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The American Serialization of *Lord Jim*

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ABSTRACT

This essay presents the discovery of the American serialization of Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim* in New York's *Evening Telegram* in 1903. This 'lost' serialization, it argues, invites a new perspective on Conrad's early career by foregrounding the role of newspaper serialization and syndication in establishing his literary standing. After surveying the principal differences in the respective reading experiences of the periodical versus the book, it concludes by proposing that the prominence of women among Conrad's first audiences requires us to reassess the basis for his success in North America and elsewhere.

KEYWORDS

Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim*, serialization, syndication, *Evening Telegram* (New York), women readers

For much of the past century Joseph Conrad has been regarded as an austere proto-Modernist whose earliest and best works, written during a phase bookended by *Heart of Darkness* (1899) and *Under Western Eyes* (1911), were read by a largely masculine coterie of literary enthusiasts that included Wells, James, Gide, Ford, Galsworthy, Eliot, Pound, and Woolf. According to this narrative, when he finally achieved popular success with *Chance* (1912/1914), thanks to a heavily-advertised serialization in the *New York Herald*, it marked the beginning of a creative decline in which his name was to appear regularly on bestseller lists and cinema screens as the author of works such as *The Arrow of Gold* (1919), *The Rescue* (1920), and *The Rover* (1923) that would be read by subsequent generations only rarely if at all. Exponents of this view concede that Conrad's writing did appear in plenty of magazines prior to 1912, but note that with few exceptions these were either major works written specifically for prestigious publications such as the *New Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine* whose editors and readers he wanted to impress, or inconsequential potboilers disposed of by his agent, such as 'The Black Mate', a story Conrad drafted for a *Tit-Bits* competition in 1886 and then sold to *London Magazine* in 1908. In this account, Conrad's literary 'achievement and decline' — to use Thomas Moser's influential formulation — is implicitly correlated with his growing intimacy with mass-circulation periodicals and, above all, his recourse to what F. R. Leavis once damningly called 'the arts of the magazine writer'.¹

In the past decade or so, however, this narrative has undergone a process of gradual revision. The shift can be attributed to a number of factors. To begin with, Conrad's later works have seen a marked improvement in their critical estimation: *Chance* and *Victory* (1915), for instance, are now available from Oxford World's Classics in annotated editions intended for university courses as well as a general readership. As importantly, the rise of Book History and the resurgence of literary sociology have stimulated scholarly interest in the unusually complicated publication and reception histories of Conrad's writing. In particular, a handful of books have sought to widen the parameters within which his work is conventionally assessed. Susan Jones's *Conrad and Women* (1999) has revealed the importance of newspaper and magazine serialization for female readers of Conrad's bestselling later novels. National reception histories such as Anthony Fothergill's *Secret Sharers: Joseph Conrad's Cultural Reception in Germany* (2006) and Peter Lancelot Mallios's *Our Conrad: Constituting American Modernity* (2010) have mapped the ideological and demographic complexity of Conrad's appeal as well as foregrounding the role played by key individuals and publishing houses in mediating his work to readers and critics alike. In turn, my own *Joseph Conrad and Popular Culture* (2005) and Richard Hand's *The Theatre of Joseph Conrad* (2005) and *Joseph Conrad and the Performing Arts* (2009; co-edited with Katherine Isobel Baxter) have documented the author's engagement with a host of cultural forms ranging from popular drama to advertising. The avenues currently being opened up include Mary Burgoyne's examination of Conrad's deployment as propaganda during two world wars, notably through innovative publishing formats such as *The Times* Broadsheets series and the Armed Services Edition, and David M. Earle's account of Conrad's inclusion in American pulp paperback series of the 1940s and 1950s that were aimed at least in part at African-American audiences.² What such studies reveal is an author who was

1 Thomas C. Moser, *Joseph Conrad: Achievement and Decline* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957); F. R. Leavis, *The Great Tradition: George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), p. 207.

2 Mary Burgoyne, "Writing Man to Fighting Man": Conrad Republished for the Armed Services during the World Wars', *Conradian*, 38.1 (2013), 99–128; David M. Earle, 'Conrad Under Wraps: Reputation, Pulp Indeterminacy, and the 1950 Signet Edition of *Heart of Darkness*', *Studia Neophilologica*, 85.1 (2013), 41–57.

not only more embedded within contemporary cultural practices but also the object of infinitely more varied readerly appropriations than has hitherto been imagined.

Newspaper and magazine serialization necessarily occupy a crucial place in the project of situating Conrad's writing in its historical context. For, as has only recently become clear, his work was serialized — including reprintings, translations, and full syndications — to an astonishing extent: over two hundred separate serializations in more than a hundred periodicals during his lifetime alone.³ This emerging archipelago of texts has lent impetus to a scholarly reassessment of the significance of periodicals for Conrad's literary career and posthumous reputation. In 2009, the journal *Conradiana* devoted an annual volume of three issues to the topic, and this year more than twenty-five critical essays, dealing with every aspect of Conrad and periodical publishing, have been added to *Conrad First* (www.conradfirst.net), an open-access digital archive of almost all the newspapers and magazines in which his writings first saw the light of day. Of particular interest here are the North American syndicates — McClure's, Bachelier, Metropolitan, and the Sunday Illustrated Magazine network — which extensively distributed not only late Conrad works such as *Chance* but also early novels such as *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* (1897) and even *Romance* (1903), a collaboration with Ford Madox Ford that was long thought not to have been serialized.⁴ Far from being a writer's writer, as many of his Modernist contemporaries held, Conrad appears to have been the focus of popular interest for the greater part of his thirty-year career.

Considerations such as these confer a special interest on the subject of the present essay: the 'lost' American serialization of Conrad's *Lord Jim* (1900). The rediscovery of this novel in New York's *Evening Telegram*, where it was reprinted — illustrated and unabridged — in daily instalments in May–June 1903, answers some longstanding questions, among them whether *Lord Jim*, one of Conrad's best-known works, did indeed appear in an American newspaper during his lifetime, and whether the *New York Herald's* serialization of *Chance* in 1912 was really his first appearance in a newspaper in the nation's literary capital. It also raises new ones: Why was *Lord Jim* serialized in the United States almost three years after its appearance in *Blackwood's Magazine* and its publication as a book on both sides of the Atlantic? Why was the novel serialized in this particular newspaper, and why was it not syndicated more widely? Above all, what can this surprising addition to Conrad's bibliography tell us about the early reception of his fiction in the United States?

This essay offers tentative answers to some of these questions. In particular, it proposes that the *Evening Telegram's* serialization of *Lord Jim* in 1903 should be seen as a substantial addition to the growing body of evidence that Conrad encountered his first, greatest, and arguably most important audience in North America through publication in periodicals. What is more, the fact that these readerships demonstrably included a large proportion of women promises to overturn the prevailing view of Conrad's early writing as having an exclusively masculine appeal. Indeed, in their vigorous attempts to promote Conrad to their readers, the editors of mass-circulation newspapers such as the *Telegram* were no less important in establishing Conrad as an international phenomenon than the august guardians of late-Victorian literary reputation whose names have come down to academic posterity. What this obscure episode of publishing history makes

3 See Stephen Donovan, 'Serialization', in *The New Cambridge Companion to Conrad*, ed. by J. H. Stape (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 73–87. For an updated bibliography of serializations with browsable facsimile scans, see *Conrad First: The Joseph Conrad Periodical Archive* (www.conradfirst.net).

4 Bachelier syndicated *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* simultaneously in newspapers in at least nine American cities across the continent in August–September 1897; McClure, Phillips syndicated *Romance* in the *St Paul Globe* (27 March–3 July 1904) and the *St John Daily Sun* (10 March–1 June 1906).

visible, then, is a glimpse of the forces, editorial as well as readerly, which lay behind Conrad's confirmation in the second decade of the twentieth century as that rare hybrid — a popular literary Modernist. Reaching beyond the concerns of Conradian bibliography, it joins with a number of recent studies in confounding any easy opposition of 'high' Modernist writing to the 'low' forms of popular media.⁵

With the publication in 2012 of an authoritative critical edition of *Lord Jim*, edited by J. H. Stape and Ernest W. Sullivan II for the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Joseph Conrad, the novel's textual history has now been firmly established. As is well known, *Lord Jim* originated in a short story titled 'Tuan Jim: A Sketch', a sample of which Conrad submitted in June 1898 to *Blackwood's Magazine*, whose publication of 'Karain' (November 1897), 'Youth' (September 1898), and 'The Heart of Darkness' (February–April 1899) had already garnered him considerable critical acclaim. When serialization eventually got under way in October 1899, it followed a pattern of organic expansion that was to become a compositional habit with Conrad — and the bane of his publishers — with instalment following upon instalment, seemingly with no end in sight, until the novel, now more than three times longer than his initial estimate, at last concluded in November 1900. The first English edition of *Lord Jim*, incorporating many authorial and editorial revisions to the serial text, was published in Edinburgh by Blackwood's on 9 October 1900 with an initial run of 2,105 copies, together with a colonial printing of 788 copies under the imprint of Gage in Toronto, and was followed by a further domestic printing of 1,050 copies in mid-December 1900.⁶ The novel was reissued by Blackwood's in November 1904 and December 1905, with no further reissue until March 1914.

In the United States, *Lord Jim* was published by Doubleday & McClure in both hardback and paperback on 31 October 1900. This first American edition (henceforth A1) bore the traces of careless typesetting, including compositorial slips of anticipation and substitutions, as well as editorial 'improvements' and some Americanization of Conrad's spelling.⁷ An extract of *Lord Jim* titled 'Big Brierly', comprising part of Chapter VI in which Marlow relates the circumstances surrounding the suicide of Captain Brierly, the presiding magistrate at Jim's trial for deserting his post, was published in *The Living Age* on 4 May 1901 with the notice 'Copyright 1901. Doubleday, Page & Co.' Of any longer serial publication, no trace remains in the bibliographic record. As Stape and Sullivan note,

McClure's publishing house apparently attempted to secure serial publication in America separate from the novel's appearance in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, which was distributed in the United States. These plans, however, fell through. According to Conrad, the novel was serialized, by arrangement with McClure, in an American newspaper in 'about 1904'. This printing, which remains unlocated, presumably reproduced the text of the first American edition (A1) of October 1900.⁸

5 See, for example, Patrick Collier, *Modernism on Fleet Street* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

6 Joseph Conrad, *Lord Jim: A Tale*, ed. by J. H. Stape and Ernest W. Sullivan II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 349.

7 Conrad, *Lord Jim*, p. 351.

8 Conrad, *Lord Jim*, p. 347.

The first American serialization of *Lord Jim* was announced by the *Evening Telegram*, a one-cent daily published in New York City, in a small insert at the foot of its local news column on 1 May 1903: “The Evening Telegram will begin on Monday next the serial publication of “Lord Jim,” one of Joseph Conrad’s strongest sea stories — a stirring tale of adventure.”⁹ The back page of the same issue featured a special notice advertising ‘Joseph Conrad’s Latest Novel, A Stirring Story of Sea Adventure’ (Fig. 1), and a similar notice urging readers to ‘Read This Lively Story’ (Fig. 2) was to appear periodically throughout the course of the serialization. Formal introduction of the novel’s serialization came in the *Telegram*’s editorial column on 2 May:

THE EVENING TELEGRAM’S FIRST SERIAL.

Among those to whom the finer achievements of literature have a meaning the work of Joseph Conrad looms large. Acclaimed by critics both here and in England, acknowledged one of the modern masters of the art of fiction, he has failed of that larger acceptance that has been given to many a smaller man.

Believing, however, that he has but to be read to be appreciated, and that the readers of the *Evening Telegram* desire only the best, this paper will begin on Monday the serial publication of Conrad’s latest novel, one of his strongest sea stories — ‘Lord Jim.’

‘Lord Jim’ is a story of adventure, and much more besides. It deals with the career of a man animated by the highest purposes, by the most heroic impulses, who, somehow, at the critical moment was always found wanting. Not exactly a coward, though dangerously near it, Jim had the fatal gift of imagination. Placed in a position of danger, he saw all around the given situation, realized its dread possibilities; his faculties were numbed, as it were, by the fatal fascination of this prevision — and he failed to act. This ‘Fact,’ to quote Conrad’s words, ‘followed him casually but inevitably,’ and he became in a sense an outcast among his fellows. How the ‘Fact,’ came to be made known even to Jim himself, and how he endeavored to regain his standing in the eyes of men, make the story.

Conrad knows the sea in all its moods and under varying suns. He has sailed on ocean tramps, and his knowledge is intimate, instinctive, at first hand. He also knows that uncharted sea of the human emotions — the deeps and shallows of the human soul.

So ‘Lord Jim’ is vastly different from other stories of the sea and of adventure. It is finer, more subtle, more knowingly observed, more poetically expressed. And Conrad has style — style as Stevenson understood it, as Henry James once did. In fact, in its kind, nothing else in English literature can quite compare with this work of Conrad’s. He is one of the few living writers of fiction in our common tongue of whom the future is likely to take account.¹⁰

The rhetorical strategies at work in this passage do more than just offer retail salesmanship and platitudes about ‘the human soul’. They situate Conrad, his novel, and the *Evening Telegram* itself in a revealing relationship to literary value. The editorial flatters the discernment of its readership (‘those to whom the finer achievements have a meaning’) even as it echoes the valuations of those literary gatekeepers (‘critics both here and in England’), whose acknowledgement and acclaim are taken to be reliable markers of distinction. In effect, Conrad’s anomalous status as unread celebrity author is redefined as a practical and solvable problem of accessibility. In so doing, the *Evening Telegram*

9 *Evening Telegram* (New York; 1 May 1903), p. 8.

10 *Evening Telegram* (2 May 1903), p. 6.

SPECIAL NOTICE. | SPECIAL NOTICE.

THE EVENING TELEGRAM

WILL BEGIN ON
MONDAY, MAY 4TH,
THE SERIAL PUBLICATION OF
“Lord Jim.”

THIS IS JOSEPH CONRAD'S LATEST NOVEL,
A STIRRING STORY OF SEA ADVENTURE.

It deals with the career of a man animated by the highest purposes, by the most heroic impulses, who, somehow, at the critical moment was always found wanting. How he endeavored to regain his standing in the eyes of men helps to make the story.

Conrad knows the sea in all its moods, and under varying suns. He has sailed it on ocean tramps, and his knowledge is intimate, instinctive, at first hand. He also knows that uncharted sea of the human emotions—the deeps and shallows of the soul.

So “Lord Jim” is vastly different from other stories of the sea and of adventure. It is finer, more subtle, more knowingly observed, more poetically expressed. In fact, in its kind, nothing else in English literature can quite compare with this work of Conrad's.

READ THIS LIVELY STORY IN
THE EVENING TELEGRAM
DAILY, BEGINNING MONDAY.

Fig. 1 Advertisement, *Evening Telegram* (1 May 1903), p. 8

SPECIAL NOTICE. | SPECIAL NOTICE.

YOU SHOULD READ

“Lord Jim.”

JOSEPH CONRAD'S LATEST NOVEL
A STIRRING STORY OF SEA ADVENTURE
NOW RUNNING SERIALLY IN THE EVENING TELEGRAM.

It deals with the career of a man animated by the highest purposes, by the most heroic impulses, who, somehow, at the critical moment was always found wanting. How he endeavored to regain his standing in the eyes of men helps to make the story.

Conrad knows the sea in all its moods and under varying suns. He has sailed it on ocean tramps, and his knowledge is intimate, instinctive, at first hand. He also knows that uncharted sea of the human emotions—the deeps and shallows of the soul.

So “Lord Jim” is vastly different from other stories of the sea and of adventure. It is finer, more subtle, more knowingly observed, more poetically expressed. In fact, in its kind, nothing else in English literature can quite compare with this work of Conrad's.

READ THIS LIVELY STORY IN
THE EVENING TELEGRAM

Fig. 2 Advertisement, *Evening Telegram* (1 May 1903), p. 16

casts itself as both upholder of Arnoldian excellence (those ‘finer achievements’), and champion of American democratic taste (‘readers of the *Evening Telegram* desire only the best’). This paradox is reiterated in the editorial’s implicit equating of literary stature (‘many a smaller man’) with audience size (‘larger acceptance’). Logically, we are given to understand, New York’s biggest evening newspaper ought also to be the publisher of the greatest literature. In this, as in its invoking of linguistic unity (‘our common tongue’) and comparing of Conrad with writers who enjoyed critical acclaim and broader popularity (Stevenson and the early James), the *Evening Telegram* seeks to navigate the tensions of a growing high-low literary divide.¹¹ Central to this editorial vision is the notion of ‘style’, which is here used in analogous fashion to the designs being reviewed and advertised in the newspaper’s ‘Style’ section — that is to say, as a quality whose attribution confirms a reader’s own discernment. Indeed, in its closing appeal to a posterity which such efforts will help bring about, the *Evening Telegram* exemplifies both the cadences and the preoccupation with product uniqueness (‘nothing else in English literature can quite compare with this work of Conrad’s’) that are constitutive of modern advertising discourse.

Boosted by this minor editorial manifesto, *Lord Jim* appeared daily between 4 May and 20 June with the exception of Sundays, when the *Evening Telegram* did not come out. Each of its forty-one instalments was prefaced by a brief synopsis of the preceding action, and the series as a whole included six specially commissioned line-drawings by Henry Clay Coulthaus, an American cartoonist whose work later appeared in the *New York Herald* and the *New York Sun*.¹² Instalments typically filled two or three full columns on page nine, which they shared with large boxed advertisements for New York department stores such as Saks, Hearn’s, or Macy’s. The five instalments that appeared on a Saturday (23, 30 May; 6, 13, and 20 June) received greater prominence by virtue of their inclusion in the *Telegram*’s Illustrated Section, which used the latest half-tone printing technology to reproduce photographs of society events, sporting contests, theatrical and entertainment news, and topics of the day. It was, as its editorial header underscored, the paper’s first fiction serial.

As Stape and Sullivan correctly surmise, the text of *Lord Jim* in the *Evening Telegram* is based on that of A1. Nevertheless, the two texts are not completely identical, and a preliminary line-by-line comparison of the first few instalments reveals a number of discrepancies. While some of these can be put down to sloppy transcription (e.g. ‘by a ship chandler’ for ‘by a ship-chandler he has never seen before’ [A1], and “‘Oh, my leg!’” for “‘Oh, my leg! Oh, my leg!’” [A1]) or misprints (e.g. ‘streamed abroad’ for ‘streamed aboard’ [A1]), others are more puzzling.¹³ Did ideological factors prompt the emendation of ‘Bismarck’s victorious policy’ in A1 to merely ‘Bismarck’s policy’?¹⁴ Was the second engineer’s protestation, “‘I’ve never been the worse for liquor’” (A1), rendered as “‘I never been the worse for liquor’” in more faithful reproduction of London working-class dialect?¹⁵ One particularly curious emendation relates to the nationality of the captain of the ship upon which Jim is injured by a falling spar. Stape and Sullivan follow Conrad’s manuscript in choosing ‘Scotch’ in preference to the word ‘Scottish’ that

11 One index of this shift may be the term ‘highbrow’. Though of older provenance, it began to circulate rapidly in around 1902–03, according to Google Books’ Ngram Viewer (<https://books.google.com/ngrams>).

12 Allan Holtz, *American Newspaper Comics: An Encyclopedia Reference Guide* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), pp. 129, 219, 381, 487. Biographical information about Coulthaus is lacking.

13 *Evening Telegram* (4 May 1903), p. 9; *Evening Telegram* (4 May 1903), p. 9; *Evening Telegram* (5 May 1903), p. 7. Conrad, *Lord Jim*, 9.23, 13.10, 17.9.

14 *Evening Telegram* (5 May 1903), p. 7. Conrad, *Lord Jim*, 17.3.

15 *Evening Telegram* (6 May 1903), p. 5. Conrad, *Lord Jim*, 24.39.

appears in the first English serial and all the book versions. Yet, strangely, the ‘Scottish’ of A1 appears as ‘Scotch’ in the text of *Lord Jim* published in the *Evening Telegram*.

More significant than these textual matters is how the experience of reading *Lord Jim* would have differed between the serial and book versions. In the first place, the *Evening Telegram*’s busy page layout and dense typography, comprising six broadsheet columns of small type interspersed with drawings, photographs, and advertisements, present an immediate visual contrast to the other modes of publication. Conrad himself was particularly sensitive to the way in which such physical attributes reinforced or undermined the consecrating power of print, as when he sought to dissuade the literary collector John Quinn from reading *Victory* in *Munsey’s Magazine*: ‘I don’t want you to see it in double columns and crowded type. [...] A book is written for the eye’.¹⁶ Although the British serialization of *Lord Jim* had also been set in two columns, its layout in *Blackwood’s* was far closer to that of the printed book. Spacious, conservative, and uncluttered by advertising or imagery, it offered a text that was physically discrete from — and, implicitly, superior to — crassly material preoccupations. The *Telegram*’s readers, by contrast, had to leaf past a boldly headlined array of local, national, and international news items in order to find each day’s instalment, tucked away on a page containing curious snippets (‘Marriage of Dead Woman Made Legal’), quack remedies (‘Goat Lymph’), pseudo-medical injunctions (‘Take Exercise’), and plentiful advertisements for household commodities.¹⁷

To this can be added the very different temporal rhythms and mental habits of newspaper reading. As a feuilleton in the *Evening Telegram*, *Lord Jim* reached an audience whose immersion in Conrad’s fictional universe was at best temporary and who would almost certainly have been distracted by the physical stimuli of work, travel, and social intercourse as well as by the competing demands of the newspaper’s other elements. Whether on a bus, in a reading-room, round the family hearth, or in the workplace, newspaper reading was a considerably more shared experience than most reading is today, above and beyond the collective and interactive nature of mass-circulation newspaper publishing. And where the fourteen instalments in *Blackwood’s Magazine* arguably concentrated readers’ experience by agglomerating the twenty-five chapters of *Lord Jim* into longer units, the *Telegram*’s forty-one instalments subjected the novel to new and confusing partitions undreamt of by its author. The likelihood of missing an instalment or of simply failing to grasp Conrad’s intricate narrative structure made daily synopses doubly necessary, despite the greater periodicity and shorter temporal span of newspaper serialization. (In several instances, the synopses resolve an ambiguity in Conrad’s original, e.g. ‘The steamer runs on an uncharted reef, has a hole knocked in her bottom, but does not sink’ [18 May, p. 9], while the novel’s narrator is also described as ‘Marlow, a friend of the author’.) Above all, serialization in the *Evening Telegram* placed *Lord Jim* in a dialectic with the surrounding advertisements and news items that has implications for the way in which the novel would have been read.

Advertisements were, of course, the magic ingredient in the economic alchemy that enabled an illustrated daily to retail far below its production cost, and, as might be expected from a daily newspaper, repeat-purchase items such as patent medicines,

16 *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad: Volume 5*, ed. by Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 403.

17 *Evening Telegram* (11 May 1903), p. 10; *Evening Telegram* (6 May 1903), p. 5; *Evening Telegram* (6 May 1903), p. 5.

clothes, and foodstuffs made up a sizeable proportion of their number in the *Evening Telegram* in 1903. The advertisers of Platt's Chlorides, Vanilla Crystals, Cremo Cigars, Sweet Clover Brand Condensed Milk, and Dr. Stanley's Dry Air Cure valued their proximity to the feuilleton column not because Conrad's narrative endorsed their products but because it formed part of an invisible contract by which readers, for the most part unknowingly, sold their attention in exchange for 'free' instalments of novels. If those novels, by creating what Ellen Gruber Garvey calls 'fictional worlds as much as possible continuous with the concerns of the ads', additionally put readers in the mood to spend, then so much the better.¹⁸

Gruber Garvey's precept is exemplified by a handful of the advertisements that accompanied *Lord Jim* in the *Evening Telegram*, most obviously those for literary articles such as *Reader Magazine* (which would serialize Conrad's *The Mirror of the Sea* in 1905) or Meredith Nicholson's romance *The Main Chance* (1903) (tagline: 'Typical flesh and blood people . . . A love story of modern adventure').¹⁹ And yet the majority do not. The real significance of the interdependence of serial fiction and advertising, as Richard Ohmann has shown, lies rather in how the latter sought to interpellate consumers using the ideals of individualism, self-improvement, and rationality that define much genre fiction of this period.²⁰ *Lord Jim* offers a number of potential intersections with this perspective, among them Jim's desire to redeem his honour through work, and, perhaps above all, the novel's overarching celebration of Englishness, a term with strong connotations of class distinction and artisanal quality in turn-of-the-century America, particularly for the clothing and shoe retailers whose large boxed advertisements appeared alongside most instalments of the novel.

Nonetheless, it is in news stories — the term *story* being a recent addition to the journalistic lexicon at this time — that we see most clearly the formative influence of the context in which *Lord Jim* was first serialized in the United States. As what its daily plot synopses called a 'tale of the sea', *Lord Jim* treated a place of evident interest to readers of the *Evening Telegram*. Like many of its competitors, the *Telegram* regularly published items of general maritime news, including naval statistics, squadron visits, battleship launches, and illustrations of famous vessels, in addition to a regular 'Marine News' column detailing passenger ship arrivals and mail packets, and *fait divers* with a nautical flavour.²¹ More specifically, the central themes of Conrad's novel — shipwreck and maritime responsibility — had a direct corollary in the *Telegram's* numerous announcements of disaster and drama at sea, of which the following selection all appeared between 4 May and 20 June 1903:

Rescued After Three Days on Sinking Brig: Sixty-Five Men Taken from the *Sans Souci* When Hope Had Almost Been Abandoned.

Rammed in Fog, Clyde Liner Takes Dozen to the Bottom: Off Delaware Cape, the Dominion Steamship *Hamilton* is in Early Morning Collision.

18 Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 14.

19 *Evening Telegram* (6 May 1903), p. 5; *Evening Telegram* (16 May 1903), p. 12.

20 Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London: Verso, 1996).

21 The following are taken from the first fortnight of the *Evening Telegram's* serialization of *Lord Jim*: 'Few Desertions From Our Navy' (4 May 1903), p. 2; 'Our European Warships Ordered To Visit Kiel' (8 May 1903), p. 3; 'Biggest Battleship in World Launched To-Day' (13 May 1903), p. 13; 'Mr. Vanderbilt, on Tour, Dodges Jerome's Writ (with illustration of *S.S. New England*)' (14 May 1903), p. 5; 'German Squadron Visits French Port' (14 May 1903), p. 7; 'Wife Kept Hubby from Sailing' (22 May 1903), p. 8; and 'Big Ship Held Up By Mrs Campbell: Actress Would Not Move When Men Wanted to Take In Gangplank of the Rejuvenated *Majestic*' (27 May 1903), p. 3.

Fifteen Drowned In Schooner Wreck.

23 Saved From Fishing Bark; Three Drowned.

The *Hamilton* Nearing Port: Old Dominion Liner Which Sank the *Saginaw* Expected to Arrive This Evening.

Training Ship Safe, But 17 Days Late: The *Alliance*, with 300 Landsmen on Board, Arrives at Hampton Roads from Jamaica.

Saved Starving Crew: Thirty-One Sailors Rescued from French Craft.

Second Mate Kills Mutinous Sailor: Officer of Coasting Schooner Claims That He Shot Deckhand in Self-Defence.

Sixty-Three Met Death in Wrecked *Arequipa*.

The *Deutschland* is Floated: Proceeds Uninjured to Sea: Great Liner Freed from Her Mud When Tide Helped Tug's Efforts: Wireless Message Brought First News: Had Made Merry Over Mishap.

Iron Bark, With Crew of Thirty, Given Up As Lost: On Voyage From Here to Pensacola, the *MacDuff* Forty-Nine Days Out: Four Weeks Overdue, With All Allowances.²²

It is a readership for whom events on faraway high seas — criminal actions, feats of endurance, and meteorological acts of God — command the minute attention of those onshore. Indeed, one headline even echoes the circumstances under which Jim, in his fateful dereliction of duty, abandons eight hundred sleeping pilgrims aboard the *Patna*:

Liner, With 2,900 Immigrants, In Peril In Mid-Ocean: The *Bulgaria*, of the Hamburg-American Line, Drifting Helplessly in Trough of Sea: Sighted on Wednesday Last By the *Minnetonka*: Flew Two Black Balls, Denoting Loss of Control, but Refused Aid — Agents Not Worried.²³

Beyond its status as a realm of dramatic incident and weighty responsibility, the sea also held widespread appeal as the setting for yachting competitions, to which the *Evening Telegram* — prompted, no doubt, by its readers' fondness for gambling as well as by local patriotism — accorded a prominent place among the leisure activities, elite and plebeian, which it aimed to cover in depth. During the serialization of *Lord Jim*, for instance, it reported almost daily on preparations for America's Cup Race, the results of which were announced on 21 May with a front-page banner headline and a map of the course.²⁴ American periodicals regularly serialized Conrad alongside features on amateur sailing, and the *Telegram's* positioning of the instalment of *Lord Jim* for 23

22 *Evening Telegram* (4 May 1903), p. 1; *Evening Telegram* (5 May 1903), p. 1; *Evening Telegram* (6 May 1903), p. 3; *Evening Telegram* (6 May 1903), p. 8; *Evening Telegram* (7 May 1903), p. 3; *Evening Telegram* (12 May 1903), p. 5; *Evening Telegram* (16 May 1903), p. 7; *Evening Telegram* (1 June 1903), p. 7; *Evening Telegram* (3 June 1903), p. 16; *Evening Telegram* (5 June 1903), p. 1; *Evening Telegram* (16 June 1903), p. 3.

23 *Evening Telegram* (25 May 1903), p. 4.

24 'Old Cup Defender Is Beaten In First Race With Reliance', *Evening Telegram* (21 May 1903), p. 1.

May beneath a half-page illustration of genteel spectators at a local regatta (see Fig. 3) suggests that its editors, too, saw his writing as a cultural bridge between the maritime worlds of the amateur and the professional. Revealingly, this particular instalment has Jim evoke the abyss of experience separating shipwrecked sailors from the rest of mankind as a *trial*, the very word used in the headline of the adjacent yachting report, ‘First Day’s Trial of the *Reliance*’:

Of course, as with belief, thought, love, hate, conviction, or even the visual aspect of material things, there are as many shipwrecks as there are men, and in this one there was something abject which made the isolation more complete — there was a villany [*sic*] of circumstances that cut these men off more completely from the rest of mankind, whose ideal conduct had never undergone the trial of a fiendish and appalling joke.²⁵

While the lexical echo is, of course, only coincidental, this juxtaposition of feature article and feuilleton offers graphic illustration of Conrad’s special status in a newspaper whose audience now increasingly encountered the sea as a leisure space — whether literally, through the popular sport of yachting (that is, as sailors and spectators), or figuratively, as a subject for light fiction (that is, as imaginative participants). In serializing *Lord Jim*, the *Evening Telegram*’s editors seem to have viewed themselves not merely as supplying entertaining filler material akin to the jokes, weather forecasts, cartoons, and *fait divers* which bulked out each day’s issue, but as instructing and educating their readers. The novel warranted the public’s attention because its narrative, though fictional, was the work of an author whose personal experience of the sea — ‘his knowledge is intimate, instinctive, at first hand’ — conferred a unique *moral* authority upon his writing. That readers were to keep this figure before them while reading *Lord Jim* is underscored by the editors’ inclusion of a photograph of ‘Mr. Joseph Conrad’ in the instalment for 26 May. The serial’s title illustration, a sketch of the *Patna*’s crew in their lifeboat (Fig. 4), recalls Stephen Crane’s classic memoir ‘The Open Boat’ (*Scribner’s Magazine*, June 1897); and a flattering review of *Sinful Peck* (1903) by Morgan Robertson, another prominent American maritime writer, together with his photograph, appeared in a feature titled ‘The Latest Books and Their Makers’ in the *Telegram* on 20 June. Yet Conrad, the editors insisted, bore no comparison to these worthy contemporaries, and his *Lord Jim* was, in turn, ‘vastly different from other stories of the sea and of adventure’.²⁶

At this point we need to consider in more detail the recent history and audience composition of the venue in which Conrad’s *Lord Jim* was first serialized in the United States. Launched in 1867 as a two-cent daily, the *Evening Telegram* had quickly established itself as New York’s largest-circulation evening newspaper. It owed this pre-eminence to James Gordon Bennett, Jr. (1841–1918), flamboyant owner of the *New York Herald*, who acquired the *Telegram* in order to dent the circulation figures of the *New York Sun* (1833–1950), at that time edited and part-owned by his great rival Charles Dana (1819–97). Until its sale to Frank Munsey in 1920 the *Telegram* was to derive all its news and much of its other content from the *Herald*, making it extremely cheap to produce and thus highly profitable. By 1903, this de facto evening edition of the *Herald* was printing boxed notices that boasted of a verified daily circulation of

25 *Evening Telegram* (23 May 1903), Illustrated Section, p. 8.

26 *Evening Telegram* (2 May 1903), p. 6.

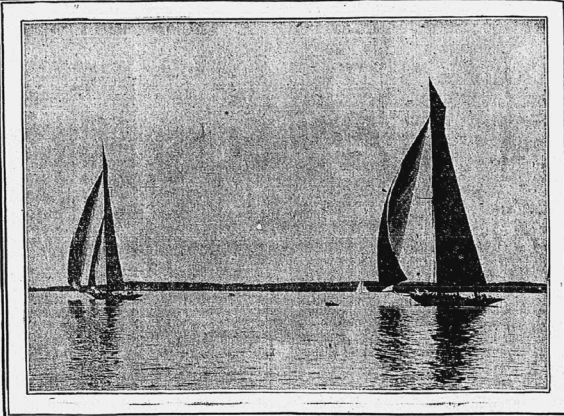
8 THE EVENING TELEGRAM—NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1903. ILLUSTRATED SECTION.

FIRST DAY'S TRIAL OF THE RELIANCE

HOMERUECK'S WARD IN DEMAND.

LET INTEREST

NOT COFFEE BEFORE THE RACE.



THE RELIANCE. START OF FIRST RACE, GLEN COVE, MAY 21ST.

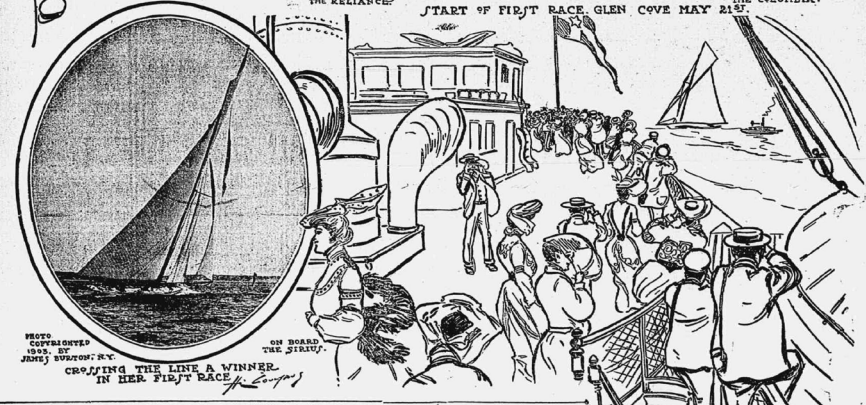


PHOTO COURTESY OF JAMES BROWN, N.Y.

CROSSING THE LINE A WINNER IN HER FIRST RACE.

ON BOARD THE RELIANCE.

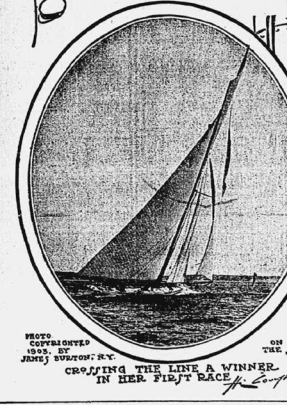



PHOTO COURTESY OF JAMES BROWN, N.Y.

PHOTO COURTESY OF JAMES BROWN, N.Y.



THE ONLY "FRIEND" OF THE BOAT.

A FUTURE DEFENDER OF THE BOAT.

THE ONLY "FRIEND" OF THE BOAT.

A FUTURE DEFENDER OF THE BOAT.

THE ONLY "FRIEND" OF THE BOAT.

A FUTURE DEFENDER OF THE BOAT.

Fig. 3 Evening Telegram (23 May 1903), p. 8

around 170,000 and rising. As importantly, the *Telegram* claimed to have the highest advertising turnover of any New York evening paper.²⁷

By the turn of the century, the *Evening Telegram* had grown from four to between twelve and sixteen pages, its cover price had dropped to one cent, and its initial focus

27 Despite such success, it has met the same fate as many American newspapers, being microfilmed and then discarded in a process of historical destruction that Nicholson Baker has eloquently described in *Double Fold: Libraries and the Assault on Paper* (New York: Random House, 2001). For instance, it is no longer possible to ascertain whether the *Telegram* was still being printed on pink paper in 1903. The present essay relies upon digital scans of microfilm copies available from Tom Tryniski's vast online archive of New York newspapers (www.fultonhistory.com).



Fig. 4 Henry Clay Coulthaus, title illustration for *Lord Jim*, *Evening Telegram* (26 May 1903), p. 9

on Wall Street news, cable dispatches, crime stories, and features, had given way to a greater emphasis upon sporting news, with racing form and turf reports regularly taking up as many as two full pages.²⁸ Indeed, the *Telegram* could fairly be described as a sports newspaper, the American equivalent of London's *Daily Star*. (Its British counterpart, having similarly taken the lead in the capital's evening press in the late 1880s on the strength of its racing coverage, was to serialize Conrad's *Victory* in 1915.) Extra editions of the *Telegram* were rushed out mid-afternoon on race days, and its front page usually led with sporting news. The *Telegram*'s 'extra special' for Saturday 9 May 1903 featured only sporting news on its cover, and even its Saturday Illustrated Section included full-page illustrated stories relating to sport (e.g. 'The Golf Girl in Her Glory'). The paper was typically rounded out with a further two or three pages of small advertisements and personals.

The *Evening Telegram*'s choice of Conrad is significant on a number of counts, above all because of its timing. The *Telegram* carried boxed advertisements for 'Youth' that clearly sought to capitalize on the serialization of *Lord Jim* (see Fig. 5), but the latter had already been available as a book for three years and Conrad was not currently promoting any new works in the United States. Moreover, although some of Conrad's shorter contributions to *Blackwood's* had been reprinted in the United States,²⁹ no Conrad novel had appeared in an American periodical since the nationwide syndication of *The Nigger of the 'Narcissus'* in late 1897. What exactly was the appeal of *Lord Jim* for a daily newspaper in 1903? The readiest explanation is that the serialization resulted from the exertions of McClure, who had an interest in trying to boost flagging sales of the novel and keep its author before the American public. Given that previous efforts had resulted only in the publication of a short extract in Boston's *Living Age* in 1901, the securing of a full-length serialization in a leading New York daily would have represented a minor coup for Conrad's energetic American publisher.

The interests of Conrad and his American agents in wanting to serialize a six-year-old novel are more immediately apparent than those of the *Evening Telegram*. One clue, however, may be the newspaper's emphasis upon the fact that *Lord Jim* was the first work of fiction to be serialized in its pages. Newspaper editors at the turn of the century regarded feuilletons as an effective means of stabilizing circulation. Alfred Harmsworth, the British press magnate who later became Conrad's patron, insisted that all staff on his *Daily Mail*, regardless of specialization, read each daily serial instalment in order to better understand their audience, particularly women. Readers, he was fond of saying,

28 Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950* (New York: Macmillan, 1950), p. 400.

29 These include: 'Youth' in the *Outlook* (New York; 1 October 1898); 'Karain' and 'Heart of Darkness' in *Living Age* (Boston; 18–25 December 1897 and 16 June–4 August 1900, respectively); and *Typhoon* in the *Critic* (New York; February–May 1902).

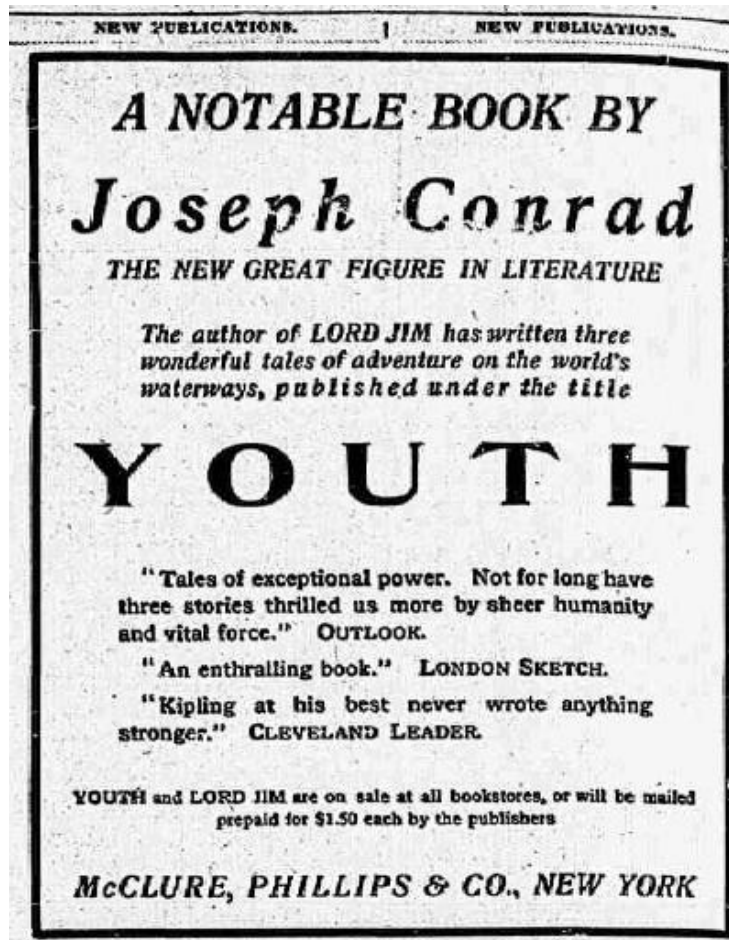


Fig. 5 Advertisement, *Evening Telegram* (9 May 1903), p. 12

come for the news but stay for the serial story.³⁰ Such considerations likely account for the *Telegram*'s belated decision to follow suit in serializing fiction. As a genre, however, the newspaper feuilleton had to meet slightly contradictory requirements: popular enough to interest a wide demographic while also enhancing a journal's prestige and, in particular, conforming to the widespread view of culture as a force of moral and intellectual improvement. The solution commonly adopted was to procure a work by an author of undisputed merit who could serve as a marquee name for advertising the periodical's commitment to serial fiction more broadly. Conrad was an ideal candidate: a writer on 'popular' themes whose unique style and narrative sophistication set him apart from his competitors, and whose literary credentials had been solidly established at the start of his career. Indeed, the massive serialization of his writing, including appearances in the debut number of periodicals as varied as *Ridgway's: A Militant Weekly for God and Country* (*The Secret Agent*, 6 October–15 December 1906) and *Fledgling: The Monthly Journal of the No.2 Flying Corps Cadet Wing* ('Never Any More: A First and Last Flying Experience', June 1917), must be understood in this context. Not least,

30 'His idea was that a good action serial, with exciting daily "curtains," [...] was something that made the wife or the daughter of the family say to the father, "Don't forget I want the *Daily Mail* to-day to see what's happened in the serial."' Tom Clarke, *My Northcliffe Diary* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1931), p. 136.

he offered excellent value insofar as his per-word rate typically lay well below that of more commercially successful contemporaries.

The likelihood that the *Telegram's* editors saw *Lord Jim* as a way to confer cultural capital on their new feuilleton feature is also attested by the very different nature of the serial that followed, *The Filigree Ball* (1903) by bestselling crime-writer Anna Katharine Green (1846–1935). Had the *Telegram* been serializing a novel not merely unpublished but still being drafted, as several of Conrad's other periodical publishers unwisely contracted to do, it might be argued that disappointment at the poor reception of *Lord Jim* lay behind their choice of a conventional genre novel as follow-up feuilleton. On the contrary, however, and as their allusion to Conrad's failure to find 'that larger acceptance that has been given to many a smaller man' indicates, the editors must have been aware that *Lord Jim*, like other Conrad works which enjoyed a high critical standing, could be a hard sell to the general public. The abrupt change in gear from *Lord Jim's* existential angst to the thrills of Green's murder-mystery thus supports the notion that the *Telegram's* editors, like so many other American periodical publishers of Conrad's work, regarded the value of his appearance in their pages as strategic rather than straightforwardly generative of revenue.

Who read *Lord Jim* in the *Evening Telegram*? News relating to racing, baseball, and rowing — the principal sports covered by the *Telegram* — would have appealed almost exclusively to men in 1903. (In his bravura account of the transformation of fin-de-siècle American periodicals, Richard Ohmann imagines a solidly middle-class paterfamilias reading in *Munsey's Magazine* about the pastime of yachting with a mixture of envy and class resentment.³¹) Yet there is considerable evidence that the newspaper's other contents, notably its serial fiction, were written for and read by women. Most immediately, its advertisements were directed overwhelmingly towards a female readership. The vast majority of instalments of *Lord Jim* were printed alongside boxed advertisements for women's and children's clothing; 'Crisp as New Money' trilled an announcement for Macy's May Undermuslin Sale which accompanied the instalment of the novel that appeared on 19 May.

While it is true that most purchases, as today, were made by women, the fact that so few of the *Telegram's* advertisements were targeted at men (e.g. those for horse auctions, cigars, boats), coupled with the occasional inclusion of a 'Women's Section' (e.g. 27 May 1903, p. 10) and spinoffs such as Emma Paddock Telford's *The New York Evening Telegram Cook Book* (1908), leaves no doubt as to the importance of women readers for this title. This conclusion is further reinforced by the way in which many of the *Telegram's* full-page feature articles focus on women in public, professional, and labouring roles: the first woman lawyer; women as market gardeners and clam-pickers; women drivers; women as shop employees; and so on.³² Even reports on subjects with an obvious masculine bias were often given a feminine angle, such as the feature on local army manoeuvres in which an illustration of the regimental standard-bearer is obscured by the profile of a society woman.³³ In this light, and bearing in mind the wider perception of serial fiction as appealing primarily to female audiences, it may reasonably be inferred that *Lord Jim's* readership in the *Telegram* included large numbers of women.

Although how the serial version of *Lord Jim* was read must remain a matter of speculation, it may be noted that the themes of Conrad's novel overlap considerably

31 Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, pp. 4–5.

32 'Feminine Automobile Fancies For Summer' (*Evening Telegram* [30 May 1903], Illustrated Section, p. 7); 'When the Shop Girls Go Home' [large illustration] and 'Shopgirl's Short Life Oft a Tragedy of Pride' (*Evening Telegram* [30 May 1903], Illustrated Section, p. 3); 'Summer Modes for Morning and Afternoon' (*Evening Telegram* [13 June 1903], Illustrated Section, p. 2).

33 'With the 22nd Regiment at Peekskill', *Evening Telegram* (20 June 1903), Illustrated Section, p. 8.

with the preoccupations of *Telegram* readers. To judge from the period May–June 1903, theirs was a journalistic world of sharp, violent interruption and reversal, punctuated by numerous reports of suicide (especially by young people), crimes (ranging from burglary to regicide), and miraculous escapes ('Boy Fell Sixty Feet Practically Unhurt' [22 May, p. 8]; 'Dog Saves Girl From Drowning' [17 June, p. 4]), as well as natural disasters such as typhoons, floods, and waterspouts. Of particular relevance here is the way in which the *Telegram's* coverage of local events draws on a vocabulary of moral censure and individual bravery similar to that of Conrad's novel. The newspaper routinely portrays coastguards, explorers, and especially firefighters as 'heroes',³⁴ and two reports of dramatic rescues from drowning even offer a direct corollary to *Lord Jim's* opening chapter in which a youthful Jim enviously watches another boy distinguish himself by rescuing the victim of a boating collision.³⁵ At the other extreme, the *Telegram* did not stint in its castigation of moral and financial derelictions of duty, and its number for 13 June includes a special feature replete with a three-quarters-page illustration: 'The Sentence of the Court: Sentence Day, with Its Rogues' Parade, Gives Insight Into "Other Half's" Lives'.³⁶

Insight was something of a literal quality for the *Evening Telegram*, which placed a premium on presenting topical news by means of half-tone photographs and specially commissioned illustrations. In its early years the *Telegram* had distinguished itself as the first American daily regularly to use editorial cartoons, which frequently dominated the cover of its Friday issue, and it was to hire pioneering cartoonist and animator Winsor McCay (1867?–1934) as its staff illustrator in 1904.³⁷ In 1903, however, that post was still held by Henry Clay Coulthaus, whose work accompanied all the feature articles mentioned above as well as numerous other news stories and humorous inserts.

Coulthaus provided six line-drawings for the serialization of *Lord Jim* (see Fig. 6). It cannot have been an easy commission, but he showed some ingenuity in illustrating a novel whose central drama takes place within the conscience of one of its protagonists. Each of his images seeks to establish a visual dynamic between a stationary figure and another in movement, with the obscuring or oblique presentation of Jim's face apparently intended to evoke the unreadability of his tormented character. These simple effects are enhanced by an almost Expressionist use of shadow as both backdrop and facial illumination — a reflection, perhaps, of Conrad's own peculiar insistence upon the play of light and dark: 'The massive shadows, cast all one way from the straight flame of the candle, seemed possessed of gloomy consciousness; the immobility of the furniture had to my furtive eye an air of attention'.³⁸ Forming a sharp contrast to the other illustrations and photographs in the *Telegram*, whose subjects are for the most part

34 'Brave Work of Volunteers from the St. Andrew's', *Evening Telegram* (4 May 1903), p. 1; 'McNally, Fire Hero, Smiled at Death', *Evening Telegram* (5 May 1903), p. 7; 'Hailed as Heroes, Fireman Tramp Up Fifth Avenue', *Evening Telegram* (6 June 1903), p. 12; 'Brave Explorer Held by Brigands; Troops to Rescue', *Evening Telegram* (17 June 1903), p. 3; 'Heroic Firemen Hurt in Fighting Stubborn Blaze at Rochester', *Evening Telegram* (20 June 1903), p. 12.

35 'Police Swimmer Saves Two Lives: Shields Tows Man Who Fell Into River and Would-Be Rescuer to Safety', *Evening Telegram* (8 May 1903), p. 5; 'Young Hero Saves Boy From Cistern', *Evening Telegram* (17 June 1903), p. 4.

36 *Evening Telegram* (13 June 1903), Illustrated Section, p. 2.

37 Mott, *American Newspapers*, p. 400.

38 Conrad, *Lord Jim*, 131. Coulthaus's approach mirrored that of many other illustrators of Conrad. See, for example, Maurice Greiffenhagen's illustrations for *Typhoon* in the *Pall Mall Magazine* (January–March 1902), Thornton Oakley's illustration of 'An Anarchist' in *Harper's Monthly* (August 1906), and Ernest L. Blumenschein's illustrations for 'The Brute' in *McClure's Magazine* (November 1907), all now available at *Conrad First* (www.conradfirst.net). On Conrad's shadows, see Stephen Donovan, 'Gorgeous Eloquence: Conrad and Shadowgraphy', in *Joseph Conrad and the Performing Arts*, ed. by Katherine Baxter and Richard Hand (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 97–110.

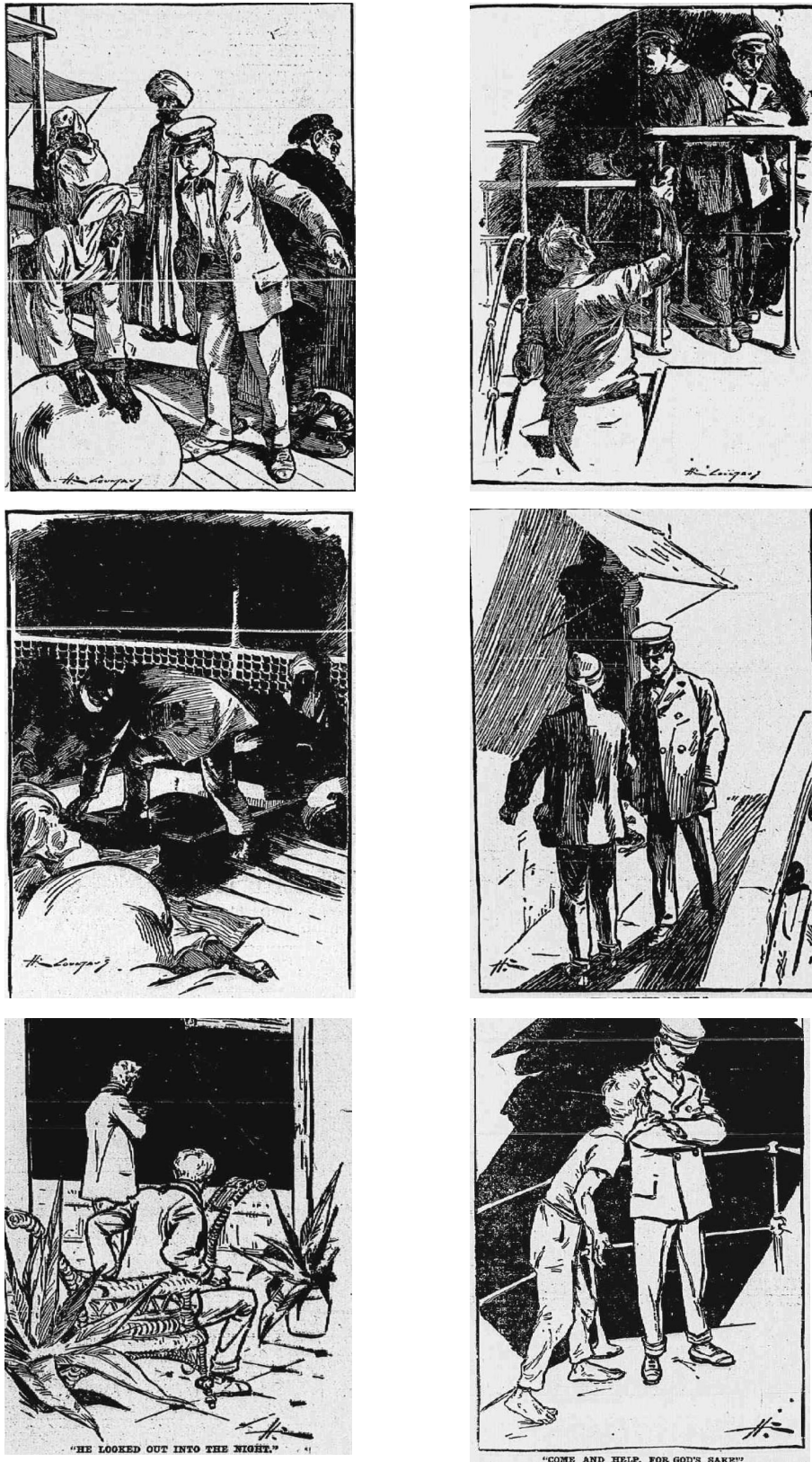


Fig. 6 Henry Clay Coulthaus, illustrations for *Lord Jim*, *Evening Telegram* (4 May 1903), p. 9; *Evening Telegram* (5 May 1903), p. 7; *Evening Telegram* (7 May 1903), p. 9; *Evening Telegram* (13 May 1903), p. 9; *Evening Telegram* (15 May 1903), p. 9; *Evening Telegram* (19 May 1903), p. 7

well lit and facing the viewer, Coulthaus's vignettes effectively visualized the atmosphere of shame, secrecy, and ambiguity that pervades Conrad's novel.

The recovery of the lost American serialization of *Lord Jim* marks an intriguing addition to the bibliography of Conrad's periodical publications. Among other things, it corroborates the thesis that American newspapers sought to make their readers familiar with Conrad's work far earlier than has hitherto been assumed. The way in which they pursued this goal is also noteworthy. Publishing Conrad in the face of his failure to achieve a popular success, the editors of the *Evening Telegram* effectively framed the serial version of *Lord Jim* as something between a topical item of literary news and a contribution to their readers' education. 'YOU SHOULD READ *Lord Jim*,' urged the *Evening Telegram's* large boxed advertisements (see Fig. 2) with a revealing use of the imperative mood. This rhetorical sleight of hand, as Peter Mallios has convincingly documented, was to become a hallmark of efforts by Conrad's advocates in the United States, notably H. L. Mencken, to refashion an expatriate Pole writing in English as a quintessentially American voice.³⁹

The recent discovery that the serial version of *Chance* in the *New York Herald*, the *Telegram's* parent newspaper, was published almost simultaneously in metropolitan presses as far afield as Colorado and Saskatchewan in early 1912, makes it very possible that the *Telegram's* serial of *Lord Jim* was also taken up elsewhere. Time will tell, but for now it may be noted that if even only ten percent of readers who purchased the *Telegram* happened to read its feuilleton in the early summer of 1903, their number would have been at least double that of the combined sales of the British and American book edition of the novel. For the first two decades of Conrad's career, as is becoming increasingly clear, the majority of readers — the vast majority, perhaps — encountered his work in the pages of a periodical.

The *Evening Telegram's* serialization of *Lord Jim* also necessarily changes our perspective on the *New York Herald's* later serialization of *Chance*. As Sid Reid has noted, the efforts of publishers and periodical editors to promote Conrad's writings in the United States were not decisively rewarded until 1910, with the appearance of *'Twiixt Land and Sea*, and, above all, 1912, with the massively publicized serialization of *Chance* in the *Herald*.⁴⁰ The precise circumstances of the 'lost' serialization of *Lord Jim* in 1903 complicate matters substantially since the widely recognized turning-point in Conrad's career brought about by the *Herald's* serialization of *Chance* now stands revealed as, in effect, an attempt to succeed where its evening edition had failed a decade previously in selling Conrad to New Yorkers.⁴¹ In this second attempt it was actively supported by the *Telegram*, which promoted the serialization of *Chance*, which it somewhat creatively described as having been 'written specially for the HERALD', in an editorial puff on 10 February 1912.⁴² Indeed, the *Telegram* would even reprint the *Herald's* serial of *Chance* in its own columns in daily instalments between January and June 1912.

Lastly, the fact that the *Evening Herald* in 1912 explicitly identified women as its target audience — a special full-page feature bore the title 'World's Most Famous Authors of Sea Stories Has Written "Chance," a Deliciously Characteristic Tale in

39 See Mallios, *Our Conrad*, especially pp. 52–63.

40 S. W. Reid, 'American Markets, Serials, and Conrad's Career,' *Conradian*, 28.1 (Spring 2003), pp. 57–99; available at www.conradfirst.net/conrad/scholarship/authors/reid.

41 Significantly, the *Herald* did so by marketing Conrad heavily to women. See Susan Jones, *Conrad and Women* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 134–60.

42 *Evening Telegram* (10 February 1912), p. 5.

Which, He Says, He Aimed to Interest Women Particularly' — further evidences what the present essay has hypothesized: the existence of an as yet unknown Conrad whose writings, despite their ostensibly hypermasculine appeal, were read in his lifetime by large numbers of women, particularly in periodicals (see Fig. 7, 8, 9).⁴³ Conrad was often slighting about female readers, and reviewers often gave their approval to the absence of 'petticoats' in his fiction, yet the eagerness of American serial publishers to push his work upon female audiences greatly complicates any simplistic model of readerly identification with the subjects of fictional narrative. Indeed, it may well be that Conrad's feminine appeal was an important element of that mysterious quality which so clearly set him apart in the minds of newspaper editors from more successful maritime authors such as Charles Dana, Morgan Robertson, and Frank Bullen. Those for whom such a claim sounds far-fetched would do well to reflect upon the injunction offered by a poem that appeared on the Women's Page of the *Evening Telegram*, the first serializer of *Lord Jim* in the United States, just a few months before Conrad's death:

Conrad gives us men and women to know, not palsied puppets.

If you have never read 'Lord Jim' there is a treasure for you to claim for your tomorrow.

If you have not looked into 'The Mirror of the Sea' you are to know the joy of being transported from the land of stern reality into the waters of rainbow romance.

Unless you know 'Typhoon' you have not been made to realize how boundaries of time and space have been forever obliterated.

Conrad is the classician, the literary portraitist, the lettered marine and landscape artist, the recording psychiatrist of his century.

MAKE HIM YOUR FRIEND.⁴⁴

43 *New York Herald* (14 January 1912), Sunday Magazine; reproduced in Jones, *Conrad and Women*, p. 146. Jones makes a compelling argument for the importance of female readers for Conrad's success.

44 Jane Dixon, 'A Treasure for Tomorrow', *Evening Telegram* (10 January 1924), Illustrated Section, p. 9.



Fig. 7 Joseph Conrad, *The Arrow of Gold* in *Lloyd's Magazine* (April 1919)



Fig. 8 Joseph Conrad, *The Rover* in *Pictorial Review* (October 1923)



Fig. 9 Joseph Conrad, *Suspense* in *Hutchinson's Magazine* (March 1925)

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