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World *Dracula* Day Special

26 May 2017

— 120 years *Dracula* —

Next stop: Chicago! Earliest U.S. serialisation
of *Dracula* known so far discovered.

Was it the source of *Mörkrets makter*?

by

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In his foreword to my book *Powers of Darkness: The Lost Version of Dracula* (2017), Dacre Stoker, Bram's great-grand-nephew, wrote about my discovery of *Makt myrkranna* (1901) as a radical adaptation of *Dracula*: "I believe Bram would have loved the irony of this situation. He knew the best place to hide something was in plain sight."¹

Three years after the unearthing of the Icelandic text in Spring 2014, these words seem to apply again. This time, we speak of a riddle that *Dracula* scholars have been chewing on for many years: the American serialisations of *Dracula*.

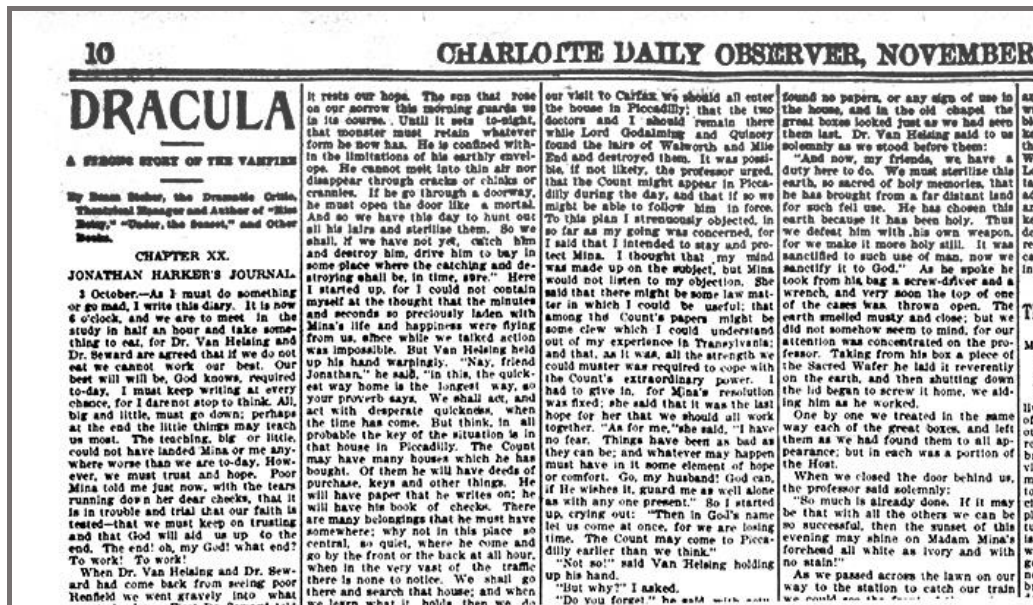
When *Dracula* appeared in the magazine *Argosy: The World's Best Short Stories* in 1926 the story was introduced by Bram Stoker's widow Florence: "It is now being serialized for the first time [...] I have willingly given my permission to the Editor to publish it in serial form."² We already know, however, that *Dracula* had been serialised much, much earlier. In his book *Hollywood Gothic: The Tangled Web of Dracula from Novel to Stage to Screen* (2004), Stoker biographer, David J. Skal, quoted from an advertisement placed in *The New York Times* of October 7, 1899, by Doubleday & McClure, Stoker's first U.S. publisher. It stated that *Dracula* had "much success in England, and as a serial in America." Skal commented that actually *The Forgotten Writings of Bram Stoker* (2012), Elizabeth Miller concluded that unearthing a serialisation of *Dracula* has been a "problem that has nagged *Dracula* scholars for decades."³

¹ Dacre Stoker, foreword to *Powers of Darkness: The Lost Version of Dracula*, by Bram Stoker and Valdimar Ásmundsson, trans. Hans Corneel de Roos (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2017), 5.

² The *Dracula* serialisation appeared in *The Argosy: The World's Best Stories*, Cassell & Co, London, monthly serial in nine episodes, with the first instalment appearing in June 1926 and the last in February 1927. For the complete text of Florence's foreword, see F. A. L. Stoker, "Florence Stoker's Foreword to the 1926 Serialization," in *Bram Stoker's Dracula – A Documentary Journey into Vampire Country and the Dracula Phenomenon*, ed. Elizabeth Miller (New York: Pegasus Books, 2009), 284.

³ Elizabeth Miller, "Bram Stoker, His Life and Works," foreword to *The Forgotten Writings of Bram Stoker*, ed. John Edgar Browning (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), xviii.

In the same book, David Skal's discovery of an early U.S. serialisation was presented: Stoker's novel had been published in weekly instalments in the *Charlotte Daily Observer* from July 16, 1899 till December 10, 1899 under the title "Dracula: A Strong Story of the Vampire." According to John Edgar Browning, *Dracula* had also been serialised under the title "The Vampire" in the morning and Sunday editions of *The Boston Advertiser* of May 1921.⁴ Additionally, the website of the Bram Stoker Estate revealed that *Dracula* had been printed in daily episodes in *The Washington Times* from September 13, 1917, till January 21, 1918.⁵



Serialisation of *Dracula* in the *Charlotte Daily Observer*, of Sunday, November 5, 1899, p. 10.

And according to Skal's latest Stoker biography, *Something in the Blood: The Untold Story of Bram Stoker, the Man Who Wrote Dracula* (2016), still earlier serialisations must have existed. Already on March 10, 1899, the publisher Samuel Sidney McClure (1857-1949) filed a copyright registration for Stoker. It did not concern the later book edition, but should cover a serialisation in 27 daily instalments (matching the 27 chapters of *Dracula*) to appear from March 10 till April 10, 1899, Sundays excluded. However, despite "an extensive search of newspaper microfilm and digital databases, conducted by the present author and others over a period of many years," Skal reported, this publication could not be located. As a result, *Something in the Blood* had to refer to the serialisation in the *Charlotte Daily Observer* once more, as the first hitherto known form of *Dracula* published in the U.S., followed by a serialisation in the *Buffalo Courier* in 1900.⁶

⁴ John Edgar Browning, "A Periodical Portrait of the "Author of *Dracula*,"" introduction to *The Forgotten Writings of Bram Stoker*, ed. John Edgar Browning (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 9.

⁵ "Dracula Serial," Bram Stoker: Official Website for the Bram Stoker Estate, updated June 21, 2012, accessed May 9, 2017, <http://www.bramstokerestate.com/Dracula-Serial-Bram-Stoker-Estate-Washington-Times.html>.

⁶ David J. Skal, *Something in the Blood: The Untold Story of Bram Stoker, the Man Who Wrote Dracula* (New York: Norton, 2016), 371–3.

Within two weeks after the release of my book, however, a message from Swedish author and publisher Rickard Berghorn forced me to update my ideas: Berghorn claimed that *Makt myrkranna* was actually based on an earlier Swedish adaptation *Mörkrets makter*, serialised in Swedish newspapers from June 1899 on. He also stated that *Mörkrets makter* would be longer than *Dracula* and, unlike *Makt myrkranna*, would uphold the mixture of diaries and letters throughout the novel.¹² Prompted to check the validity of this claim, I ordered a scanned copy of *Mörkrets makter* directly from the Royal Library in Stockholm, only to find out that the 264 pages I received on March 8, 2017, contained less than 110,000 words – significantly less than *Dracula*. Moreover, in my copy, the epistolary style was dropped after the first section describing Harker’s adventures in Transylvania. Instead, the later parts were written in a conventional narrative style and were subdivided in chapters – just like I knew it from *Makt myrkranna* already. This way, I discovered that *Mörkrets makter* had been published in *two different variants*: the extended version Berghorn had extracted from the *Dagen* serialisation and its later repetition in the weekly magazine *Tip-Top* during the years 1916-1918, versus a more compact version serialised in *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*. This semi-weekly magazine belonged to the same *Aftonbladet* group that also controlled *Dagen*. The Chief-Editor of *Dagen*, *Aftonbladet* and *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* was Harald Sohlman (1858-1927). Both in *Dagen* and in the *Halfvecko-upplaga*, the first 196 pages, describing Harker’s trip to Castle Dracula, were identical and even had been printed from the same forms. Only in the middle of page 196, the two variants started to diverge: the daily instalments continued with the letters between Vilma (Mina) and Lucy, while the semi-weekly episodes began with a description of Vilma’s holidays in Whitby.¹³

We may assume that Ásmundsson worked from the shorter variant I had discovered. He condensed the post-Transylvanian section even more, which resulted in a rather sketchy style of storytelling. Throughout the novel, he also left out some of the metaphors that distinguished *Mörkrets makter* from *Dracula*, and replaced them by his own references to Nordic myths and sagas.

de Roos (New York: Overlook Duckworth, 2017), 13–43. An updated introduction will be included in the planned second edition.

¹² See my first publication on the “Swedish connection,” “Sweden’s *Mörkrets makter*: The True Source of Valdimar Ásmundssons *Makt myrkranna*?” (2–7) and the interview I conducted with Rickard Berghorn, “*Mörkrets makter*: Exclusive Interview with Swedish Literary Scholar Rickard Berghorn” (8) in *Children of the Night Dracula Congress: Official Bulletin of the Braşov Congress Initiative*, March 2017, https://dracongress.jimdo.com/app/download/14270655496/ChildrenOfTheNightBulletin_Issue1.pdf?t=1488843997.

¹³ For an overview of these research steps, see my third interview with Adrien Party: Hans Corneel de Roos, “Corneel de Roos, Hans. Interview avec le (re-)découvreur de Powers of Darkness [addendum 2],” by Vladkergan [Adrien Party], *Vampirisme.com*, April 30, 2017, accessed April 30, 2017, <http://www.vampirisme.com/interview/corneel-de-roos-hans-interview-avec-le-re-decouvreur-de-powers-darkness-addendum-2/>.



Illustration of a sacrificial ritual in *Mörkrets Makter*, p. 146 of the 264-page version in *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga*.

While the origin of *Makt myrkranna* seems to be evident now, all questions I already worded with regard to the Icelandic text now must be transposed to the Swedish variants. Like before, we have several elements from Stoker's early notes for *Dracula* showing up in the story; various clues in the preface pointing to Stoker's personal participation; we have the puzzling names of some of the new characters. Instead of asking ourselves how *Dracula* found its way to Iceland, we now must ask how Stoker's novel ever came to Stockholm.

For a start, I managed to uncover the identity of the Swedish translator and editor who had acted under the pseudonym "A-e." In the night of March 25 to 26, using the tranquillity of the small hours, I detected a most suitable candidate: Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg (1834-1913). In 1864, he had started his journalistic career as the Editorial Secretary of *Dagens Nyheter*, the most important Swedish newspaper of the day. From 1867 on, he started to contribute articles and poems to the monthly magazine *Svenska Familj-Journalen*. In 1874, he became a regular staff member; in 1877, he became its Editor-in-Chief. He knew Harald Sohlman from their joint activities at *Publicistenklubben*, the Swedish national press association he had co-founded in 1874.¹⁴ We may even suspect that he knew Harald's father, August

¹⁴ This discovery was first published in my second interview with Adrien Party: Hans Corneel de Roos, "Corneel de Roos, Hans. Interview avec le (re-)découvreur de Powers of Darkness [addendum]," by Vladkergan (Adrian Party),

Sohlman, who had died in a boat accident in June 1874. The year before, Sohlman Sr. had contributed an art-historical article to *Svenska Familj-Journalen* about antique iron-clad doors. Intriguingly, in the Swedish *Castle Dracula*, all doors are antique and ironclad. When I searched through the 20 years of this magazine, I found many more such parallels, some of them so very specific that I do not doubt anymore that “A-e” in fact was Andersson-Edenberg. After all, he had used the pseudonyms “A.E.” and A.-E.” before for his translations of Norwegian stage plays and for several long articles in his monthly magazine.¹⁵



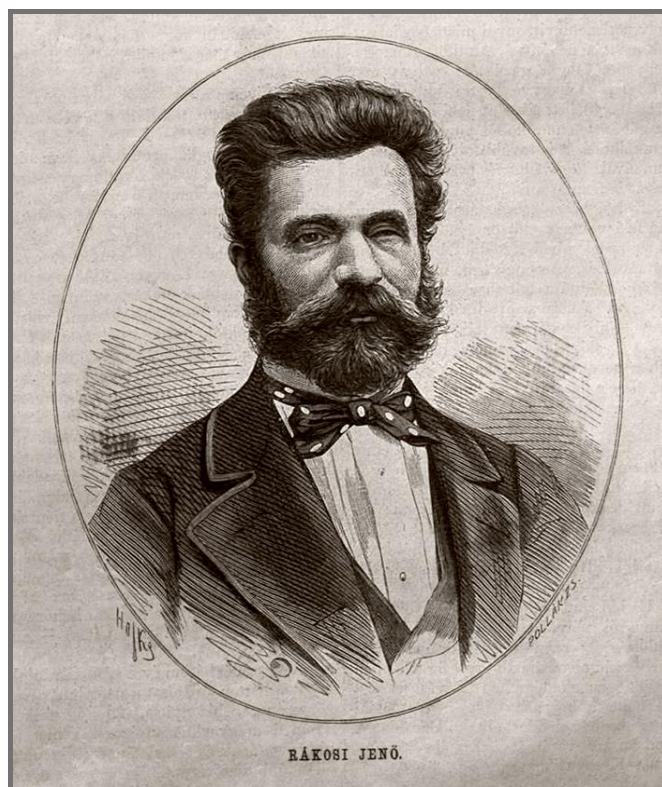
Anders Albert Andersson-Edenberg (1834-1913). Source: My Heritage.com.

Another important clue resulted from studying the Fourth International Press Congress that took place in Stockholm in June 1897. The Swedish newspaper reports and the French proceedings suggested that Sohlman and Rákosi, both being highly prominent participants, must have met in Stockholm and had continued their cooperation after the Congress. It therefore seems very well possible that Sohlman had copied the idea to translate and publish *Dracula* from Rákosi; already in December 1898, Sohlman

Vampirisme.com, March 27, 2017, accessed March 27, 2017, <https://www.vampirisme.com/interview/corneel-de-roos-hans-interview-avec-le-re-decouvreur-de-powers-darkness-addendum/>.

¹⁵ See my interview with Kathinka Stel: “Graaf Dracula als de nieuwe Cagliostro: De hoofdredactie in gesprek met Hans Corneel de Roos,” *Tis Fris*, April 1, 2017, <https://tisfris.jimdo.com/app/download/10943233197/Interview-HDeRoos-Cagliostro-1April2017-22-24.pdf?t=1491078896> and De Roos, “Corneel de Roos, Hans. Interview avec le (re-)découvreur de Powers of Darkness [addendum 2].”

announced that he would serialise Stoker's work.¹⁶ Another interesting lead is the role of Jane Thompson Stoddart (1863-1944), the only journalist who ever interviewed Stoker on *Dracula*. The list of participants of the 1895 Press Congress in Bordeaux shows that she and Rákosi both took part in that event. We cannot exclude the possibility that two years later, she tipped him off about the release of *Dracula*.¹⁷



Jenő Rákosi (1842-1929). Source: *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1875, p. 41.

According to *Dracula* scholar Professor Jenő Farkas, Rákosi had visited London in December 1897 and spotted *Dracula* on the Christmas Book Fair there:

Motivul traducerii a fost simplu: traducătorul cărții s-a aflat la Londra, la târgul de carte de Crăciun, și după cum se știe, romanul *Dracula* al lui Stoker a apărut în faimoasa colecție galbenă de romane erotice... Al doilea motiv fusese locul acțiunii, transferată în spațiul carpatin, cu multe referințe maghiare.¹⁸

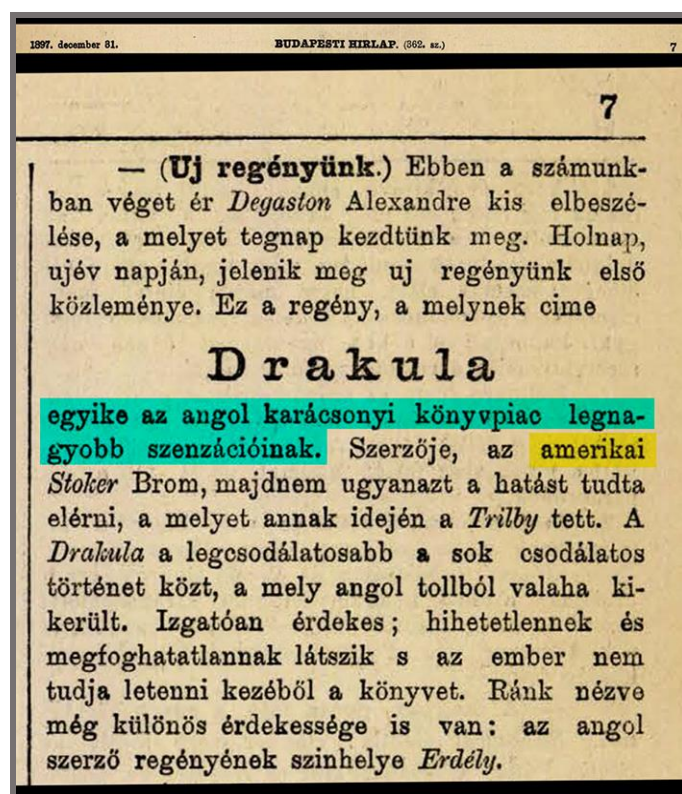
¹⁶ *Aftonbladet*, December 20, 24 and 28, 1898.

¹⁷ See De Roos, "Corneel de Roos, Hans. Interview avec le (re-)découvreur de Powers of Darkness [addendum 2]." In *Dracula*-related academic literature, Stoddart's name is consistently miss-spelled as "Stoddard." Alas, Stoker, *Dracula* and/or Rákosi are not mentioned in her autobiography, *My Harvest of the Years* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938).

¹⁸ Marius Crișan, "Dracula: Un Mit Și Mai Multe Istorii Farkas Jenő," *Orizont – Revistă Uniunii Scriitorilor din România* 25 (2013), no. 11, 5. In the Victorian age, yellow book covers would sometimes signal a proximity to the infamous French erotic novels. In Oscar Wilde's *Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890), the protagonist receives a book titled *The Yellow Book* that has a depraving influence on him. The name was copied by the quarterly *The Yellow Book*, for which Aubrey Beardsley designed various covers in 1894 and 1895. See Simon Cooke, "Aubrey Beardsley as a Book Cover Designer," *Victorian Web*, last modified March 8, 2016, <http://www.victorianweb.org/art/design/books/cooke15.html>. French examples are *À rebours* by Franz-Joris Huysmans (1886), often said to be the book Wilde referred to, and *Aphrodite* by Pierre Louÿs (1896), that both appeared in a yellow cover.

The reason for the translation was simple: the translator of the book was in London at the Christmas Book Fair, and as it is known, Stoker's novel *Dracula* appeared in the famous yellow collection of erotic novels... The second reason was the scene of the action, that was transferred to the Carpathian space, with many references to Hungary. [My translation]

Budapesti Hírlap of December 31, 1897, indeed called *Dracula* “egyike az angol karácsonyi könyvpiac legnagyobb szenzációjának,”¹⁹ which translates to “one of the biggest sensations of the English Christmas book market,” but in my eyes, it is not certain whether Rákosi meant a specific event with a specific location (“book fair”) or rather referred to the – abstract – marketplace for English or English-language books. In the same article, Rákosi introduced Stoker to his readers as an *American* author – he seemed not to be informed about his person.²⁰



Announcement of the *Dracula* serialisation in *Budapesti Hírlap* of December 31, 1897, p. 7.

On the frontpage of *Budapesti Hírlap*'s April 5, 1898 issue, Rákosi once more explained his decision to publish *Dracula*, and again referred to Stoker as an American author. Moreover, he stated: “This book was one of the sensations of the American book market this year.”²¹ Considering that *Dracula* had not yet appeared on the American book market at that time, we must wonder what Rákosi was talking about.

¹⁹ “(—Uj regényünk.)” *Budapesti Hírlap*, 31 December 1897, 7.

²⁰ De Roos, “Buda-Pesth,” 6.

²¹ “Ez a köuyv az amerikai könyvpiac egyik szenzációja volt az idén.” “(—Uj regényünk.)” *Budapesti Hírlap*, December 31, 1897, 7. My translation. Instead of “köuyv” we must read “könyv” (“book”) here: a typographical error.

Until evidence of his alleged stay in the British capital in December 1897 is presented, I am doubtful whether Rákosi actually visited a book fair in London in that month.²²

Although Rákosi was wrong about Bram being an American and his book being a hit on the U.S. market already by April 1898, the American side of the story proved to be interesting for our understanding of *Mörkrets makter*. On April 26, 2017, I tried to find out more about the publicity *Dracula* had raised and this time, I ended up in an American newspaper archive. It seemed to contain an article about a *Dracula* musical performed at an American high school in summer 1898 – which would be quite a scoop, obviously. It turned out that the newspaper had been indexed incorrectly – it was from February 1979, not from July 1898.²³

The screenshot shows a digital archive interface for newspapers. The main headline is "Blairsville Snow Crews Defended". To the right, there's a section titled "Six Injured In District Accidents". Below these, there's a large photo of a person in a costume, likely related to the "Dracula" musical mentioned in the text. A red speech bubble points to the article title, stating "The Indiana Evening Gazette, Wednesday, February 21, 1979, (p.34)". The page also shows other headlines like "PERFORMANCES BEGIN TONIGHT" and "SLYBAC Announces Report".

Article in the *Indiana Evening Gazette* of February 21, 1979,
indexed as an article from the *Laredo Times* of July 27, 1898.

²² In an email sent on May 10, 2017, I asked Professor Farkas whether he could provide me with more background information about Rákosi's alleged visit to London. I have yet to receive a reply.

²³ "Dracula Baby" – Homer Presents Musical Comedy," *The Indiana Evening Gazette*, February 21, 1979, 34. The Newspaper.com digital archive has indexed it as *The Laredo Times* of July 27, 1898, page 32. See also Renee Maday and Mary Jane Dellafioara, "3 March; FBLA Prepares For Competition," *The Indiana Evening Gazette*, February 9, 1979, 10, indexed by Newspaper.com as *The Laredo Times* of October 5, 1897, page 10, and Renee Maday and Mary Jane Dellafioara, "H-C Band Parents Select Two Band Members Of Month," *The Indiana Evening Gazette*, February 16, 1979, 8, indexed by Newspaper.com as *The Laredo Times* of October 12, 1897, page 8, both suggesting that the *Dracula Baby* musical had been announced within 4½ months after the first release of *Dracula* on May 26, 1897.

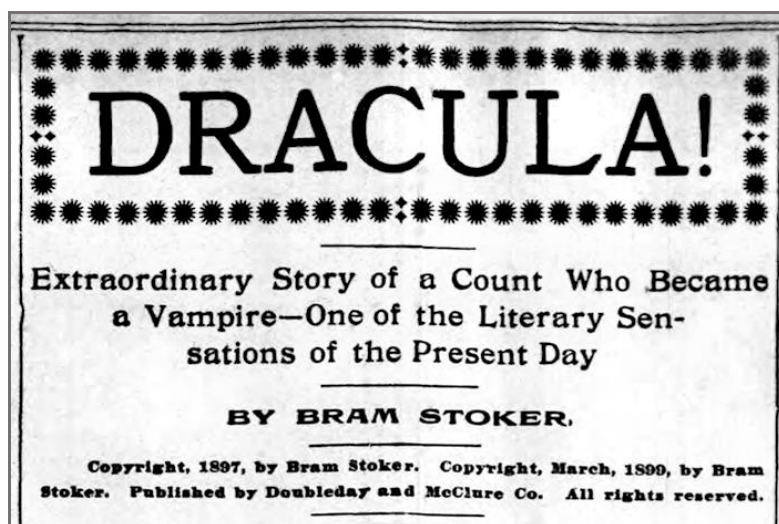
But just a few clicks away, I found a serialisation of *Dracula* in the Chicago newspaper *Inter Ocean* that obviously predated the one in the *Charlotte Daily Observer* by more than two months.²⁴ The serialisation was announced on May 3, 4, 5 and 6, 1899, then ran from May 7 till June 4, 1899, under the title *The Strange Story of Dracula; a Tale of Thrilling Adventures, Mystery and Romance*. The caption appearing under each title heading is especially noteworthy: "(Copyright, 1897, by the Author)."



Start of the *Dracula* serialisation in the *Inter Ocean* of Sunday, May 7, 1899, p. 17, with copyright notice.

²⁴ As I was chatting with Adrien Party of Vampirisme.com in a second browser tab while I skipped through this newspaper archive, the exact time of this discovery has been documented: between 2:45 and 2:53 p.m. Munich time. The discovery was published the next day: "(Re-) Découverte d'une ancienne sérialisation américaine de *Dracula*," by Hans Corneel de Roos, *Vampirisme.com*, April 27, 2017, accessed April 27, 2017, <https://www.vampirisme.com/actualite/re-decouverte-dune-ancienne-serialisation-americaine-de-dracula/>.

Was this based on the copyright registration by McClure in March 1899? Or was this initiated by Bram Stoker himself, who had deposited the title of his novel for U.S. copyright already on 19 March 1897?²⁵ Whatever the case, we can rule out that the *Daily Inter Ocean* had simply pirated the text. In the *Charlotte Daily Observer*, we find an almost identical caption: “Copyright, 1897, by Bram Stoker,” while the *Washington Times* added “Copyrighted” at the end of each episode. The *Buffalo Courier* featured the most detailed copyright notice, although not from the very start (February 19, 1900): “Copyright, 1897, by Bram Stoker. Copyright, March, 1899, by Bram Stoker. Published by Doubleday & McClure. All rights reserved.”²⁶



Dracula serialisation in the *Buffalo Courier* of March 12, 1900, p. 5, with copyright notice.

In the early European serialisations, by contrast, no copyright notice ever appeared. While Bram probably never studied the issues of *Budapesti Hírlap*, *Dagen*, *Aftonbladets Halfvecko-upplaga* or *Fjallkonan*, we can almost be sure that a publication in the *Inter Ocean* would not escape his attention. In their days, each of these newspapers was leading within their country, but Bram neither spoke Hungarian, Swedish nor Icelandic and never visited Budapest, Stockholm or Reykjavik. His strong connection with Chicago, by contrast, is documented by his biography of Henry Irving, by letters and by countless newspaper articles. Together with Irving, Terry and the rest of the Lyceum Theatre troupe, Bram toured especially the north of the U.S. many times, Chicago being an important venue.

Both the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Inter Ocean* closely followed Henry Irving’s growing success from the early 1870s on. Especially after he took over the Lyceum Theatre in 1879, aided by Stoker as his manager, we find a constant stream of reviews, comments and anecdotes. When Irving’s dramatic company started touring the U.S., his name was already well-known; he had performed in North America before in 1873, together with Kate Bateman.

²⁵ Skal, *Something in the Blood*, 372.

In the *Chicago Tribune* of January 13, 1884, we find a report on an informal reception of the Chicago Press Club “tendered to Mr. Henry Irving and Miss Ellen Terry.” Among the altogether 10 persons representing the Lyceum Theatre, we also find the name of Bram Stoker, the manager of the company and of the entire American tour.²⁷ According to the *Chicago Tribune*, 300 guests attended the evening and we may safely assume that at this event, Bram Stoker – the official spokesman of the Lyceum Theatre and Irving’s personal secretary – was introduced to a great many leading journalists.

Already on October 20, 1883, the *Daily Inter Ocean* had reported on the arrival of Irving and his colleagues in New York, stating that “Mr. Bram Stoker has charge of the company.”²⁸ The *Daily Inter Ocean* of March 13, 1884 reported that in New York, Stoker spent much time on observing the performances by Daly’s Company.²⁹ On April 13, 1884, the *Sunday Inter Ocean* quoted a member of the Philadelphia Clover Club, relating how Bram Stoker had entertained a dinner party by responding to a toast on England and America in genuine Irish accent. The readers were also informed that “Mr. Stoker’s first name is Abraham, but for convenience, he has changed it into Bram.”³⁰ More than 15 years before the *Dracula* serialisation in the *Inter Ocean*, we may conclude, the person of Bram Stoker was known to this newspaper and its readers. The *Daily Inter Ocean* of January 29, 1885 congratulated Bram Stoker “that his management has the compliment of a probable net profit of \$ 60,000 on the Chicago engagement.”³¹

On November 2, 1886, the *Daily Inter Ocean* reported that Bram Stoker had arrived in New York in order to probe for suitable U.S. engagements for Irving’s *Faust*.³² A week later, on November 10, the newspaper announced that Stoker had been successful in planning a 20-weeks U.S. season, starting on November 7, 1887, including four weeks at McVicker’s in Chicago.³³

The *Sunday Inter Ocean* of January 2, 1887 reported that “a large audience filled the theater of the London Institution to hear a lecture by Mr. Bram Stoker, M. A. on Abraham Lincoln.”³⁴

In the *Daily Inter Ocean* of January 16, 1888, an interview with Henry Irving appeared under the title “England’s Best Actor.”³⁵

²⁶ E.g. in the issues of March 2, 7 and 12, and of April 1, 1900, while the issues of February 19 and 26, 1900 simply stated, “Copyright by Bram Stoker.”

²⁷ “At the Press Club – A Pleasant Reception to Mr. Irving and Mrs. Terry,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 13, 1884, 13.

²⁸ “Irving’s Dramatic Company – The Arrival,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, October 20, 1883, 34.

²⁹ “Daly Goes to London,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, March 13, 1884, 5.

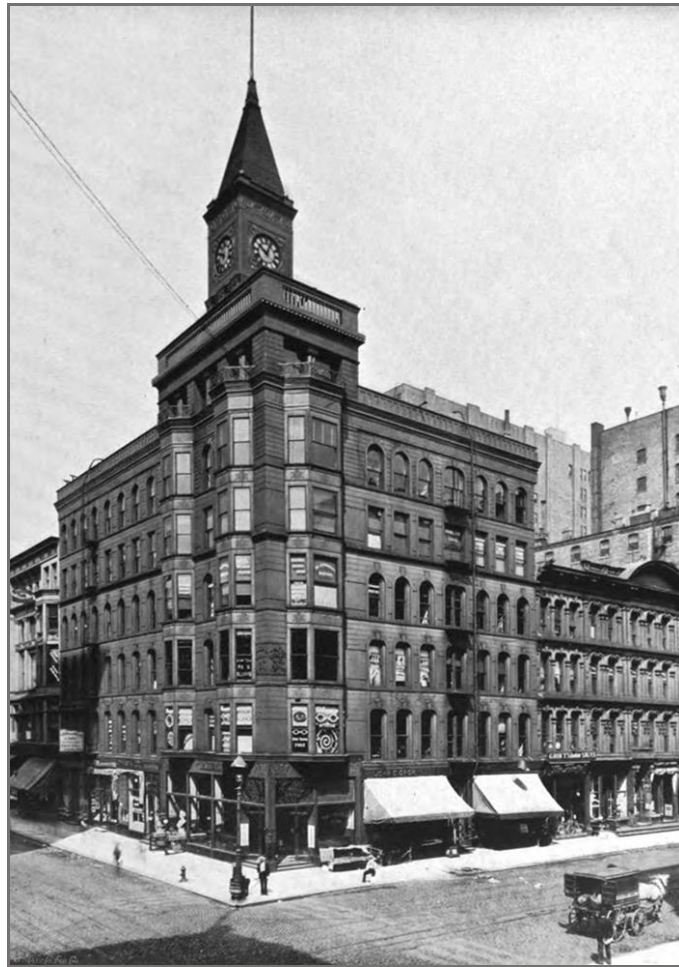
³⁰ “Random Notes by ‘Cress,’” *Sunday Inter Ocean*, April 13, 1884, 18.

³¹ “Amusements – The Haverly,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, January 29, 1885, 4.

³² “Amusements – Henry Irving,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, November 2, 1886, 4.

³³ “Amusements – Henry Irving,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, November 10, 1886, 5.

³⁴ “The British Mail – General,” *Sunday Inter Ocean*, January 2, 1887, 4. The London Institution was an educational institution at Finsbury Circus, London.



The *Inter Ocean* building at the corner of Madison and Dearborn streets in downtown Chicago, frontispiece from *A History of the City of Chicago* (1900).

But not everyone writing for the *Inter Ocean* showed the same benevolent attitude: in the *Sunday Inter Ocean* of February 19, 1888, we find some critical comments by one Nym Crinkle, noting that “Mr. Irving’s company, severely reduced to its ultimate, is Mr. Henry Irving.” The column included a sneery remark about the “overlived” Miss Terry, who “is subordinated continually less to the requirements of the drama than to the stage exigencies of Mr. Irving.” Bram Stoker was criticised for continually talking about the revenues of the performances instead of addressing their artistic quality – or the lack thereof.³⁵ Such acidic observations remained a rare exception, though: on the very same page, in the very same category “Amusements – Dramatic,” a special telegram from Boston reported on Irving’s and Terry’s “series of performances unrivalled for beauty and completeness in the history of our stage.”³⁷ In the *Sunday Inter Ocean* of June 26, 1892, Irving’s return to the U.S. was anticipated with the highest expectations; the

³⁵ “England’s Best Actor – Mr. Irving, after Many Weary Hours’ Waiting, Consents to an Interview – A Good Conversationalist and a Genial Host Well Worth the Trouble Taken,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, January 16, 1888, 8.

³⁶ “Theatrical Gossip,” *Sunday Inter Ocean*, February 19, 1888, 13.

³⁷ “At Boston,” *Sunday Inter Ocean*, February 19, 1888, 13.

famous actor had been engaged for the opening performances at Henry Abbey's new theater at 38th Street/Broadway in New York: "The presence of Irving there will make that theater known to every theatre-goer in this section of the country in a week."³⁸ The article also refers to Stoker's efforts to negotiate special prices for railway transport, as the logistical costs of the tours swallowed almost any profit.

On August 20, 1893, the *Sunday Inter Ocean* reported that "Bram Stoker, with all of Irving's company sailed on the Steamer New York today."³⁹ On September 17, it informed its readers about Irving's success in San Francisco and about the planned program at the Columbia Theater in Chicago, including *The Merchant of Venice*, *Louis XI* and *Becket*.⁴⁰ On October 2, 1893, the *Daily Inter Ocean* published an interview with Irving, who had just arrived in Chicago with Ellen Terry and "Mr. Stoker" and 90 further members of his theatre company, in order to perform *The Merchant of Venice* at the Columbia Theater during the following five weeks.⁴¹ On October 4, 1893, the *Daily Inter Ocean* reported on charges against Irving for bringing his own workforce over to the U.S. The article closes with a response from the mouth of Bram Stoker, stating "We contend that we are violating no law."⁴² On October 8, 1893, the *Sunday Inter Ocean* wrote about an impromptu lunch at the Union League Club with, among others, Henry Irving, Bram Stoker and Mr. H. H. Kohlsaas.⁴³ Nearly a year later, on July 15, 1894, the *Sunday Inter Ocean* informed its readers about a supper given in the Green Room Club (London, founded by Henry Irving and Henry Somerset in 1877), to welcome Mr. E. S. Willard on his return from America. Among the invited guests, we find Bram Stoker, Joseph Comyns-Carr, Joseph Hatton and again Mr. H. H. Kohlsaas, while Irving took the chair and opened the evening with a "very bright and graceful speech."⁴⁴

Not only Irving's and Stoker's presence in the U.S. was considered newsworthy: in the *Sunday Inter Ocean* of December 24, 1894, Robert P. Porter reported on his trip to England and on the most joyous moments he experienced with Stoker, Irving and Terry – in this very order: "The most cheerful and cordial personality I met [in Dublin] was Bram Stoker, and I was likewise glad to see Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, who were staying at the Shelbourne Hotel and both looked remarkably well." In the same article, Porter informed his readers that he spent many enjoyable hours with Stoker discussing census statistics;

³⁸ "Amusements – Dramatic – Theatrical Gossip," *Sunday Inter Ocean*, June 26, 1892, 20.

³⁹ "Gag Law Necessary; Coal Strike Serious," *Sunday Inter Ocean*, August 20, 1893, 13 (mixed news from England).

Irving had already sailed to Canada on July 27 to meet with Terry there for a holiday trip, before starting an eight-months U.S. season, beginning in San Francisco. See "Irving and Terry Coming," *Chicago Tribune*, June 18, 1893, 10.

⁴⁰ "Amusements – Dramatic – Theatrical Gossip," *Sunday Inter Ocean*, September 17, 1893, 29.

⁴¹ "Actor and Scholar – Mr. Irving Again Here to Delight with His Art," *Daily Inter Ocean*, October 2, 1893, 2.

⁴² "Mr. Irving In for It – May be Prosecuted for Importing Contract Labor," *Daily Inter Ocean*, October 4, 1893, 5.

⁴³ "Looking Backward," *Sunday Inter Ocean*, October 4, 1893, 14.

⁴⁴ "Amusements – Dramatic – Americans as playgoers," *Sunday Inter Ocean*, July 15, 1894, 25.

Stoker was already familiar with Porter's important work in this field. The readers were also alerted that Stoker was working on an Indian story inspired by his friendship with Thomas Donaldson of Philadelphia.⁴⁵ Robert Percival Porter (1852-1917) was born in England but emigrated to the U.S. in the mid-1860s and worked as a journalist for the *Inter Ocean*, among others. In the 1890s, Porter lived in Washington and served as the director of the Eleventh United States Census.⁴⁶

There is much going on of interest to Americans both in Dublin and Belfast that cannot be touched on in this letter, but will be in the next. The most cheerful and cordial personality I met there was Bram Stoker, and I was likewise glad to see Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, who were staying at the Shelbourne Hotel and both looking remarkably well.

Fragment from "Porter's Letter from London" in the *Sunday Inter Ocean* of December 23, 1894, p. 18.

We can conclude that in certain years, Stoker spent almost more time in the U.S. than in Britain, and had close ties with Chicago. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Marjorie Drake, the heroine of his novel *The Mystery of the Sea* (1902), is a rich heiress from that very city. Still another reference to Chicago – and to the *Inter Ocean* – can be found in one of Stoker's short stories from the bundle *Snowbound: The Record of a Theatrical Touring Party* (1908). In "A Deputy Waiter," we find the following lines:

It is a song that has to be acted, and in those days I used to finish the refrain with a high note, a sort of suggestion of sudden surprise as one gives at an unexpected pinch. The "Inter-ocean" called it "Miss Pescod's yelp." The boys in the gallery used to take it up, and the latter verses were always chorused by the audience.⁴⁷

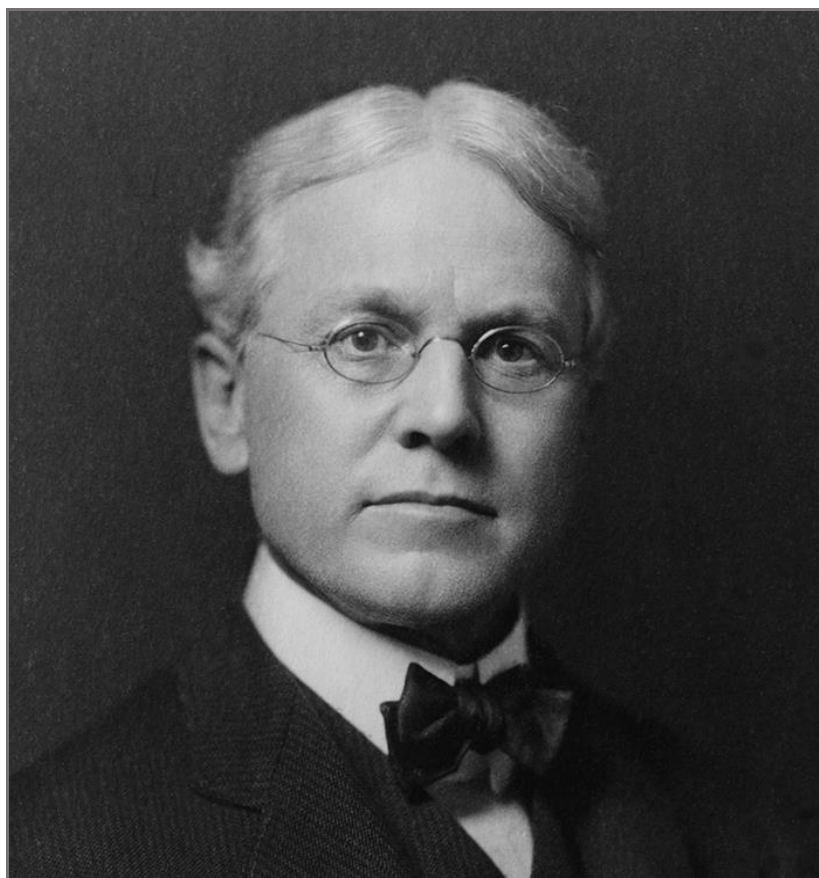
The story is a parody of a conversation between members of the touring Lyceum Theatre troupe, with Irving as "the Tragedian." I was not able to find the phrase "Miss Pescod's yelp" in the *Inter Ocean* or any other American press publication; probably, it was part of Stoker's inside jokes. But clearly enough, it shows that the *Inter Ocean* was on Stoker's radar.

⁴⁵ Robert P. Porter, "Porter's Letter from London," *Sunday Inter Ocean*, 24 December 1894, 18. Thomas Donaldson was a Philadelphia lawyer who was close friends with Walt Whitman. In the 1980s, the typescript for *Dracula* was found in a barn in Pennsylvania containing Donaldson's former belongings. See Peter Haining, *The Dracula Scrapbook* (Stamford, CT: Longmeadow Press, 1992), 19f.

⁴⁶ I derived this useful information from an autobiographical dictation by Mark Twain, who had become one of Stoker's good friends. See *Autobiography of Mark Twain*, vol. 3, ed. Benjamin Griffin and Harriet Elinor Smith (Oakland: University of California Press, 2010), Autobiographical Dictation of 5 October 1907, entry 154.29–35.

⁴⁷ Bram Stoker, "A Deputy Waiter," in *Snowbound: The Record of a Theatrical Touring Party* (London: Collier & Co., 1908), <http://www.bramstoker.org/stories/02snow/10waiter.html>.

The connection was even closer than can be seen from the quoted newspaper articles and Stoker's writings. In his *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (1906), Irving's manager reports on a visit of the already mentioned Mr. H. H. Kohlsaat to the performance of Arthur Conan Doyle's *Waterloo* at the Prince's Theatre, Bristol, on September 21, 1894. As Kohlsaat managed to catch the train to Southampton directly after the performance and left for New York the next morning, he was able to congratulate the flabbergasted Doyle on the success of his play at a public dinner in Chicago. Stoker describes Kohlsaat as the "owner and editor of the *Chicago Times Herald*, and a close and valued friend of Irving and myself."⁴⁸ But when Stoker met him in Chicago for lunch at the Union League in October 1893, Herman Henry Kohlsaat (1853-1924) still was co-owner and publisher of the Chicago *Inter Ocean*.



Herman Henry Kohlsaat (1853-1924). Photo published around 1903.
Source: Library of Congress, Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-126772.

Kohlsaat sold his shares in the *Inter Ocean* to Editor-in-Chief William Penn Nixon (1833-1912) in May 1894,⁴⁹ but Stoker may have also been in touch with William and his brother Oliver Woodson Nixon

⁴⁸ Stoker, Bram, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving* (London: Heinemann, 1906, one-volume edition), 162-163.

⁴⁹ "Personal," *Daily Inter Ocean*, May 4, 1894, 6. Kohlsaat started playing a significant role at the *Inter Ocean* only around 1891. After he left, he took control of the *Chicago Evening Post* and the *Chicago Times Herald*, which in 1901 merged with the *Chicago Record* into the *Chicago Record Herald*. After the ownership of the *Inter Ocean* passed to Charles Tyson Yerkes (1837-1905) in 1897, the *Inter Ocean* would negatively report on Kohlsaat's

(1825-1905); the latter also was an important shareholder. Moreover, Oliver Nixon was the newspaper's literary editor and the president of the Inter-Ocean Publishing Company.⁵⁰ As we can see from the report on the Press Club meeting of January 13, 1884, Oliver's son Charles Elston Nixon (1860-1941), musical and art critic for the *Inter Ocean*, was present at this event, visited by Bram Stoker.⁵¹

Another possibility is that the Chicago serialisation had not been arranged by Stoker himself, but by Samuel McClure, who had established the McClure Newspaper Syndicate in 1884 – the first successful commercial distributor of syndicated content, including cartoons, editorial columns and serialised novels. The syndicate managed the serialisation of stories by Jack London, Mark Twain, G. K. Chesterton, Arthur Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling, Robert Louis Stevenson and H. G. Wells, among others.⁵² In May 1893, McClure founded *McClure's Magazine*, publishing literary news and short stories by American and British authors. As explained by the *Chicago Tribune* of May 28, 1893, in some cases this allowed McClure to “recycle” stories that already had been paid for and distributed by his press syndicate.⁵³

In his already mentioned Stoker biography *Something in the Blood*, Skal does not explain how the contact between Stoker and McClure was established. But a background check provides us with several possibilities.

Up till 1903, McClure's brother Robert acted as literary agent for McClure's enterprises in London.⁵⁴ In November 1894, *McClure's Magazine* published an interview with Arthur Conan Doyle, conducted by Robert Barr. It is suspected that during that same period, Samuel McClure also met with Doyle.⁵⁵ The following photo, published along with the interview, shows Robert Barr, Arthur Conan Doyle and Robert McClure together in Surrey, in 1894.

activities. See for example “Only Justice,” *Sunday Inter Ocean*, January 30, 1898, 36, portraying Kohlsaat as vindictive, ruthless, brutal and slanderous, or “Lobbying at the White House,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, July 7, 1899, 6, referring to Kohlsaat as “the Chicago trickster.” In 1912, Kohlsaat took control of the *Inter Ocean* again. In 1914, it was merged with the *Chicago Record Herald*, which thus became the *Chicago Herald*.

⁵⁰ For a history of the *Inter Ocean*, see “Chapter I; the Press” in *The History of Chicago, Illinois*, ed. John Moses and Joseph Kirkland (Chicago & New York: Munsell, 1895), vol. II, 3-74. For the biographies of William P. Nixon, Oliver W. Nixon and Charles E. Nixon, see ibidem, 59-60, and *The book of Chicagoans; a biographical dictionary of leading living men and women of the city of Chicago*, ed. Albert Nelson Marquis (Chicago: Marquis & Co., 1917), 505.

⁵¹ “At the Press Club - A Pleasant Reception to Mr. Irving and Mrs. Terry,” *Chicago Tribune*, January 13, 1884, 13.

⁵² See “Historical and Biographical Note” in McClure Publishing Company Archives at <http://www.lib.udel.edu/ud/spec/findaids/mcclure.htm>, accessed 21 May 2017.

⁵³ “McClure's New Idea,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 28, 1893, 28.

⁵⁴ Christopher Redmond, *Welcome to America, Mr. Sherlock Holmes; Victorian America meets Arthur Conan Doyle* (Toronto: Simon & Pierre, 1987), 194.

⁵⁵ Robert Barr, “Real Conversations. — V. A Dialogue between Conan Doyle and Robert Barr,” *McClure's Magazine* Vol. 3 (November 1894), 503-513. This was an updated version of Barr's “A Chat with Conan Doyle,” published in *The Idler* of October 1894. The photo reproduced on the following page appeared on p. 511.

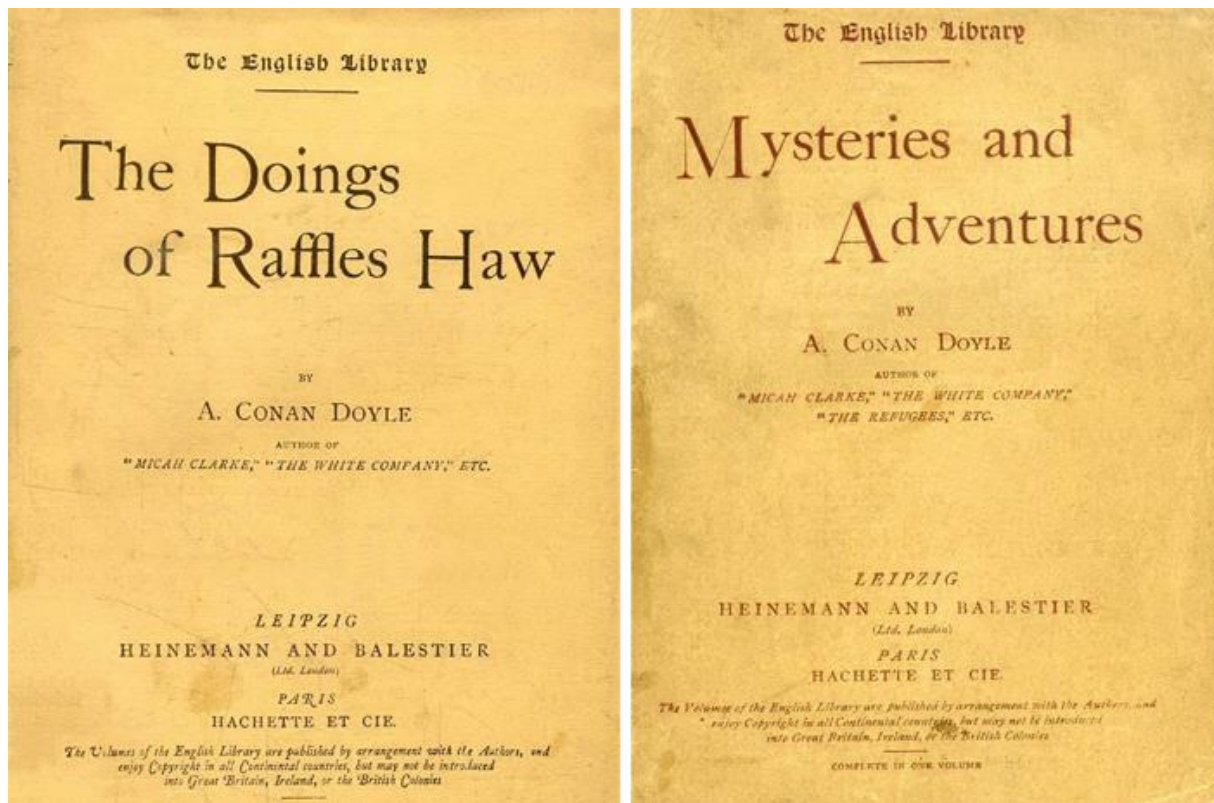


Arthur Conan Doyle was related to Bram Stoker; he wrote the play *A Tale of Waterloo* performed at the Lyceum Theatre from 4 May 1895 on; in August 1897, he congratulated Stoker with his *Dracula* novel;⁵⁶ he had his poetry *Songs of Action* published by Doubleday & McClure in October 1898.⁵⁷ It is not hard to imagine how Doyle's contacts may have been the basis for Stoker's cooperation with Samuel McClure. Moreover, in the early 1890s, Stoker had been acting as a literary rights trader himself, representing The English Library (publishing English-language authors abroad), an imprint of Heinemann & Balestier Ltd. London. Next to William Heinemann (1863-1920), the American author Charles Wolcott Balestier (1861-1891) and William Leonard Courtney (1850-1928) of the *Daily Telegraph*, Bram Stoker was one of the four directors of this enterprise, in which he invested a part of his own money. The goal of the joint venture

⁵⁶ Arthur Conan Doyle, letter to Bram Stoker of August 1897, reproduced at [https://www.arthur-conan-doyle.com/index.php?title=Letter_to_Bram_Stoker_\(august_1897\)](https://www.arthur-conan-doyle.com/index.php?title=Letter_to_Bram_Stoker_(august_1897)), accessed 21 May 2017.

⁵⁷ "Conan Doyle's Verse," *Chicago Tribune*, October 8, 1898, 8.

was to compete with Baron Tauchnitz, who also published English-language authors in continental Europe. Based in London since 1888, Balestier had been cooperating with Samuel and Robert McClure already, winning Conan Doyle and Stevenson as authors for McClure's syndicate. Now he teamed up with Heinemann, Stoker and Courtney, working the same range of authors as for McClure, including Arthur Conan Doyle and Rudyard Kipling; the latter had at least nine books published by Heinemann & Balestier.⁵⁸



Two books by Arthurs Conan Doyle in the English Library series (1892 and 1893 respectively).

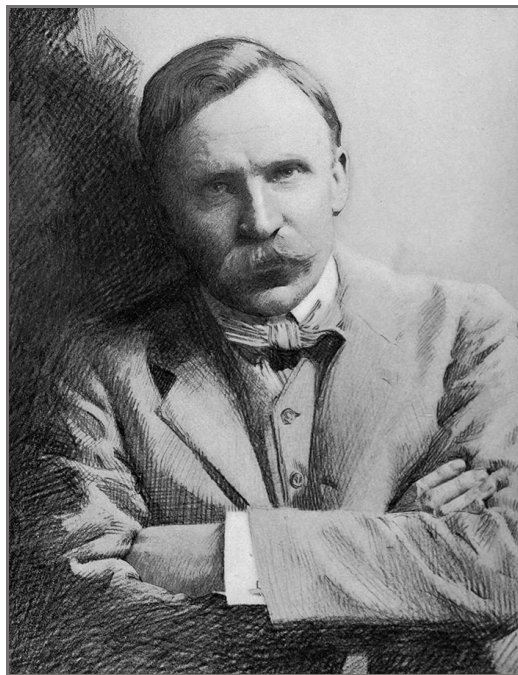
Balestier's cousin, Edmund William Gosse (1849-1908) was the editor of Heinemann's International Library (publishing foreign authors in the UK); at the same time, he acted as the General European Editor of McClure's Associated Literary Press, established in September 1889.⁵⁹ Just like Heinemann, McClure hoped to conquer a part of the European reprint market dominated by Tauchnitz; he especially expected Stevenson to contribute.⁶⁰ But when Balestier unexpectedly died of typhoid fever in Dresden in December 1891, this meant the end for both McClure's and Heinemann's European reprint ambitions. Although the Heinemann & Balestier imprint continued to exist for a number of years, Stoker lost his invested capital.

⁵⁸ *Soldiers Three, The Phantom Rikshaw, Mine Own People, The Story of the Gadsbys, Barrack-Room Ballads, The Light that Failed, Jungle Book, A Fleet in Being, They.*

⁵⁹ See *Transatlantic Dialogue; Selected American Correspondence of Edmund Gosse*, ed. Paul F. Mattheisen and Michael Millgate (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), Letter #130, from Gosse to Gilder, dated April 16, 1889.

⁶⁰ For an overview of the European reprint plans discussed between McClure, Balestier, Gosse and Heinemann, see Harold S. Wilson, *McClure's Magazine and the Muckrakers* (Princeton/New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970), 57-59.

Almost immediately after Balestier's death, Rudyard Kipling returned to London and married Balestier's sister Caroline ("Carrie"). On 2 February 1892, the freshly-wed were seen off for their honeymoon trip by Edmund Gosse, William Heinemann, Bram Stoker and Henry James – a scene documenting the personal ties between the mentioned persons.⁶¹ In fact, we may conclude, Bram Stoker, Charles Wolcott Balestier, Edmund Gosse, Robert McClure and Samuel McClure all were in the same business, as "literary rights traders" or "content buyers," or whatever title we may wish to attach to this profession. By the end of 1889, Stoker introduced his friend Hall Caine to Balestier and – outbidding Chatto & Windus – brought Caine's book *The Bondman* to Heinemann, with great financial success; he offered Mark Twain to act as his dramatic agent in the U.K.;⁶² for *Dracula*, he wrote his own publishing contract with Constable.⁶³ Without doubt, Stoker knew the tricks of the trade, and even if he did not meet Samuel Sydney McClure in person or contacted him directly until *Dracula* was ready to be released in the U.S.A., he surely must have known about McClure's operations, his business methods and conditions.⁶⁴



Samuel Sydney McClure (1857-1949). Source: *The Booklovers Magazine*, Vol. 1 (Jan-June 1903).

⁶¹ For an account of Kipling's and Balestier's activities, see Andrew Lycett, *Rudyard Kipling* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999), end of Book III (E-Book without page numbers). For the goodbye scene, see *The Carrington Extracts – From the diaries of Caroline Kipling*, Book I, 1892, at www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/members/car_92.pdf. Accessed November 23, 2015.

⁶² Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), *Is He Dead? A Comedy in Three Acts*, ed. Shelley F. Fishkin (Berkeley: California University Press, 2006), 229, various footnotes.

⁶³ Miller, *Bram Stoker's Dracula*, 245ff. The complete text of the contract was published by Constable & Robinson in a new edition of *Dracula* in 2012, see <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/books/news/draculas-contract-to-see-the-light-of-day-100-years-on-7584573.html>. Accessed 1 June 2015.

⁶⁴ In the brief period of time I had to prepare this article, I had no opportunity to do further research into possible meetings or letters between Bram Stoker and Samuel McClure; this would be an interesting subject to follow up.

Samuel S. McClure, from his side, was educated at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, less than 200 miles from Chicago, and he did business with the Chicago *Inter Ocean* even before Stoker started working on *Dracula*. In an interview published in the *Daily Inter Ocean* of September 5, 1885, McClure explained his syndication concept and pointed to the upcoming series “An Octave of Short Stories” he had put together,⁶⁵ appearing in the *Inter Ocean* from December 6, 1885, on.



Announcement of McClure’s “Octave of Short Stories” in the *Daily Inter Ocean* of October 24, 1885, p. 5, to start at December 6 with a story by Julian Hawthorne.

In the *Daily Inter Ocean* of January 8, 1886, we find an advertisement by S. S. McClure, promising \$ 1,000 price monies for the best short stories in different categories.⁶⁶ The *Daily Inter Ocean* of October 4, 1889, announces that four authors of global fame will write short stories for the newspaper, based on Biblical events, and states that “Mr. S. S. McClure as the representative of THE INTER OCEAN and the leading Eastern journals [...] was instrumental in bringing the negotiations with this galaxy of genius to a successful conclusion.”⁶⁷ In the *Daily Inter Ocean* of May 17, 1890, we find the result of a literary contest for the newspaper’s “Mrs. Burnett’s Youths’ Department,” with price monies totalling \$ 825 awarded by Mr. S. S. McClure.⁶⁸ The *Daily Inter Ocean* of June 23, 1896, p. 11, reminded readers that they could subscribe to the *Weekly Inter Ocean* and *McClure’s Magazine* together, for \$ 1.50 per year. In spring and

⁶⁵ Lillian Whitting, “Holmes’ Birthday and its Observance – The Father of the Syndicate Story System,” *Daily Inter Ocean* of September 5, 1885, 9.

⁶⁶ “\$1,000 Cash!,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, January 8, 1886, 5.

⁶⁷ “Biblical Novels,” *Daily Inter Ocean* of October 4, 1889, 12.

⁶⁸ “Prizes for Stories,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, May 17, 1890, 13.

summer 1899, shortly before and during the *Dracula* serialisation, the novel *Agatha Webb* by Anna Katherine Green appeared in the *Inter Ocean* as a serial, with the by-line “(Copyrighted, 1899, by S. S. McClure Co.)” Full-page advertisements for *McClure’s Magazine* appeared in the *Daily Inter Ocean* of December 4, 1897, (page 16) and of December 10, 1898, (page 16), announcing its planned content for the next year. Additionally, the magazine placed large-size advertisements to announce single issues.⁶⁹ We may thus safely assume that in case Bram Stoker’s direct contact with the *Inter Ocean* did not suffice to negotiate a serialisation of *Dracula*, McClure’s long-year cooperation with this newspaper did.

In light of this information, the *Inter Ocean* serialisation of *Dracula* – the earliest American publication of the novel identified so far – comes as no great surprise. Rather, it is amazing that none of my specialised American colleagues has spotted it until now, despite the epic efforts mentioned by Skal. As I could see from varying the search parameters, these scans have been included in the Newspapers.com archive for more than a year before I found them, that means, since April 26, 2016, at the latest.

Beyond the merit of preceding the serialisation in the *Charlotte Daily Observer* by more than two months, the Chicago serialisation contains two intriguing details.

In the 1897 Constable edition, the Count tells the impudent vampire sisters “To-morrow night, to-morrow night is yours!” In the Doubleday & McClure version, the Count says “To-night is mine. To-morrow night is yours!” We do not know how, when and why this change was made; in the *Daily Inter Ocean* serialisation, at least, it was not present yet; it merely omitted the old-fashioned hyphens, stating: “Tomorrow night, tomorrow night is yours!” The *Charlotte Daily Observer* again shows the variant with hyphens: “To-morrow night, to-morrow night is yours!”⁷⁰ In the *Buffalo Courier* of February 26, 1900, we read: “Tomorrow night, tomorrow night is yours!” – the same text and spelling as in the *Daily Inter Ocean*, although some instalments from this serialisation expressly state, “Published by Doubleday & McClure Co.” Only the *Washington Times* of September 28, 1917, gives “Tonight is mine. Tomorrow night is yours!” copying the changed text of the 1899 Doubleday & McClure edition, but with a modernised spelling.

⁶⁹ As Wilson, *McClure’s Magazine*, 60, explains, McClure would allow newspapers to pay up to 50% of the syndicate service costs in the form of advertisement space. On p. 58, Wilson indicates that in 1891, McClure in a letter to his business partner John Sanborn Phillips discussed the Nixons as potential investors for his expanding business. From 1895 on, the revenues of the *Inter Ocean* declined, however, and in July 1897, a majority of the stock was acquired by Charles Tyson Yerkes, the Chicago streetcar boss, who – aided by Chief-Editor George Wheeler Hinman, coming from the *New York Sun*, – turned it into an instrument of his political and commercial goals; William Penn Nixon officially remained its publisher, but was diverted by his other activities – see Richard Allen Schwarzlose, *The Nation’s Newsbrokers: The rush to institution, from 1865 to 1920* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1990), 200. In 1904, five years after the *Dracula* serial, a serious political conflict between *McClure’s Magazine* and the *Inter Ocean* developed about the so-called Mueller Bill. See “The Inter Ocean and McClure’s Magazine,” *Daily Inter Ocean*, July 28, 1904, 6. In 1912, Henry Kohlsaat took control of the *Inter Ocean* again, see footnote 49.

Moreover, the *Inter Ocean* version failed to spell the name “Westenra” correctly. In the four announcements, Lucy is called “Lucy Western,” while in the text of the novel itself, we find “Westerna” and “Westenra” next to each other, e.g. in the instalments of May 12 and May 16, 1899. The *Charlotte Daily Observer* used “Westerna” throughout the text, but not “Western.”⁷¹ The Swedish variants, by contrast, only used “Western.” Perhaps, Andersson-Edenberg worked from the *Inter Ocean* text and simply copied the initial (miss-)spelling “Western,” without realizing it was erroneous. Alternatively, he may have recognised the error, but found it a clever idea to simplify the name for Swedish readers, once he had seen this variant in the *Inter Ocean*. Just like copies of *Aftonbladet* and *Budapesti Hírlap* were exchanged on a daily basis, reaching their destination after 3-5 days, so newspapers were sent back and forth between Stockholm and Chicago. The *Sunday Inter Ocean* of August 29, 1897, for example, reported on the Stockholm General Exhibition and quoted comments from *Aftonbladet*.⁷² The Swedish newspaper, in turn, referred to the *Inter Ocean*, e.g. on October 11, 1894, when the Chicago newspaper supported Mr. A. Chaiser, the owner of the local Swedish newspaper *Svenska Tribunen*, in his candidacy as congressman for the Sixth District of Illinois.⁷³

As can be seen from the International Press Congresses taking place in Europe from 1894 on, resulting in the formation of the International Union of Press Associations (IUPA), the cooperation between the leading newspapers greatly intensified in the 1890s, aided by technical developments such as the telegraph, the telephone, improved mail services and the use of papier-mâché matrices (“flong”) to duplicate metal printing plates for syndicated content. In fact, the cradle of the IUPA stood in Chicago: During the World’s Columbian Exposition in May 1893, around 90 journalists from the USA and Europe gathered for the Public Press Congress, the first event of this kind;⁷⁴ only four months later, in September 1893, a similar gathering took place in London, when the British Institute of Journalists invited French and Belgian colleagues to their annual meeting. Here, Émile Zola proposed to have regular international meetings organised – which started with the 1894 International Press Congress in Antwerp.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ As I found out, in 1899, the *Charlotte Daily Observer* consistently used the spelling “to-morrow,” while in the *Inter Ocean*, only the more modern spelling “tomorrow” was used.

⁷¹ The *Washington Times* of September 29, 1917 started out with “Wastenra,” but got it right in the issues of September 30 and of October 7, 13 and 15, 1917. Only the *Buffalo Courier* was able to spell “Westenra” correctly from the beginning, in its issues of March 2 and 3, 1900.

⁷² “Scandinavia’s Fair,” *Sunday Inter Ocean*, August 29, 1897, 19.

⁷³ “En Svensk i kongressen,” *Göteborgs Aftonbladet*, October 11, 1894, 1.

⁷⁴ The event was covered by the *Chicago Tribune* (“The Public Press Congress,” May 23, 1893, 4) and the *Daily Inter Ocean* (“A Cosmopolitan Meeting,” May 24, 1893, 12; “Today’s Press Congress Programme,” May 26, 1893, 1).

⁷⁵ Ulf Jonas Björk, “First Internationals: IUPA and PCW (1894–1936),” in *A History of the International Movement of Journalists – Professionalism Versus Politics*, by Kaarle Noordenstreng et. al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 44f.

THE DAILY INTER OCEAN, WEDNESDAY MORNING, MAY 3, 1899.

5

 **Watch for this story—
It's the literary sensation of the year.....**

DRACULA

Or, The Human Vampire.

A Powerful Story of the Mystic, Strikingly Original
in Topic and Treatment.

BY BRAM STOKER.

First installment will be printed in

The Inter Ocean
Of Sunday, May 7,
With daily installments thereafter until completed.

THE PLOT OF DRACULA:

Dracula is the account of the adventures of one Jonathan Harker, a solicitor's clerk, who is sent to the castle of Count Dracula, a Transylvanian nobleman, who has bought a house in the edge of London. At the castle Harker meets with many weird and wonderful adventures and ends by discovering that the Count is a vampire—that he has been a hundred years dead, but keeps a semblance of life by sucking the blood of living people, the younger and fairer the better. As such Dracula has become ex-ecrated in his own country, and has planned to remove to England. He cannot cross the water save at certain hours, nor land except at the moment of slack tide. So he ships himself to England concealed in a box of earth from his castle, in which he lies snug throughout the voyage, rising at night to prey upon the sailors of the ship which carries the boxes. The ship at last comes into the port of Whitby, with the captain dead at the wheel, lashed fast, and holding a crucifix. Dracula, who has power to assume almost any animal form, leaps ashore as a huge dog and vanishes over the moors. His boxes, safely landed, go from Whitby to his London house, Carfax. Meantime, as a bat, he ranges the town of Whitby and fixes upon a victim, a certain sleep-walking Lucy Western, betrothed to Arthur Holmwood, and friend of Mina Murray, the betrothed of Jonathan Harker. The nightly attacks of the vampire, the banding together of the friends of his victims, his final destruction, and the miraculous escape of Jonathan Harker and Mina Murray make a thrilling and fascinating tale.

Remember the Date—

Sunday, May 7,
And daily thereafter in The Inter Ocean until completed.

PLACE ORDERS WITH YOUR NEWSDEALER.

Announcement of the *Dracula* serialisation in the *Inter Ocean* of May 3, 1899, p. 5, with the miss-spelling "Lucy Western."

A little bonus from this recent research is a note I found in the *New York Times* of September 2, 1899, mentioning the serialisation of *Dracula* well before the Doubleday & McClure advertisement of October 7, 1899, mentioned by David J. Skal. It claimed that *Dracula* “has already attracted attention in America and England as a serial.” Although it would be surprising if such an implied early English serialisation would have existed without Florence knowing about it, this statement may trigger a new paper chase now.

A review of *Dracula* in the *Detroit Free Press* of November 18, 1899, also offered an interesting clue. It stated that “... before the tale was bound up and offered us between covers it ran its length in various newspapers...”⁷⁶ This implies that in 1899, at least one journalist had a better overview of these early U.S. serialisations than present-day *Dracula* experts. My discovery of the *Inter Ocean* serialisation, however, adds one extra layer of meaning to the factual observation in the *Detroit Free Press*: we now have a possible link between the Chicago and the Stockholm serialisations of *Dracula*. “Westenra” is the only surname from the novel that has been changed in *Mörkrets makter*, although for Andersson-Edenberg with his almost encyclopaedic knowledge of European culture, this Dutch name cannot have posed too much of a problem. The obvious miss-spelling “Western” in the announcements in the *Daily Inter Ocean* seems to provide us with an elegant explanation now.

Munich, May 24, 2017

Hans Corneel de Roos

With many thanks to Anthony Hogg of Vamped.org for actively supporting this publishing project, and to Marius Crişan in Timișoara for pointing the work of Professor Jenő Farkas, Budapest, out to me.

Note: I used the following newspaper archives:

www.newspapers.com for the *Inter Ocean* and the *Charlotte Daily Observer*

www.fultonhistory.com for the *Buffalo Courier*

www.bramstokerestate.com/Dracula-Serial-Bram-Stoker-Estate-Washington-Times.html

for the *Washington Times*.

<http://tidningar.kb.se> for Swedish newspapers

<https://adtplus.arcanum.hu/hu/> for Hungarian newspapers

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⁷⁶ “Bram Stoker’s Story,” *Detroit Free Press*, November 18, 1899, 11.