline situations”³⁸ which demanded concrete decisions from them, regardless of their feelings or emotions. As they faced “Conradian situations” every day, they could identify with Conrad’s characters. As Zabierowski observes:

Conrad was read by university professors and soldiers, by writers of prominence and very young, new authors, recruited from the ranks of the Underground Movement [...]. Profound admiration for Conrad was voiced by both the young and old ranks of the Resistance Movement, carrying on their unequal and under-equipped guerrilla war against the Germans.³⁹

Thus for the insurgents of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, Lord Jim was genuinely “one of them”. When they had to come to terms with their own fear and imagination they considered Jim’s fate and wanted to be ready to meet the challenge. “*Lord Jim* and the young Polish readers shared the same ideal of self improvement and moral integrity. In spite of these high principles, however, they seemed to suffer the same inner dilemma.”⁴⁰ There were situations in which young soldiers actually recognized themselves in Conrad’s Jim. Jan Józef Szczepański – a writer, soldier and member of the resistance movement – described such a situation:

I used to know a boy whose death was the direct result of his reading of *Lord Jim* (of the first part, I should add). The motif of the bulkhead that was supposed to break away at any moment and yet proved more durable than the nerves and courage of the unfortunate mate in the Patna became the boy’s obsession. He was an uncommonly sensitive and highly strung person, lacking self-confidence and permanently filled with apprehension that, like Jim, he might fail at the decisive moment, break down and “jump” prematurely. He kept repeating Jim’s famous sentence: “It is all in being ready,” like an incantation, like a lesson that has to be learned by heart. It was precisely that fear of his own weakness that drove my friend to commit an act of unnecessary bravado which he paid for with his life.⁴¹

³⁵ S. Zabierowski. “Conrad under Polish Eyes during World War II”. In: *Joseph Conrad Conference in Poland*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979, p. 166.

³⁶ A. Busza. “Conrad’s Polish Literary Background and Some Illustrations of the Influence of Polish Literature on His Work”. *Antemurale* 1966, № 10, p. 205.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³⁸ S. Zabierowski. “Conrad under Polish Eyes during World War II”, p. 167.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-65.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴¹ J.J. Szczepański. “The Conrad of my Generation”. In: *CuFE*, p. 279.

Describing the role of *Lord Jim* in the lives of the insurgents at the time of the Warsaw Uprising, one of them wrote:

Jim came to me when I thought I could no longer control my fear. All of a sudden, Jim stood before me and asked a simple question: whether I would be able to bear what, if I ran away, would become my inevitable fate. He recollected his own lonely and homeless wanderings and the price he had paid for a single moment of heedlessness”.⁴²

Szczepański wrote: “For us Conrad was more relevant than ever before. His books became a collection of practical recipes for men fighting lonely battles in the dark that was dense enough to hide personal defeats and therefore presented an additional challenge”.⁴³ Polish exiles also read Conrad because his life somehow resembled their fate – and so he became their guide.⁴⁴

Conrad wrote about fidelity to a cause – about loyalty, human solidarity and having a sense of duty, all of which were values that were essential to the soldiers of the Resistance movement. When everything seemed to be lost in the face of the cruelty of the war “there remained one value to be preserved to the very end, that of human dignity.”⁴⁵ Conrad’s works did not allow people to forget about human dignity, giving them hope in hopeless situations and enabling them to find meaning in their lives. Jan Parandowski wrote about such a situation in the introduction to *Godzina śródziemnomorska (A Mediterranean Hour)*, which was written during the German occupation.⁴⁶ The stories in this volume, he says, were written to protect his inner world, which could not be destroyed, changed or ravaged by violence.⁴⁷ He wanted to protect the world that had been created by Conrad, having opted for Conradian values – values which were part of the heritage of the ancient tradition and culture of the Mediterranean world. Parandowski wrote his essays in the name of all the human values – values such as loyalty, dignity and national fidelity – that had been developed by this Mediterranean civilization. As Stanisław Stabryła observes, these essays express Parandowski’s thoughts on the continuity of the cultural tradition of the ancient world, proving its persistence in the face of Nazi barbarism.⁴⁸

However, as Szczepański stated in 1957, the cruelty of the war and the occupation was inconceivable. It was a reality that could not have been identified with Conrad’s world, as the war was much more cruel than in the Conradian vision. Even Conrad could not have spared his readers some disappointment, as his works seemed to be purely rhetorical when read as a commentary on the reality of war:

⁴² M. Młynarska [Tarnawska]. “*Lord Jim* w powstaniu warszawskim”. In: *Conrad żywy*. Ed. W. Tarnawski. London: Świdorski, 1957, p. 263 (translation of the extract by Młynarska after Zabierowski, “Conrad under Polish Eyes...”, p. 167).

⁴³ J.J. Szczepański, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

⁴⁴ S. Zabierowski, “Conrad under Polish Eyes...”, p. 171.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁴⁷ J. Parandowski. “Wstęp”. In: J. Parandowski. *Godzina śródziemnomorska*. Warszawa: Gebethner & Wolf, 1949, pp. 5-6.

⁴⁸ S. Stabryła. *Hellada i Roma w Polsce Ludowej: recepcja antyku w literaturze polskiej w latach 1945-1975*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1983, p. 534.

Conrad did not experience winds which were not tempered to the shorn lamb. Having created the ideal of fidelity to oneself, extremely useful under certain conditions, Conrad worked out a theory of moral decline based on hypothetical premise. A reality he could not possibly have foreseen exposed in our nature qualities which do not conform to the static standards of Conradian ethics. This working hypothesis proved too theoretical and today its literary interpretation often rings with beautiful but empty rhetoric.⁴⁹

The communists who ruled Poland after World War II saw Conrad's books as a dangerous weapon that was used to control people's hearts and minds. For the Polish Resistance, Conrad's writings were a depository of national values. For the communist regime, however, they posed a threat to their political system. As the system wanted to depreciate the ideals of the Second Polish Republic – which were also the ideals of those who had fought in the wartime Resistance in order to preserve the institutions and continuity of that republic – they also had to depreciate Conrad as “a Romantic, a patriot and a humanist” who had shaped the “Home Army mentality”.

The “Kuznica” literary weekly – “a magazine of the leftist intelligentsia which propagated Marxist philosophy”⁵⁰ – took part in this ideological struggle and waged a campaign against the ideals of the wartime Resistance and their manifestations in the field of literature. The Kuznica group of critics attacked that interpretation of Conrad's works which was regarded as being fundamental for shaping the mentality of those young Poles whose attitude to post-war reality was a continuation of their wartime underground attitude.⁵¹ Jan Kott – a leading critic and contributor to the “Kuznica” magazine – “went into the Second World War with ‘the baggage of various experiences and intellectual fascinations, [but] left the war as a historian and a Marxist’ [who] wanted to be on the side of historical right, [who] believed in history's rationality”.⁵² Zabierowski points out that Kott's texts should be read not only as an expression of his individual views, but also as the opinion of the Kuznica group of literary critics with whom he had been closely connected since the end of the war. Thus Kott's essay “O laickim tragizmie”⁵³ (Secular Despondency) – which had been written during the war and was published in the *Twórczość* magazine in 1945 – was not simply his own personal attack on Conrad, but reflected the attitude of the entire group of critics who glorified communist ideology.⁵⁴

Kott assumed that during the war and the Soviet-German occupation his generation had become disappointed with Conrad and had ‘deserted’ him. He criticised Conrad and the Conradian ideal of heroism, repeating Sinclair's argument that Conrad was “the last bourgeois moralist” whose works propagated “the heroism of death”. In Conrad's irrational world, as Kott put it, every choice was tragic: “Conrad's protago-

⁴⁹ J.J. Szczepański, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

⁵⁰ Z. Sawicka. “Jan Kott – the road to shakespeare”, <http://culture.pl/en/article/jan-kott-the-road-to-shakespeare>.

⁵¹ S. Zabierowski. “Polskie spory o Conrada w latach 1945-1949”. *Rocznik Komisji Historycznoliterackiej* 1974, Vol. 12, pp. 182-184.

⁵² Z. Sawicka, *op. cit.*

⁵³ J. Kott. “O laickim tragizmie”. *Twórczość* 1945, № 2.

⁵⁴ S. Zabierowski. “Polskie spory o Conrada...”, pp. 186-87.

nists act in order to live; they die in order to justify their lives”.⁵⁵ Conradian ideals such as the moral imperative of behaving ethically regardless of the circumstances – even in the face of death – were incompatible with Marxist doctrine. “Conrad’s fidelity to oneself is the fidelity of slaves, because one is a slave when one obeys one’s master and cares only about one’s own integrity.”⁵⁶ In similar words Kott also condemned the soldiers of the wartime Resistance for having accepted “the heroism of inanity”.⁵⁷

Kott’s essay triggered a bitter debate on Conradian ideals. Several writers and critics (Maria Dąbrowska, Józef Chałasiński and Antoni Gołubiew) refused to accept Kott’s views on Conrad’s writing. In an essay entitled “Conradowskie pojęcie wierności” (Conrad’s Notion of Fidelity – 1946), Dąbrowska pointed out that Conrad set great store by the moral dimension of human conduct. Conrad’s moral world is marked on the one hand by human loneliness and on the other by human solidarity. Conrad tries “to find out whether and how it is possible for man in the immoral world of material interests to preserve fidelity to something moral and precious.”⁵⁸ She wrote that Kott had tried to vilify not only Conrad, but also the heroic conspirators of the Polish wartime Resistance. Dąbrowska held that those who had fought against German oppression could not be called fools and also that Conrad’s morality was not the morality of obedient slaves.⁵⁹

Józef Chałasiński⁶⁰ agreed with Dąbrowska that Conrad could not be “dismissed” or viewed as a champion of “the heroism of inanity” or “the heroism of slaves”. Accepting Dąbrowska’s arguments concerning the heritage of humanity – summed up by Conrad in a few “very simple ideas” – Chałasiński also agreed with her description of Conrad’s work as a quest in search of fidelity to something moral and precious in an amoral world of material interests. Criticising Kott, Chałasiński noted that viewing Conrad’s writing purely from a class-struggle perspective was not a realistic approach and concluded that Kott’s article would seem to reflect his own personal mythology.

In an article entitled “Poprawiam Kotta” (I correct Kott), Antoni Gołubiew claimed that Conrad’s heroes were tragic because they could not cope with their responsibilities, as they were unequal to the tasks that faced them. Their tragedy had nothing to do with any social order or with the supposed eagerness of Conrad’s protagonists to serve shipowners. Conrad’s fidelity to oneself means fidelity to morality – i.e. it is Kant’s categorical imperative. In a “borderline situation” – according to Gołubiew – the choice is between heroic fidelity to oneself or cynicism. Gołubiew

⁵⁵ J. Kott, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 142, 156.

⁵⁸ M. Dąbrowska. “Conradowskie pojęcie wierności”. In: M. Dąbrowska. *Szkice o Conradzie*. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1974, p. 149.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁶⁰ J. Chałasiński. “A review of Kott’s *Mitologia i realizm*”. *Mysł Współczesna* 1946, № 5, pp. 96-104.

concluded by saying that the tragedy of heroism was preferable to the cynicism of egoism and hypocrisy.⁶¹

The year 1949 was another turning point in the reception of Conrad in Poland. In the late 1940s and early 1950s the country was subjected to a process of intensified Stalinization during which everything was perceived in ideological categories and socialist realism was imposed as the only acceptable aesthetic norm.

PZPR⁶² rule grew steadily more totalitarian and developed the full range of Stalinist features then obligatory within the Soviet European empire: ideological regimentation, the police state, strict subordination to the Soviet Union, a rigid command economy, persecution of the Roman Catholic Church and blatant distortion of history [...]. Stringent censorship stifled artistic and intellectual creativity or drove its exponents into exile.⁶³

The aim of the communists was to isolate Polish culture from Western influences in an attempt to destroy the Polish national identity, tradition and heritage. They were convinced that in this way they would create a new kind of citizen who was strong, healthy, obedient to the communist authorities and a firm believer in the socialist revolution. Literature was seen as an ideological battleground, while an enemy of the socialist system was anyone who did not believe in the system or anyone who even dared to question or criticise it. Thus after 1949 Conrad was also seen as an enemy of the socialist State. Kott's essay was in fact a kind of prelude⁶⁴ to the administrative "liquidation" of Conrad in Poland.⁶⁵

For a time, however, Conrad's books were still published in Poland: *Lord Jim* and *The Mirror of the Sea* came out in 1949, while *The Shadow Line* came out in 1950. There then followed a gap of several years: between 1950 and 1955 nothing was published apart from a selection of Conrad's stories.⁶⁶ It was not until the publication of *Chance* in 1955 that Conrad could be said to have returned to Polish bookshops. Miłosz observed that it was a time when "Conrad was defrosted [...]" and Polish publishers began preparing new editions of his works.⁶⁷

In the mid-1950s, the publication of Conrad's books was resumed as a direct result of de-Stalinization – a process that had begun after Stalin's death in 1953 and whose culmination came a few years later. This period – known as the Polish "Thaw" (or Gomułka's "Thaw") of October 1956 – was a time of political change in the People's Republic of Poland. After years of cultural isolation Polish artists were allowed to renew contacts with Western culture and Polish *émigré* artists could renew

⁶¹ A. Gołubiew. "Poprawiam Kotta". *Dziś i Jutro* 1945, № 3.

⁶² The Communist party which ruled the Polish People's Republic (as the country was officially called between 1952 and 1989; earlier – between 1944 and 1952 – the name had been: the Republic of Poland).

⁶³ "From Stalinism to the Polish October", <http://countrystudies.us/poland/17.htm>.

⁶⁴ S. Zabierowski. "Conrad żywy z perspektywy pięćdziesięciu lat". In: S. Zabierowski. *W kręgu Konrada*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2008, p. 165.

⁶⁵ It was believed that Kott bore the sole responsibility for Conrad's "liquidation" in Poland.

⁶⁶ Z. Najder. "Conrad w Polsce w latach 1939-1957". In: *Conrad żywy*, p. 260.

⁶⁷ Cz. Miłosz. "Joseph Conrad in Polish Eyes". In: *The Art of Joseph Conrad. A Critical Symposium*. Ed. R.W. Stallman. Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1960, p. 45.

contacts with Poland. The Polish “Thaw” was also a vital factor in the world of Polish Conrad studies. In 1957 in London Wit Tarnawski published a volume of essays on Conrad entitled *Conrad Żywy (Living Conrad)*.⁶⁸ Zabierowski notes that for twenty years this book was the only critical study that exerted a deep influence on Polish Conrad critics in Poland and abroad. The essays presented a continuation of earlier Conrad studies on the one hand, while on the other they proposed new readings of Conrad from the perspective of those who had experienced totalitarianism.⁶⁹

Although Conrad’s works and books about him were now available to the Polish reading public, several of his most topical and therefore most appealing works remained blacklisted by State censors for many years. These were two novels – *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes* – and Conrad’s writings on Russia and the Russian revolution. According to Zdzisław Najder, when the State censor finally agreed to the publication of *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes*, it was only as part of the collected edition of Conrad’s works and not as individual publications.⁷⁰ Thus, although Conrad was regaining his popularity in Poland, this was the popularity of a classic whose books had limited relevance to the experiences, problems and concerns of ordinary readers.

Between 1972 and 1974 a twenty-seven-volume edition of Conrad’s collected works was published under the editorship of Zdzisław Najder. It would have been the first collected edition of Conrad’s works in the world – had it not been for the exclusion of those texts that were considered to be subversive by the State censors, i.e. the “Author’s Note” to *Under Western Eyes*, the essays “The Censor of Plays”, “Autocracy and War”, “the Crime of Partition” and the “Note on the Polish Problem”. In 1975 these texts were published in London under the editorship of Najder (albeit anonymously) as a ‘clandestine’ supplementary twenty-eighth volume entitled *Szkice polityczne (Political Essays)*. This volume was eventually reprinted in Poland in 1996, when Polish readers could at last read Conrad’s political writings, but by then it was too late for Conrad to become an author whose work was seen as being relevant and touching vital political and national problems. Communist censorship of Conrad in the 1960s and 1970s made his work too distant for the average reader to be able to identify with his books or their protagonists. Omissions of certain passages and changes that were advocated in the interpretation of Conrad’s life and work⁷¹ deprived his books of their real meaning, making them much less relevant to Polish realities. To a certain extent, therefore, Conrad’s reception in Poland was crippled and

⁶⁸ There were numerous contributors, such as: Andrzej Bobkowski, Aleksander Janta, Maria Kuncewiczowa, Czesław Miłosz, Józef Hieronim Retinger, Wit Tarnawski, Maria Młynarska (Tarnawska), Tymon Terlecki, Zdzisław Najder and Stanisław Vincenz.

⁶⁹ S. Zabierowski. “Conrad żywy z perspektywy pięćdziesięciu lat”, pp. 167-180.

⁷⁰ Zdzisław Najder, personal communication.

⁷¹ Examples being the cutting of passages relating to Russia and the Russian revolution in the first edition of Najder’s *Życie Josepha Conrada-Korzeniowskiego* (1980/81) and suggested changes (which were not implemented by the author) to Zabierowski’s article on Conrad in the *Tygodnik Morski* weekly (1973). The article was first suppressed, then withdrawn from publication.

deformed.⁷² In this way, communist censorship made Polish readers see Conrad not as a modern author, but as a classic – and only a classic.

However, this classic never ceased to be present on the Polish cultural scene. Joseph Conrad can be found in a supplement entitled *Ruch wydawniczy w latach 1944-1973* (Polish publishing in figures), which lists “authors⁷³ who have had at least five works published within a space of ten years.” Conrad comes top of the list with 81 published titles. However, between 1944 and 1955 there were only 8 Conradian titles. Between 1956 and 1965 there were 36, while between 1966 and 1973 there were 37. These figures are therefore a nice illustration of the process of “freezing” and “defrosting” Conrad in Poland.

In the Poland of the 1970s and 1980s Conrad was popular mostly among scholars and writers, i.e. people with a professional interest in literature.⁷⁴ Conrad’s works were published and adapted for the stage. Various Conrad societies came into being and from time to time Conrad conferences were held.

As a result of the existence of censorship in post-war Poland there was a dichotomy in Polish Conrad studies. This was quite a unique phenomenon, as there were two almost completely separate types of Conrad research: that conducted in Poland under conditions of strict censorship and government supervision and that conducted abroad in complete freedom. Communication between these two groups of scholars was very difficult because of two reasons connected with censorship. One reason was that certain authors such as Czesław Miłosz and Gustaw Herling-Grudziński were banned in Poland. The other reason was that books and articles written by Polish *émigrés* were as a rule inaccessible to readers in Poland.⁷⁵

The Polish publishing market has changed since the end of communist rule in 1989 and the abolition of censorship in 1990. The publication of Conrad’s works and Conradian studies in Poland has been governed by two factors only: readers’ and / or editors’ tastes and market forces. However, since 1989 Conrad’s books have not been popular with the general reading public in Poland. They are read and widely discussed only by Polish Conrad scholars, literary critics and writers – for whom Conrad is indeed “one of us”. Although 2007 – which was declared “The Year of Joseph Conrad” – saw the publication of new translations and new books on the author himself – to say nothing of the various conferences that were held – nothing has really changed. Polish Conrad studies are flourishing,⁷⁶ while Conrad’s popularity in Poland

⁷² See: J. Skolik, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁷³ They are described as “selected foreign authors”.

⁷⁴ Various scholars wrote on Conrad at that time, e.g. Zdzisław Najder, Stefan Zabierowski, Andrzej Braun, Przemysław Mroczkowski, Barbara Koc, Róża Jabłkowska, Wiesław Krajka, Andrzej Zgorzelski and many others.

⁷⁵ See: Z. Żmigrodzki. “Literatura nieobecna”. *Bibliotekarz* 1994, № 10, pp. 3-5. Żmigrodzki points out that even nowadays such literature (published abroad) is absent from many Polish libraries and bookshops.

⁷⁶ Examples being The Jagiellonian University Joseph Conrad Research Centre (which holds meetings of the Polish Joseph Conrad Society, publishes the *Yearbook of Conrad Studies* and hosts conferences and discussions) and the Maria Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin (which hosts Conrad conferences and publishes *Conrad: Eastern and Western Perspectives*).

is still not very high. There are several reasons for this lack of interest in Conrad among average readers: general reading habits have changed and people now read less; books in general are expensive; Conrad’s books still pose a challenge to his readers; Conrad is regarded as a classic.

Najder⁷⁷ is of the opinion that Conrad’s lack of popularity in Poland (as compared with France, the UK, Italy or Canada) is to be explained by the continued existence of an unfavourable stereotype in his Polish reception. Another factor that militates against Conrad is the long-standing crisis in the ethos of public service in Poland. The Polish intelligentsia has yet to find its sense of purpose. Conrad’s works are difficult, as are his ideals of honour, service, fidelity and duty.

Najder maintains that Conrad the author, along with his books and his readers, have always been associated with the public role of literature in Poland and with changes in Polish social morality. If Poles reject the imposition of global culture and persevere in their endeavours to preserve their own cultural heritage and integrity, Conrad will eventually return to the Polish literary scene and will once again be seen to be “one of us”.

The general reading public in Poland has yet to realize that – given the present political situation in the East – Conrad is as relevant a writer now as he ever was and deserves to be read with particular attention. Analysing “the Russian soul” and explaining the Eastern world, Conrad’s diagnosis is surprisingly accurate. Poles should start their reading of Conrad with the supplementary twenty-eighth volume of the collected works, where in the “Author’s Note” to *Under Western Eyes* we read:

The most terrifying reflection (I am speaking now for myself) is that all these people are not the product of the exceptional but of the general – of the normality of their place, and time, and race. [...] These people are unable to see that all they can effect is merely a change of names. The oppressors and the oppressed are all Russians together; and the world is brought once more face to face with the truth of the saying that the tiger cannot change his stripes nor the leopard his spots.⁷⁸

WORKS CITED

- Brzozowski, S. “Józef Conrad”. In: S. Brzozowski. *Głosy wśród nocy*. Lwów: Nakł. Księgarni Polskiej B. Połanieckiego, 1912, pp. 369-77.
- Busza, Andrzej. “Conrad’s Polish Literary Background and Some Illustrations of the Influence of Polish Literature on His Work”. *Antemurale*, 1966, № 10.
- Chałasiński, Józef. “A review of Kott’s *Mitologia i realizm*”. *Mysł Współczesna* 1946, № 5.
- Conrad, Joseph. “‘Author’s Note’ to *Under Western Eyes*”. In: Joseph Conrad. *Conrad’s Prefaces to His Works*. London: Dent, 1937.

⁷⁷ Z. Najder. “Przesłanie Josepha Conrada”, <http://culture.pl/pl/artykul/zdzislaw-najder-przeslanie-josepha-conrada>.

⁷⁸ J. Conrad. “‘Author’s Note’ to *Under Western Eyes*”. In: J. Conrad. *Conrad’s Prefaces to His Works*. London: Dent, 1937, pp. 125-126.

- Conrad's Polish Background. Letters to and from Polish Friends*. Ed. Zdzisław Najder. Transl. Halina Carroll-Najder. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
- "Conrad's Polish Career, 1896-1968". *Conradiana* 1974, Vol. 6, № 3, pp. 197-213; "Polskie spory o Conrada w latach 1945-1949". *Rocznik Komisji Historycznoliterackiej* 1974, № 12, pp. 117-203.
- Conrad under Familial Eyes*. Ed. Zdzisław Najder. Texts translated by Halina Carroll-Najder. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Dąbrowska, Maria. "Conradowskie pojęcie wierności". In: Maria Dąbrowska. *Szkice o Conradzie*. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1974.
- "From Stalinism to the Polish October", <http://countrystudies.us/poland/17.htm>.
- Gołubiew, Antoni. "Poprawiam Kotta". *Dziś i Jutro* 1945, № 3.
- Gomulicki, Wiktor. "A Pole or an Englishman?". *Życie i Sztuka* 1905, № 1. In: *CuFE*, pp. 193-196.
- Kocówna, Barbara. *Polskość Conrada*. Kraków: LSW, 1967.
- Komornicka, M. "Lord Jim". *Chimera* 1905. In: *CuFE*, p. 192.
- Kott, Jan. "O laickim tragizmie". *Twórczość* 1945, № 2.
- Miłosz, Czesław. "Joseph Conrad in Polish Eyes". In: *The Art of Joseph Conrad. A Critical Symposium*. Ed. Robert W. Stallman. Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1960.
- Młynarska [Tarnawska], Maria. "Lord Jim w powstaniu warszawskim". In: *Conrad żywy*. Ed. Wit Tarnawski. London: Świderski, 1957.
- Najder, Zdzisław. "Conrad w Polsce w latach 1939-1957". In: *Conrad żywy*. Ed. Wit Tarnawski. London: Świderski, 1957.
- Najder, Zdzisław. "Przesłanie Josepha Conrada", <http://culture.pl/pl/artukul/zdzislaw-najder-przeslanie-josepha-conrada>.
- Najder, Zdzisław. *Joseph Conrad. A Life*. Transl. Halina Najder. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2007.
- Nalepiński, Tadeusz. "Wspomnienia Conrada". *Kurier Warszawski* 1912, № 84.
- Orzeszkowa, Eliza. "The Emigration of Talent". *Kraj* 1899, № 16 (23rd April). In: *Conrad under Familial Eyes*. Ed. Zdzisław Najder. Texts translated by Halina Carroll-Najder. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Parandowski, Jan. "Wstęp". In: Jan Parandowski. *Godzina śródziemnomorska*. Warszawa: Gebethner & Wolf, 1949.
- Sawicka, Zofia. "Jan Kott – The Road to Shakespeare", <http://culture.pl/en/article/jan-kott-the-road-to-shakespeare>.
- Skolik, Joanna. "Conrad and Censorship in Poland". *Studia Neophilologica* 2013, № 85.
- Stabryła, Stanisław. *Hellada i Roma w Polsce Ludowej: recepcja antyku w literaturze polskiej w latach 1945-1975*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1983.
- The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*. Ed. Frederick R. Karl, Laurence Davies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, Vol. 2.
- Ujejski, Józef. *O Konradzie Korzeniowskim*. Warszawa: Dom Książki Polskiej, 1936.
- Zabierowski, Stefan. "Conrad and Żeromski". *The Conrad News* 1986.
- Zabierowski, Stefan. "Conrad under Polish Eyes during World War II". In: *Joseph Conrad Conference in Poland 5-12 September 1972. Contributions*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979.
- Zabierowski, Stefan. "Conrad żywy z perspektywy pięćdziesięciu lat". In: Stefan Zabierowski. *W kręgu Conrada*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2008.
- Zabierowski, Stefan. "Conrad's Polish Career, 1896-1968". *Conradiana* 1974, Vol. 6, № 3.
- Zabierowski, Stefan. *Dziedzictwo Conrada w literaturze polskiej XX wieku*. Kraków: Oficyna Literacka, 1992.
- Żeromski, Stefan. "Joseph Conrad". In: *Pisma literackie i krytyczne*. Ed. S. Pigoń. Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1963, pp. 147-48.

-
- Zabierowski, Stefan. “Legenda Josepha Conrada w Polsce. ‘Tu spoczni, między nami, wędrowcze zawili’”. *Śląsk* 1998, № 3.
- Zabierowski, Stefan. “Między totalizmem a personalizmem”. In: Stefan Zabierowski. *Conrad w perspektywie odbioru. Szkice*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1979.
- Zabierowski, Stefan. “Polskie spory o Conrada w latach 1945-1949”. *Rocznik Komisji Historycznoliterackiej* 1974, № 12.
- Żeromski, Stefan. “Joseph Conrad – Autor – Rodak”. In: *Pisma literackie i krytyczne*, p. 160.
- Żmigrodzki, Zbigniew. “Literatura nieobecna”. *Bibliotekarz* 1994, № 10.