

## **Introduction to The Lost First Edition of Upton Sinclair's The Jungle**

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In the summer of 1980 a young man brought to Pittsburg State University a small truckload of rotting, mildewed paper. He had been hired, he explained, to clean out a cellar of a nearby Girard, Kansas, farm. Upon seeing the name of Upton Sinclair on several pieces of correspondence, he decided that perhaps the material should go to the local university's library rather than to the county dump.

Too fragile to handle, the papers were covered with brightly colored mold, dyed purple by typewriter ribbon and red and green by inks used to write and print the documents. The fetid mass eventually proved to be over a thousand business records, inner office memos, and correspondence of the *Appeal to Reason*, once the nation's leading Socialist newspaper. Six months of drying were followed by weeks of careful brushing. More than a year was to pass before the most delicate items were deacidified and mounted on rag paper. Then began the organization of the papers. Pages of letters had become separated, and, in the sorting and drying process, many pieces no larger than a dime were stored to await their place in what came to be regarded as a gigantic jigsaw puzzle.

Throughout the long and tedious period of reconstruction, however, there was no question that the time and expense would be warranted. Some correspondence, such as a letter from August Bebel, the German Social Democrat leader and author, was written on rag paper and was whole and legible, though discolored. Fragments containing the signatures of Eugene V. Debs, A. M. Simons, and Kate Richards O'Hare indicated their contents were probably of significance. The restorers were urged on by the knowledge that Helen Keller--who became a member of the Pittsburg, Kansas, local of the Socialist Party in 1913--and Clarence Darrow were among the hundreds of contributors to the *Appeal*. As the documents took shape, they revealed a chapter concerning the publication of Upton Sinclair's major work, ***The Jungle***, that has long been forgotten: the role of the *Appeal to Reason* in the creation and publication of the novel in what the editors were to call the "unexpurgated edition," which was pared down and emended to fit the tastes of a commercial publisher.

The first to use the papers, during the course of restoration, was Elliott Shore, then curator of the Contemporary Culture Collection at Temple University. His dissertation, published as *Talkin' Socialism: J. A. Wayland and the Role of the Press in American Radicalism, 1890-1912* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1988), states, "The heart of the largest publishing enterprise of American socialism was its founder and guiding spirit, J. A. Wayland. & *The Appeal to Reason*, the flagship paper of the Wayland/Warren empire, which was based at Girard, Kansas, was the most successful institution of the socialist movement in the United States and the one national weekly newspaper that unified the movement coast to coast" (pp. 3-4).

It was Upton Sinclair whom the *Appeal* editors chose in September 1904 to investigate the conditions of the Chicago meatpacking industry. Sinclair recalls in his *Autobiography*: "The editor of the *Appeal to Reason* read [*Manassas*] and wrote to me with enthusiasm; I had portrayed the struggle over chattel slavery in America, and now, why not do the same thing for wage slavery? I answered that I would do it, provided he would stake me" (p. 108).

Sinclair had earlier published articles in the *Appeal* and elsewhere concerning the meatpacking industry, including the 17 September 1904 "**You Have Lost the Strike! And Now What Are You Going to Do about It?**" This, his first piece of militant Socialist writing, appears in *The Jungle*: "[The *Appeal*] would print great broadsides during the campaign; one copy that came to Jurgis was a manifesto addressed to striking workingmen, of which nearly a million copies had been distributed in the industrial centers, wherever the employers' associations had been carrying out their "open shop" program. "You have lost the strike!" it was headed. "And now what are you going to do about it?" It was what is called an "incendiary" appeal--it was written by a man into whose soul the iron had entered. When this edition appeared, twenty thousand copies were sent to the Stockyards district; and they were taken out and stowed away in the rear of a little cigar-store, and every evening, and on Sundays, the members of the Packingtown locals would get armsful and distribute them on the streets and in the houses. The people of Packingtown had lost their strike, if ever a people had, and so they read these papers gladly, and twenty thousand were hardly enough to go around" (p. 311, this edition).

Sinclair's Civil War novel *Manassas*, the first book of a proposed trilogy, had indeed convinced the Girard editors of his ability to write a sustained story. They were also prompted by a series of letters from O. T. Anderson of the Chicago-based Telegraphers Typewriter Company. In an undated letter of September 1904 Anderson informed them that the Beef Trust had removed an honest member from "the much lauded Rooseveltian

Dept[.] of Commerce & Labor (Bureau of Corporations)." Anderson continued, "Robertson, the inspector, perhaps acting on tips already in the department, goes up and down here on the street among the commission and grain men etc[.], inquiring as to the methods of the packers, and [asking] if the one interviewed thought or had any evidence that the packers were combined illegally or ignoring the injunction etc. He was getting too close to the quick, so I understand. Of course the packers have bitter enemies here on the street. It would be easy to find many who had received calls from Robertson, and also many who could prove that he had disappeared suddenly etc." (Anderson's cooperation in informing the editors is explained in **The Jungle** itself: "In a certain city of the country it had over forty of its "Army" in the headquarters of the Telegraph Trust, and no message of importance to Socialists ever went through that city that a copy of it did not go to the *Appeal*" [p. 311]).

Armed with E00 and a plot outlined by Fred D. Warren, Wayland's managing editor, Sinclair set out to learn the details of a slavery deemed as unjust as that which had divided the nation almost half a century earlier: wage slavery.

Another letter rescued from the Girard cellar was written by Warren to George H. Goebel, a national organizer of the Socialist Party, dated 24 July 1906. In it Warren summarized events, not quite two years old, which culminated in the publishing of **The Jungle**, the novel born of Sinclair's investigation: "Upon my suggestion, Sinclair wrote **The Jungle**, the *Appeal* paying E00 for the serial rights to the book and it was understood all along that the *Appeal* should have the right to print this story in quarterly form in unlimited quantity. This arrangement was tacitly agreed to by the M[a]cmillan people who were to have published the [b]ook. When the M[a]cmillan people turned the book down because of its devotion to Socialism, Sinclair insisted that the *Appeal* bring out the book. I was In [sic] New York at the time and I remember how earnestly we talked over the proposition, discussing it from every point of view. It was Sinclair's desire that the book be controlled by himself or by the Socialist publishers, so that it would always be available for propaganda purposes at the very lowest price."

The Macmillan Company had published Sinclair's most recent novel, **Manassas**, in August 1904. The following October, shortly after Warren had commissioned the novel, Sinclair presented the outline of **The Jungle** to George P. Brett, his editor and president of the New York firm, who advanced E00 for the book rights of a work "intended to set forth the breaking of human hearts by a system which exploits the labor of men and women for profits. It would be--what none of my works have [sic] been so far--a definite attempt to write something popular" (Leon Harris, *Upton Sinclair*, p. 80). It was agreed that **The Jungle** would be published

in the fall of 1905, after it had concluded serialization in the *Appeal* and in Wayland's quarterly *One-Hoss Philosophy*.

Although Sinclair complained to Brett in ensuing months of difficulty in writing the novel--complaints which would increase during the spring of 1905--Warren got chapters promptly. Sinclair had gone to Chicago for seven weeks in October 1904. On 31 January 1905 Warren would inform Ellis O. Jones, editor of the Columbus, Ohio, *Press-Post*, "I have just finished reading the first five chapters of this new book and I consider that it surpasses his late[st] book, **Manassas**, in its vivid descriptive [sic] power and its absorbing human interests." A little more than a week later, on 10 February, Jones would write Warren: "I wrote to Mr. Sinclair, who kindly sent me the first nine installments of **The Jungle**, which I have since read, and I agree with you that it possess[es] many epoch-making qualities." By the end of April Jones is asking for chapters thirteen through sixteen for serialization in his paper since "within two or three weeks at the outside, we [the daily *Post-Press*] will catch up with you [the weekly *Appeal*] and pass you."

Wayland had first hinted of the publication of the novel on the front page of the Women's Edition of the *Appeal* of 14 January 1905, wherein he announced: "Found--A Man. & For four years [the editor of the *Appeal*] has been looking for a Man. His diligent search has been rewarded. Next week I will tell you who he is and what he will do." On page six of the same edition, however, women's editor Josephine Conger (later Conger-Kaneko) scooped Wayland in her article on Sinclair, "Genius and Socialist." She revealed at its conclusion, "The book that the young author is working on now, **The Jungle**, is destined to be a masterpiece of Socialist literature."

It was Conger's article which brought Ellis O. Jones of the *Press-Post* in contact with the *Appeal*. He had queried Sinclair about the availability of the novel for serialization. Sinclair forwarded the letter to Warren, stating, "This explains itself. Hope to hear from you soon. What's wrong? Try to arrange with this man." Warren responded to Jones on 31 January: "We would be very glad to arrange with you to print the story if you so desire. We will give you the serial rights for the State of Ohio for one-hundred dollars (A00.00), for your city alone fifty dollars (E0.00)."

Jones answered the price was too high, especially in the light that there were numerous *Appeal* subscribers in the Columbus area. On 6 February Warren sent proof sheets of the first installment of **The Jungle** and lowered the price of the serial rights to seventy-five dollars, stating, "Our subscription list in Columbus, Ohio I think is about two or three hundred copies. In the entire state we have thirteen-thousand six

hundred and twenty." He assured Jones that he felt "quite confident that this book will make an epoch in the history of American literature."

On 10 February Jones proposed exchanging one hundred dollars of advertising in the *Post-Press* for the serial rights. Refusing the trade, Warren lowered the cost to twenty-five dollars, an offer accepted by Jones, who was to begin serialization 1 May. Jones added that he believed publication of the novel in a non-Socialist paper would "do a great deal of good, as men who are behind the movement and not known publicly in it are thereby able to do a large amount of propaganda in a convenient way and without endangering their own material welfare."

As late as July 1906, five months after publication of the novel in book form, Warren was being approached for serial rights. On 13 July, for example, Franklin Fishler, managing editor of the American Press Association, wrote Warren: "You say you have compromised the matter in regard to the serial rights on Upton Sinclair's ***The Jungle***. Do you control the plate rights so that we could secure them if we still thought it advisable to consider the story?"

That the relationship between Sinclair and the *Appeal* had become compromised is an understatement. The author, his Socialist publisher, and his capitalist publisher were amicable for almost a year. On 25 February the *Appeal* published the first chapter of ***The Jungle***. In April, when the *Appeal* had published only five chapters, Wayland's *One-Hoss Philosophy* came out with twelve chapters of the novel the type being reset by one L. J. Smith of Rosedale, Kansas. The new text of the first five chapters reflected minor changes in punctuation and "grammatization" (to use Wayland's term). Although these chapters would be heavily edited later when it appeared in book form, the *One-Hoss* chapters contained only five changes from the *Appeal* edition which would be carried over into the New York hardbound edition.

The Wa-ti-ta League (p. 56) became the Warhoop League in the *One-Hoss Philosophy* text. (By Chapter IX, which would appear in the *Appeal* of 29 April 1905, the name of the fraternal organization had been standardized to the War-Whoop League.) For the *One-Hoss Philosophy* edition, Sinclair corrected the legal working age of children from fourteen to sixteen (p. 47). Interest on the Rudkos home was lowered from H.40 to G.00 (p. 58). (The spelling of Jurgis's last name would not be changed to "Rudkus" until publication in book form.) Thirteen-year-old Stanislovas, with the aid of a priest, becomes on paper sixteen- rather than fourteen-years-old (p. 59) and with his finding of a job, the family's situation is ameliorated from "just about as they had been before" to "considerably better off than they had been before" (p. 60). More typographical errors appear in the *One-Hoss* edition, including the omission of a passage reading, "as if

there were risk in doing anything at all in Chicago, unless you are poor! They talk about the loss to their reputation, and so on--" (p. 84). On the whole, however, a reader of the serial in both the *Appeal* and *One-Hoss Philosophy* would have noticed little difference between the two editions.

The initial chapter of ***The Jungle*** had sold well when it appeared in the *Appeal*, thanks to concentrated advance publicity. Warren proclaimed their publication of the novel as "The Crowning Achievement of the *Appeal*" in the 4 February 1905 *Appeal*, using a phrase later to be echoed by Jack London: "It will be the Uncle Tom's Cabin of the Socialist movement." On page three of the same issue was a large drawing by a young Chicago newspaper artist, C. W. Fryer, who would illustrate the serialized novel. Showing crowds of immigrants begging for jobs, the drawing blatantly identified the "CHICAGO STOCKYARDS/P. D. [sic] ARMOUR & CO." Captioned "'1905--The Victims of Capitalism." This Is No Dream," the drawing was accompanied by a description of the immigrants' misery by Robert Hunter (p. xvii).

The following week a promotional edition of the *Appeal* was sent to the volunteer workers known as the *Appeal* Army. (There were from four to eighteen editions of each issue from 1904 through 1914, Warren's term as managing editor.) In it J. A. Wayland addressed an impassioned letter to his troops: "Has the *Appeal* ever failed to make good? Never! When I tell you that you will regret it if you do not circulate a big bundle of [No.] 482 [of the *Appeal*] I am telling you the truth. Back numbers cannot be supplied. Order 500 or 1000 copies TODAY. It's deeds that count."

No. 482 of the *Appeal* was offered in bundles of one hundred copies for fifty cents. The Army was told that a special offer for new readers would be a year's subscription for a quarter, rather than fifty cents. Wayland assured the Army that readers of ***The Jungle*** would subscribe immediately in order to obtain successive chapters. His arguments convincing, Wayland was able to finance the publication of No. 482 entirely through advance sales to the Army.

Publication of the second chapter was postponed until No. 484, March 18, in order to allow time for the *Appeal's* circulation department to process new subscriptions. Chapter II contained no illustration; Chapter III would have a single drawing, as would the nine succeeding chapters. Chapter I, on the other hand, had two drawings, as well as a magnificent headpiece (p. 1), later reduced to column width for following chapters. No drawings appeared after the twelfth chapter.

The disappearance of Fryer's drawings indicated not only dissatisfaction with the artist's work, but disenchantment on the part of the *Appeal's* editors with the reception the novel was receiving by its readers. "I find

that we have made something of a mistake in printing a serial story, **The Jungle**," Warren confided to Ernest Untermann in a letter of 8 October 1905. Thus the novel was dropped from some editions of the *Appeal*, and finally a notice was placed at the conclusion of Chapter XXVIII that readers wishing the remaining chapters of the novel should send in a postcard requesting a special edition of No. 518 (4 November 1905).

Nor were things going well with Sinclair and his novel at Macmillan's. On 13 September 1905, Sinclair wrote Brett, "I have this definite proposition to make, which is final, so far as I am concerned. I request you to publish the story this fall, cut off at the death of Ona; to consider this 100,000 words as **The Jungle** of our contract; and to advance me a second E00 to complete a novel to be called **The Story of Jurgis: A Sequel to The Jungle**. If you will do this, I shall go away at once and take a much needed rest for a month or two, and I will then go out to Chicago and familiarize myself with the city's world of vice and crime, as I did with Packingtown. I will entirely rewrite the second half, making it a novel of say 125,000-140,000 words. I will elaborate the incidents and make the characters more definite. I will work the last chapters more carefully & making them less a matter of ideas and more of persons. & I will make other changes with a view to lightening up the story, and I think with the spoiled meat sensations that are in it and the enthusiastic comments which you will have from [Jack] London, [David Graham] Phillips, [Robert] Hunter, [Samuel] Merwin and others you can count upon making the book a success" (Harris, p. 80).

Less than a week later Sinclair would write Warren: "I suggested to Brett that the Trust edition [of the *Appeal*] contain an instalment [sic] of the **Jungle** & a resume of the book & an account of its author in the shape of a reading notice, containing the statement it would be published in the fall by the Mc. Co. & quoting opinions of London & Phil[l]ips."

The advertisement as outlined by Sinclair appeared on 9 December 1905, but Macmillan was not listed as publisher. Instead, Sinclair's own Jungle Publishing Company was cited. As late as 19 September Brett had written Warren: "We are [up]on publication to ship you 500 copies of the book, these five hundred copies to be charged to you at actual costs of publication of the first edition [twenty-five cents each] without any payment of royalty to the author or profit to ourselves; the consideration for the sale of the copies at cost to be the fact that you advertise the book widely to your huge constituency without charge to us."

But on 23 September Brett wrote Warren, "As there seems to be some doubt about our publishing **The Jungle** at an early day we will ask you to regard the offer in relation to it as outlined in our letter of the 19th as being tentative until the question of the publication of the book by us has

been definitely settled." It was at this point that Sinclair turned to Warren to bring out the novel in book form.

Warren's letter to Goebel explains the *Appeal's* reticence: "But when I went into the business end of the deal I soon made up my mind that it was impracticable for the *Appeal* to do such a gigantic task as putting a book like **The Jungle** on the market. We did not have the facilities nor the connection with book reviewers to get the book properly before the American public, nor had we any way to reach the book trade. It was a disappointment [sic] to Sinclair when the *Appeal* finally decided that it could not under any circumstances bring out the book as he desired it to be published. I knew that we could not sell [sic] to our readers more than ten thousand copies, which would barely have paid for the first edition, leaving no margin for pushing the book in other channels. Sinclair then undertook to publish the book himself. With the assistance of every Socialist newspaper trying to raise enough advance orders to get out the first edition [we] only succeeded in raising orders for five thousand copies."

Warren exaggerated. Only 3,000 readers responded to Sinclair's plea published in the *Appeal* of 18 November 1905: "To My Comrades of the Movement. Something over a year ago I took an outline of **The Jungle** to a publishing house, and signed a contract for the bringing out of the book this fall. When the story was half written this firm declared that they considered it "equal to the strongest of Zola's writing, and with an added dignity of its own;" but when it was completed they told me that they could not publish it as it stood, and would have to require omissions and alterations that would ruin the book for the purpose for which I had written it.

"It has always been repugnant to me to have my books exploited in the business world. I am not a business man myself, and I do not write my books from business motives. As I thought over the whole proposition, it occurred to me that if I only had the capital to print an edition myself, I would take the chances of an appeal to the Socialists to find it an audience and make it a success. If the book has to be published by a capitalist concern its price will be fixed at a dollar and a half, postage extra, and this price you will have to pay if you wish to own a copy of it. The profits of the book store and the jobber, the traveling salesman and the publisher, the author and the reviewer (in the form of advertising), the printer, the binder and the paper trust--all these you will have to furnish, and furnish to the end of time. Of Bellamy's "Looking Backward" our party press could sell thousands of copies every year; but though the book was published fifteen or twenty years ago [1888], the publishers still refuse to print a cheap edition of it. And more important than this, a publisher may completely suppress a book if he sees fit. Ten years ago

the Standard Oil Company put its secret agencies at work, with the result that even to this day it is difficult to obtain a copy of Henry D. Lloyd's "Wealth vs. Commonwealth." I may be mistaken, but I believe I know where I could get a good sum of money to withhold **The Jungle** from the public; and I do not believe the book would be out a month before its publishers would receive mysterious offers for its copyright.

"The more I thought about all this the more clearly I saw that it was not simply a question of business, but one of morals--that it would be an act of cowardice and unfaith to turn **The Jungle** over to the profit-mongers without first giving my comrades a chance to say whether or not they were prepared to care for it. I believed that I had written a book that the Socialists could not let lie; and if they were going to buy it, I said, why might they not send the money to me and wait a month or two while I printed it with the capital thus furnished? My friends all tell me that I am foolish to take the risk; but I believe in the Socialist movement--if I did not, I should never have written **The Jungle**.

"If I could afford to do it, I should offer this book to the world at cost, but I cannot do that. I have been six years learning to write novels, and during that time I have worked sixteen hours a day and written nine books, of which four have been published; and the sum total of my earnings from that source has been less than a thousand dollars. I had a wife and child to take care of, and we lived in tents and shanties and garrets, and begged and borrowed the money to live in them. There have been months when I have done all the housework, the cooking and washing of dishes, and taken care of a baby and a sick wife besides.

"I am not grumbling about this, for it was all practice for **The Jungle**--I am simply making the point that it was exhausting practice, which has left us all upon the verge of prostration, and has made it impossible for me to take any risks with this last book.

"This volume, as I plan to publish it, will be equal in every respect to the best A.50 copyright novel. It will be clearly printed upon the best paper, with drawings by a young artist which I consider a real help to the imagination--something that can seldom be said of such drawings. The book will have a special cover design, and the binding will be the best. In this connection it is to be pointed out that **The Jungle** is more than twice as long as the average A.50 novel, and this means that it will cost much more to make--nearly twice as much for the plates at the outset, and for the paper, printing and postage all the time. The postage will be at least fourteen cents a copy, and so, if you were ordering the copy from the capitalist publishing house, you would have to pay A.64 a copy. Its price, if I publish it, will be A.20 net, postpaid, for single copies; for five copies, D.50; ten copies, A0.00; twenty-five copies, B3.00; fifty copies,

D5.00; one hundred copies, H0.00--express or freight in all cases prepaid. This will be the price to all comers--that is to say, the Socialist movement will get the same terms as the book trade, and later on will be a paper edition, upon thin paper, to save postage.

"I will wait twenty days to find out whether or not you care to have **The Jungle** published in this way, and if orders enough are received, the book will be ready a month later. The first edition will consist of the exact number of copies ordered within the twenty days, and it will be called the "Sustainers' Edition," and have inside the cover a label explaining that it was one of the copies ordered to make possible the publication of the book [see facsimile above]. All orders must be accompanied by the money (check or postoffice money order preferred), and they should be addressed not to me personally, but to "The Jungle Publishing Company," Princeton N.J. If you wish to make the book a Christmas present to your friends, state this in your order and engraved certificates will be sent you, each one stating that a copy of **The Jungle** has been ordered and paid for, and will be mailed upon the date of publication. The receipt of all orders will be promptly acknowledged, and the result will be made known through the Socialist press. If the number of orders should be too few to justify the undertaking, the orders will be filled, at the same price, by the capitalist house which brings out the book, or else the money will be returned upon demand. UPTON SINCLAIR."

In a letter published in the *Appeal* of 16 December 1905, Sinclair reported: "On November 18th last I printed in the *Appeal* a statement to the effect that I would publish **The Jungle** myself, if a sufficient number of advance subscriptions were received to make it possible. I said that I would wait twenty days. At the end of fourteen days the number of orders amounts to 972, and the amount of money to A,400, which is not sufficient, as the first edition of 2,500 copies, I have figured, will cost about A,800, and as 500 copies would have to be sent out free for review such an edition would just about pay for itself. In addition, there ought to be A,000 for advertising, as otherwise the press will neglect the book and the stores will not handle it. Also, there must be money to pay for the printing of two or three thousand extra copies, since there is nothing kills a book so surely as a delay in filling the first orders that come in.

"I have received an offer from a publishing house of the highest standing, which is willing to bring out the book on my own terms; but I am still clinging to the hope of keeping it in my own hands. As the plates will be of service, no matter what arrangement is made, I have gone ahead with this important part of the work, and it will be half done when this statement appears. A comrade having offered to advance money upon all orders received, we no longer have to ask you to send us cash; all that we want to find out is how many propose to order the book when we

announce that it is ready. If things go as we hope, this should be about January 15th next. UPTON SINCLAIR."

The memorandum of agreement between Sinclair and Doubleday, Page & Company, the eventual publisher of the book, was not signed until 8 January 1906, wherein special arrangement allowed Sinclair to market the book independently to Socialists. Warren recalled to Goebel that Sinclair "made one more attempt to secure a capitalist publisher. I urged him repeatedly to do this because I felt it was the only way possible by which he could get anything out of the book and at the same time get it before the reading public." Sinclair recalled almost thirty years later in ***American Outpost: A Book of Reminiscences*** (1932): "I had a printing firm in New York at work putting ***The Jungle*** into type. Then, just as the work was completed, some one suggested that I offer the book to Doubleday, Page and Company. So I found myself in New York again, for a series of conferences with Walter H. Page and his young assistants" (p. 163).

Working from the *One-Hoss Philosophy* edition, Sinclair revised ***The Jungle***, paying close attention to the criticism he had received from *Brett* and the *Macmillan* readers. *Despite his protestations that he wished the novel published as he had written it, revision was drastic. It reduced the work from thirty-six chapters and a conclusion to thirty-one chapters and a conclusion. The greatest number of deletions was passages pertaining to Socialism, followed closely by paragraphs dealing with what Sinclair termed the Press Trust, prostitution, and derogatory comments about "big business," especially those concerning the self-made man or "captain of industry." Paragraphs were added to emphasize the malpractices of the meatpacking industry. A love story was developed between the Amazon Marija and the fiddler Tamoszius Kuszlerika, the latter appearing in the original version of the novel only in the wedding scene. Spelling of surnames was changed: Biarcynskas to Berczynkas; Grajczunas to Graiczunas, Lukoszis to Lukoszaite, Rudkos to Rudkus, Majauszkis to Majauszkiene, etc. While in both the *Appeal* and *One-Hoss* versions, the major packing houses were thinly disguised (Anderson for Armour; Smith for Swift; Morton for Morris), revealing alliteration is discarded in the Doubleday, Page edition and the companies are called Durham, Brown, and Jones. Lithuanian phrases are for the most part eliminated, and discussion of ethnic customs and traditions are drastically shortened or entirely deleted. For example, the italicized portion of the following discussion of the *veselija* (wedding feast) is omitted:*

"Now, however, since they had come to the new country, all this was changing; *and it was just like feeling the ground failing under your feet.* It seemed as if there must be some subtle poison in the air that one breathed here--it was affecting all the young men at once. *They no longer*

*cared about the laws of the veselija, or about any laws; they no longer cared about the opinion of men--they cared only about themselves. They did not believe in faith and honor, but made fun of such things; it was the fashion, and they thought that it was smart. They would be no simpleminded victims, not they; they had learned the rules of the game. There was common among them a witticism which they had picked up somewhere, and which they never tired of laughing over: "Do unto others as they would do unto you, but do it first." And this meant in practice that instead of caring for their old people, their little brothers and sisters, and being true to their sweethearts, they spent all their money upon shoddy clothing and vanities and went downtown after women so dreadful that one could not speak of them. It meant that when there was a veselija they came in crowds and filled themselves with a fine dinner and then sneaked off"* (pp. 11-12). Thus the above passage, as revised, read in the Doubleday, Page edition: "Now, however since they had come to the new country, all this was changing; it seemed as if there must be some subtle poison in the air that one breathed here--it was affecting all the young men at once. They would come in crowds and fill themselves with a fine dinner, and then sneak off" (pp. 16-17).

Carefully eliminated were such statements containing Socialist sentiment as "The rich people not only had all the money, they had all the chance to get more; they had all the knowledge and the power, and so the poor man was down, and he had to stay down. & The world is divided into those who have and those who have not, and all the stars in their course fight against the latter; the little family had been stung by the thought that by one great effort they might spring into the winning class" (p. 40).

The most curious deletions are those of passages which made the immigrant workers more empathetic or less alien to the reader. For example, Jurgis's father, Antanas Rudkos, finally obtains a job mopping floors at Anderson's. The italicized sentences in the following paragraph represent omissions which demonstrate the old man's self-sacrifice:

"& and that same day [he] was put to work in Anderson's cellars. *He found that his wages were to be a dollar twenty-five a day, and so he would have five dollars each week as the result of his toil. Every cent of it he brought home to his family for his board--he would not hear of anything else; he had no need of money, he told them; he did not care for beer, and they would give him all he wanted to eat. Yet, as it proved, he had to break his resolution at the very beginning, for they had put him in a place where there was never a dry spot to stand upon and so he had to take more than half of his first week's earnings to buy him a pair of heavy-soled boots"* (p. 49).

With revisions here italicized, the paragraph read in the Doubleday, Page edition: "& and that same day *he* was put to work in *Durham's* cellars. *It was a "pickle-room,"* where there was never a dry spot to stand upon, and so he had to take *nearly the whole* of his first week's earnings to buy a pair of heavy-soled boots" (p. 71).

Admittedly, mathematics do not function properly in the omitted sentences: six days of work at A.25, a rather princely pay for a "squeedgie man," would be G.50; six days' work for five dollars would represent a daily wage of a little less than eighty-five cents. In deleting rather than correcting the passage, Sinclair significantly subtracts from the development of Antanas's characterization.

Repeatedly throughout both Girard editions of ***The Jungle***, Sinclair makes use of the word "jungle" metaphorically, it first appearing in a description of Packingtown: "To the strangers it seemed like a wilderness, a very jungle--a jungle of houses. It was a jungle, too, ruled by strange powers, about which they did not understand, full of creatures which preyed upon each other--that were hunting you without rest, tracking you in the daytime and watching in your path by night. The only difference was that they sought, not your life-blood, but your money--and when you had been caught by them once or twice, you came to understand that this difference was no difference at all" (p. 20). All references to the jungle are deleted from the first twenty-one and last nine chapters of the Doubleday, Page edition. In the twenty-second chapter, Jurgis, now a harvester, encounters a prostitute in a saloon: "He nodded to her, and she came and sat by him, and the wild beast rose up within him and screamed, as it has screamed in the jungle from the dawn of time" (p. 261). Thus, the central metaphor of the book in its revised form is carried by the title alone, with this reference to the primal sex urge being its sole echo in the text. When sentences originally containing the word were retained, "jungle" became "civilization," "city," or, lamely, "forest."

Also deleted from the Doubleday, Page edition was the paragraph referring to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (p. 65). Although early endorsements of the novel by Arthur Brisbane, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Jack London, and others drew parallels between the novels in varying degrees of detail while the work was being serialized, the author's own commentary was withdrawn from the text.

As might be expected, entire pages delineating Socialist personalities and activities were deleted from the commercial edition of the novel. For example, Sinclair's portrait of Eugene V. Debs, the founder and evangel of the Socialist Party, has most of its background removed, the deletions being italicized in the following paragraphs:

"When the president [of the American Railway Union] came out of his cell he came out a Socialist; and now for just ten years he had been traveling up and down the United States, standing face to face with the people, and pleading with them for justice. *In that long period there was scarce a workingman in the country who had not heard him; and now, tonight, in Chicago, where he had been crushed and ruined, the representatives of ninety-five labor unions sat upon a platform with him, and over forty of them had brought their union-banners for a sign. They were grouped in masses of color above the stage, and behind them all waved the standard of the revolution, the blood-red symbol of Brotherhood. The great Auditorium was packed with a mob of four thousand workingmen, and when their leader came upon the stage they rose and shouted--shouted!*

"He was a man of electric presence, tall and gaunt, with a face worn thin by struggle and suffering. The fury of outraged manhood gleamed in it--and the tears of suffering little children pleaded in his voice. *He was represented in the papers as a man of violence, but he had the tenderness of a woman. "God was feeling mighty good when he made him," wrote James Whitcomb Riley, "and he didn't have anything else to do all day." "He has ten hopes to your one hope," wrote another poet who loved him. "He has ten loves to your one love."*

*"When he spoke he paced the stage restlessly; he was lithe and eager, like a panther. He leaned over, reaching out for his audience; he pointed into their souls with an insistent finger. His voice was husky from much speaking, but the hall was still as death, and everyone heard him. He spoke the language of the workingmen--he pointed them the way. He showed the two political parties "two wings of the same bird of prey!" The people were allowed to choose between their candidates, and both of them were controlled, and all their nominations were dictated, by the same power. The people attended political meetings of either party, and the hall was paid for, and the speakers were hired, out of the same purse. The Republican convention had nominated for vice president a railroad director and millionaire, and the Democratic convention had nominated a capitalist, the owner of a large part of the state of West Virginia, a coal-baron, who does not permit the men in his employ to organize. In his biography you will note that in his youth he was a slave-driver; and he is yet--he has simply exchanged a small number of black slaves for a large number of white ones. "And if any of my audience are in this gentleman's class, let them vote for him! I shall be quite satisfied when all the capitalists vote for their candidates and all the workingmen vote for theirs"" (pp. 309-10).*

With the further deletion of material dealing with unions, the Harry Wheeler subplot, and criticism of marriage, the educational system, and other "capitalist institutions," the manuscript was shortened by almost a

third. Rearrangement of the remaining materials, with the addition of the Marija love story, resulted in a novel different in concept and development from its Girard editions. Jurgis, who had beaten up his wife's seducer, at the end of the novel is "handcuffed to a detective, and on his way to serve a two years' sentence in state's prison for assault with intent to kill" (p. 318). But in the first Girard printing of the novel it is a new Jurgis who goes to prison. In a rally scene deleted from the "expurgated" version of the novel, as Warren was to call the Doubleday, Page edition, Jurgis has become "educated." He finds himself able to express his thoughts in public: "I have been dere myself!" he rushed on, when he had finally gained the ear of the crowd. "I have seen it wit' my own eyes. I have done it wit' my own hands!" And then he proceeded to tell them about it, all the details. "I lived here in the Stockyards once!" he cried--"I helped to sell out the people! I have known Tom Cassidy! Every goddamn cent dat feller has he gits from de packers, and den he goes an' elects Republicans--anybody--anyt'ing, he don't care--so it's his man. An' when de strike comes, he runs away and hides! And now de people begin to wake up, an' he says he's goin' out of politics! He buys him a house in Hyde Park--he pays a hundred t'ousan' dollars for it! Who pays for dat house, you t'ink? I tells you stockyards men--'" (pp. 314-15).

The novel has been so developed that the reader knows that Jurgis will emerge from prison, like Debs, to become as impassioned an orator and organizer as those who had awakened him to his condition.

Truncated as it was, ***The Jungle*** became a best seller and its author a world-famous novelist. Suddenly the *One-Hoss Philosophy* edition, earlier spurned by the Socialists, became much in demand. Warren sent out fifteen thousand circulars offering the novel as a premium in exchange for four subscribers. "This offer," he wrote Wayland on 23 June 1906, "is being accepted and hundreds of subscriptions are now coming into the office as a result of this proposition. I figure that there will be something like five to ten thousand dollars coming in from this source within the next two months, not counting the sales, which on ***The Jungle*** alone amount to forty to fifty dollars per day."

Such activity did not go unnoticed. "These capitalist publishers are smooth business men and understand the game fairly well," Warren recounted to Goebel. "They tied Sinclair up with a contract which upon investigation made our bringing out of our quarterly edition an infringement on their copyright. We had a contract with Sinclair that would have enabled us to have established our right to bring ***The Jungle*** in quarterly form, but as Sinclair had contracted to protect the New York publishers from any such infringement they could have held him for any damage which might have arisen--in other words it was a question of

paup[er]izing Sinclair as the Doubleday, Page & Co., control[le]d his royalty and could have tied him up for years to come."

In the contract he eventually signed with Sinclair and Doubleday, Page on 1 July 1906, Warren promised to "furnish affidavit showing that we had printed only the 10,500 copies [of the quarterly edition] and also to the effect that the plates had been destroyed after the edition was finished." Sinclair, he confided to his lawyer the next day, "is just about as irrational as ever. I think this was the first time in his life when he was really and truly scared."

An amusing incident occurred before this contract was signed. Wayland's son, Walter, misplaced the *Appeal's* copy of the contract, which was essential evidence for a lawsuit threatened by Doubleday in the Kansas City District Court. "We have searched the office from one end to another for the missing contract but as yet it has not been brought to light," Warren wrote James C. Williams, the *Appeal's* Kansas City attorney on 23 June 1906. "I am at a loss to understand what has become of it. Mr. Cramer, our book-keeper, assures me that he saw the contract some time ago in looking through some papers and is quite positive that it was in the office. One of the clerks also is positive that she was present when I turned the contract over to young Wayland, the cashier, for safe keeping, so there can be no doubt whatever that the contract reached the *Appeal* office and that it was in our possession at one time."

"Fortunately," Warren reported to Wayland, "we have Sinclair's last letter outlining the conditions on which he would write ***The Jungle*** for the *Appeal*. This letter is dated October 29th, 1904, and stipulates that the *Appeal* is to have the serial rights to ***The Jungle*** with authority to issue the entire story in supplement form if we so decided or in two or three issues of our monthly. This, with Sinclair's receipt for E00.00 stating that we have the serial rights to ***The Jungle*** forms the basis of our claims. Williams is quite positive that we are acting clearly within our legal rights; however it would seem that Doubleday, Page & Co., and Sinclair are not disposed to make any concessions or compromises, and that it must be settled in court."

The case was settled out of court. "After several heated interviews between myself, Sinclair and Doubleday Page & Co.," Warren wrote Goebel, "we settled the matter in such a way as to leave the *Appeal* free to issue a fifty cent paper edition of ***The Jungle*** next year. Copies we have on hand [of the quarterly containing the novel] we can give away as premiums to subscribers and I have been giving them away as a premium for our yearly subscribers. You should bear in mind that no publisher will bring out a cloth bound edition of a book and at the same

time grant permission to another firm to issue a paper edition until after the expiration of one year."

One further printing, until now unrecorded, would be brought out by the *Appeal* in conjunction with Doubleday, Page. A limited edition of ***The Jungle*** was announced on the front page of No. 565 (29 September 1906). On page three a description of the prize for the "October Contest" was given in some detail: "You ought by all means to get one of these autograph[ed] portrait editions of ***The Jungle***. The *Appeal* has had printed an edition of 100 copies, handsomely bound in cloth, with illuminated cover design in red and gold. Money can't buy a single copy of this limited edition, but you can secure one copy if you are among the 100 who send in the 100 largest lists of subscribers during the month of October."

The *Appeal* Army was used to subscription contests which offered prizes ranging from Wing pianos and "a gold watch to a steam yacht or an eighty-acre farm" (p. 310). This sumptuous printing was evidently considered their equal by its winners. One recipient of the volume, A. L. Bucher of Knoxville, Tennessee, wrote the *Appeal*: "I received in the mail today a great surprize, viz., one copy of the 100 souvenir editions of ***The Jungle***. I would not sell it or part with it for the whole Standard Oil and packing industries. & I cut the letter enclosed with it to fit and pasted it in the front of the book and have wrote [sic] the following in it: "This book is to be the property of my oldest son, at my death, and at his death it is to go to his oldest son, if any. Should the oldest son not live it shall go to the next oldest and shall be handed down from each generation in this manner so that future generations may see and know what savages we were" (8 December 1906).

From No. 571 of the *Appeal* (10 November 1906) through No. 584 (9 February 1907), a weekly notice advised how many copies of the quarterly edition of ***The Jungle*** were available: "889 **Jungles** Left" to "106 **Jungles** Left." In No. 590 (23 March 1907), the *Appeal* announced that a free copy of Sinclair's new novel, ***A Captain of Industry***, could be obtained by ordering "ten copies of the new paper-bound ***Jungle*** & for E." Sales went well and promotion of the "unexpurgated edition" continued. In November Wayland would address the Army, "One of the important factors that is arousing public attention to existing affairs is Sinclair's great book, ***The Jungle***, written for the *Appeal* and first appearing in our columns. So powerful does this book portray industrial conditions and the methods of the modern commercial pirate that it has moved the President of the United States to sit up and take severe notice. Three government commissions have been appointed to investigate the charges made by Sinclair in ***The Jungle***, and these commissions have reported that the book is founded upon absolute facts.

"The *Appeal* has several talented young men at work upon as important material as that in **The Jungle** has proven to be and that is why I want these four friends of yours to read the paper for one year.

"As an evidence of my appreciation of this friendly lift, at a time, too, when the *Appeal* needs it, *I will mail to you without Charge and postpaid a paper-bound edition of **The Jungle**, unabridged and in its original form.* [italic is Wayland's.]

"You will use enclosed blank so that **The Jungle** may be sent to you promptly. A dollar bill may be sent safely in an envelope at our risk. Yours for education and enlightenment, J. A. WAYLAND."

No copy is known to be extant of this edition. The text which follows is that of the chapters as they appeared in the various editions of the *Appeal* from No. 482 (25 February 1905) to special No. 518 (4 November 1905). Collations of the various editions of the issues containing the novel reveal that as the type wore thin, sections would be reset, correcting errors that might have been in the original setting. These corrections have been incorporated into this edition. In collating the *Appeal* edition with that which appeared in *One-Hoss Philosophy*, only one textual change was found; in discussing the butchering of cows about to calve, Sinclair added a sentence (italicized): "So in a trice the carcass of the cow would be cleaned out, and the entrails vanished; it was Jurgis's task to slide them into the trap, calves and all, and on the floor below they took out these "slunk" calves, and used even the skins of them. *Sometimes, when they were cut out, the calves would stand up and start to walk away and have to be butchered all over*" (p. 51). This sentence did not appear in the Doubleday, Page edition, and, since it did not appear in the *Appeal*, is not reproduced in this edition.

Sinclair's association with the *Appeal* did not end with the disagreements over **The Jungle**. Throughout all those difficulties, he was negotiating with the Socialist publishing house to bring out his **A Captain of Industry**, which they published in hardbound form on 15 December 1906. As late as 3 December 1908 quarrels and threatened lawsuits were thick. Wayland's elder son Jon would write Sinclair, "It seems as if this office has been absolutely unable to do business with you without a row in the windup and I hope, therefore, that you and I can settle the present difficulty without further trouble. It would leave a better feeling with the boys in this office toward you and a better feeling with you for the *Appeal*."

Jon G. Wayland was not successful in his endeavors. County and district court dockets cite Upton Sinclair vs. Fred D. Warren at every session.

The last, initiated in 1915 and not settled until 1920, reflects much the same scenario witnessed in the publication of ***The Jungle***. The Fort Scott, Kansas, *Tribune* of 24 April 1915 gives Sinclair's side of the suit: "About six years ago I arranged with Fred D. Warren, at his request, to use his idea for a play, paying him in cash for the right. For several years he urged me to make a story out of this play, which he could use serially in the *Appeal*. He made me various propositions, and finally, two years ago, made a proposition which I accepted--that if I would write the story and let him publish it serially, he would undertake to publish it in book form, and "put the whole power of the *Appeal to Reason* behind it and sell at least a hundred thousand copies"."

Not since 1905 has the *Appeal to Reason* edition of ***The Jungle*** been readily available. Because of the inaccessibility of publishing records, scholars were unaware of the multiplicity of editions of the *Appeal* and in examining any particular run of the periodical concluded with Ronald Gottesman in his indispensable bibliography: "Novel left unfinished in this newspaper serial" (p. 30). This edition restores the novel as originally visualized by the editors of the *Appeal* and as written by Sinclair: the pilgrim's progress of a young immigrant from the city of destruction through the slough of despair to a dream of the Coming Nation. Through education of mind and heart, Jurgis learns lessons "frightful to see and understand--it was a sort of day-nightmare: the people burdened by poverty and ignorance, by race prejudice and religious bigotry, and crushed by a power such as this! Yet that was life--it was in this fiery furnace that the new civilization was being forged, it was in this agony that men were being brought together, and the dream of the Brotherhood of Man being made a reality" (p. 282).