

## **The Romance of Science and the Illustrations in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World***

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ON 2 AUGUST 1912, ARTIST PATRICK LEWIS FORBES (1860–1939) wrote to his brother-in-law, Arthur Conan Doyle, in a state of great excitement. Forbes had just learned that the illustrations he had produced for Conan Doyle's latest romance, *The Lost World* (1912), would be appearing in the first edition of the book, published by Hodder & Stoughton. The novel, which recounts the adventures of the irascible scientist Professor Challenger on a South American plateau inhabited by prehistoric creatures, had recently completed its serialization in the American *Sunday Magazine* and was approaching its climax in the British *Strand Magazine*. Despite being designed to Conan Doyle's precise specifications, Forbes's paintings of the novel's mysterious plateau had been only haphazardly thrown into the former serial and were almost entirely excluded from the latter.

Now "delighted" to learn that his work would be given pride of place in the British book version, Forbes voiced his dissatisfaction with the alternative illustrations appearing in the *Strand*, an extensive set produced by the professional illustrator Harry Rountree. Forbes felt that Rountree's

horrid striving after sensational pictures, the blood & thunder instead of the mysterious poetry[,] the inaccurate drawing of the animals [...] if possible have tended to lessen the high tone and truthful scientific accuracy of your story.<sup>1</sup>

He believed that his own sparing set of scenes made for a subtler interpretation of *The Lost World*, emphasizing mysterious landscapes over action set-pieces and generally confining the story's monstrous pterodactyls, iguanodons, and ichthyosaurs to the misty distance. Forbes's less-is-more approach to illustration directly contradicted the format of the consciously modern *Strand*, however, which had risen to fame in the 1890s with the promise of a vivid picture on

almost every page.<sup>2</sup> His confidence boosted by Conan Doyle's approbation, the Hampstead artist offered a somewhat immodest exemplar for the superiority of leavings things to the imagination, declaring that "[a]n illustrated bible for instance would utterly spoil the charm."<sup>3</sup>

Forbes's talk of "mysterious poetry," "high tone," and "truthful scientific accuracy" might appear to be a singularly humorless characterization of *The Lost World*. Similarly, Conan Doyle's preference for Forbes's scanty illustrations over Rountree's dozens of professionally-polished alternatives may require elaboration. The *Strand*'s editor, Herbert Greenhough Smith, apparently considered most of Forbes's illustrations unworthy of reproduction; more recently, in the Oxford World's Classics edition of *The Lost World*, Forbes's works are dismissed as "inferior drawings" used to replace the "magnificently lurid" illustrations by Rountree, when Forbes's images were, in fact, the originals.<sup>4</sup> These were not "inferior drawings" to Conan Doyle, who called one sketch "perfect" and considered Forbes's painting of a swamp of pterodactyls so "magnificent" that it might pass as a photograph.<sup>5</sup> Later, having praised the "mystery & suggestion" of Forbes's depiction of a plesiosaur-haunted lake over Rountree's serialized replacement, Conan Doyle boasted to Smith that "I shall have a free hand in the book—and you'll see the effect" (Figs. 1 and 2).<sup>6</sup> True to



Fig. 1 Patrick Lewis Forbes, "The Central Lake"

Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912), facing 276

his word, Rountree's replacements were entirely removed and Forbes's set restored. Clearly, Forbes's illustrations were crucial to Conan Doyle's vision of *The Lost World*.

Despite his apparent importance, Forbes has received only minimal attention in the critical literature on *The Lost World*'s paratextual elements.<sup>7</sup> Along with Forbes's paintings, the British first edition's images consist of a group of composite photographs chiefly taken by William Ransford, a photographer friend of Forbes. In the most famous of these photos, Ransford, Forbes, and Conan Doyle pose as the novel's dinosaur-hunting protagonists (Fig. 3).

Playful visual matter like Forbes's paintings

and Ransford's photos, combined with the presentation of *The Lost World* as a genuine journalistic report, signaled Conan Doyle's adoption of the wryly verisimilitudinous conventions of imperial romance fiction. In doing so, he built upon traditions dating back at least to the "Romance Revival" of the 1880s, when Robert Louis Stevenson and H. Rider Haggard began writing novels of masculinist adventure accompanied by paratextual markers of realism that included maps and mock-scholarly footnotes. Influential scholarship on the *almost* believable adventures of imperial romance novels has characterized their success as, in part, a mass-market symptom of the globalization and supposed secularization of western culture in the age of New Imperialism.<sup>8</sup> Michael Saler argues that the crucial ingredient to their



Fig. 2 Harry Rountree's depiction of the Central Lake  
Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Lost World [7/8]," *Strand Magazine*, 44 (1912), 362



Fig. 3 William Ransford, "The Members of the Exploring Party." Patrick Lewis Forbes plays both Professor Summerlee and Lord John Roxton. William Ransford plays E. D. Malone. Arthur Conan Doyle plays Professor G. E. Challenger

Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912), frontispiece

appeal was the stimulation of what he calls "ironic imagination": by creating "logically cohesive worlds intended to reconcile reason and enchantment" with "a measure of self-reflexive irony," modern romancers simulated "the sense of wonder they had experienced as young readers."<sup>9</sup>

*The Lost World*, published with all its mock-photojournalistic apparatus, provides Saler with a key example of the ironic imagination.<sup>10</sup> In the same vein, critics have argued that *The Lost World*'s blend of technical realism and escapism offered a semi-serious commentary on how imperial expansion, journalistic exposés, and photographic reproduction technologies could reinvigorate many early twentieth-century readers' paling sense of the modern world's romance.<sup>11</sup> A keen disciple of the psychic research and spiritualism that, like the imperial romance, thrived in the decades around 1900, Conan Doyle did not personally seek enchantment solely in fiction.<sup>12</sup> Nonetheless, he was distinctly attracted to the multifarious

term, “romance,” and sensitive to the ways in which both fiction and scientific investigation (whether psychic or otherwise) could provoke a more profoundly wondering sense of the world’s mysteries. This article argues that Conan Doyle’s collaboration with Forbes provides an insight into the nature of the former’s attraction to—and repulsion from—scientific knowledge. In so doing, the article makes substantial use of various archival sources that have received little-or-no scholarly attention, including the novel’s draft manuscript and related correspondence at the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, providing important insights into the construction of the novel. As we shall see, *The Lost World* was only ever a half-serious attempt to share Conan Doyle’s romantic view of science with readers, but its significance, at least to its author and to Forbes, was more complicated than has previously been recognized.

## **The World Is Full of Wonderments**

Most accounts of the composition of *The Lost World* note, often somewhat casually, that Conan Doyle and his second wife Jean actually claimed to have once spotted a living specimen of a prehistoric aquatic reptile. The novelist publicized this encounter in his autobiographical *Memories and Adventures* (1924), where he recalled that the couple, sailing in the Aegean on their honeymoon in 1907,

were looking down into the transparent depths when we both clearly saw a creature which has never, so far as I know, been described by Science. It was exactly like a young ichthyosaurus, about 4 feet long, with thin neck and tail, and four marked side-flippers. [...] This old world has got some surprises for us yet.<sup>13</sup>

Cryptozoological sightings were not necessarily considered fringe in the Edwardian period.<sup>14</sup> All the same, Conan Doyle kept this experience quiet, later claiming that, back in 1907, he “knew nobody would believe me.”<sup>15</sup> In 1922, his confidence was boosted upon hearing the account of an admiral who had (albeit near the Isle of Man, rather than in the Mediterranean) sighted a wyvern-like creature “about the size of the skinned chow-dogs one sees hanging



outside the butchers' shops of Canton."<sup>16</sup> Conan Doyle wrote to the Keeper of Geology at the Natural History Museum in London, noting the striking coincidence of these sightings:

I remember telling you about a queer beast or reptile we saw in the Ægean sea. I said that an admiral had long after described a similar one. Today I came on his picture of it & thought it might interest you. But ours was bigger than a chow—two feet or three in length.<sup>17</sup>

The respondent wrote “probably turtle” at the top of Conan Doyle’s letter, apparently indicating the content of a now-lost reply. The novelist was undiscouraged. After formerly describing the animal as resembling the dolphin-like “ichthyosaurus,” by 1925 he considered that it was “probably a plesiosaurus,” a long-necked reptile more closely resembling the description in his autobiography.<sup>18</sup> Finally, in 1928, after reading in the *Daily Express* about the discovery of a plesiosaur fossil, Conan Doyle and Jean wrote to the newspaper and asserted that “your plesiosaurus is exactly what we saw that day.”<sup>19</sup>

It is tempting to interpret this episode with reference to *The Lost World*. Of course, a lack of contemporaneous sources discussing the sighting make it hard to ascertain what Conan Doyle thought he saw back in 1907, or around the time he was writing *The Lost World*. Nonetheless, the author’s oddly specific suggestion that the Aegean ichthyosaurus was “young,” rather than simply small, echoed lines from his novel: in one rhapsodic passage, the journalist-narrator, Edward D. Malone, recounts the capture of a “young ichthyosaurus” in the South American plateau’s Central Lake on a “wondrous moonlit night.”<sup>20</sup> Previously, Challenger’s sober colleague, Professor Summerlee, had been reduced to “wonder and admiration” by another inhabitant of the lake: “Plesiosaurus! A fresh-water plesiosaurus! [...] That I should have lived to see such a sight!”<sup>21</sup> The elderly Conan Doyle could now echo Summerlee’s sentiments in a national newspaper.

We can begin to cast some light on the strange case of the Aegean plesiosaur (or ichthyosaur), and with it enhance our understanding of the romantic logic of *The Lost World* and its paratexts, by examining Conan Doyle’s attitude towards science. From the 1880s, the

newly-qualified doctor began to migrate from his youthful allegiance to secular scientific naturalism to an interest in psychic phenomena, culminating in his public avowal of spiritualism in 1916. This trajectory can be situated firmly in a wider cultural reaction against the scientific point of view then dubbed “materialism.”<sup>22</sup> Like so many fellow psychic researchers, Conan Doyle’s objection was not to the scientific method but to what he perceived to be the unimaginative and narrowly specialist approach to science cultivated by elite practitioners. Channeling the anti-materialistic tirades of one of his philosophical heroes, Thomas Carlyle, Conan Doyle was contemptuous of attempts by “pedants” to decide which books could claim the “right to be called scientific” and cursed the “eternal jargon” of “scientific men.”<sup>23</sup> He preferred the easier charms of popular science books, in which it was possible to avoid “the prickly bushes in that enchanted garden.”<sup>24</sup> In the semi-autobiographical novel *The Stark Munro Letters* (1895), which Conan Doyle later claimed “correctly portrayed” his “mental attitude,” Stark Munro brags about that he cannot name a single star: “[t]he glamour and romance would pass away from them if they were all classified and ticketed in one’s brain.”<sup>25</sup> While exaggerated, the novelist was undoubtedly fond of this sentiment.

Conan Doyle’s impatience with scientific specialization, positivism, and technical detail was offset by his fascination with the imaginative potential of a wide array of sciences, from anthropology to paleontology. This fascination was transposed into the polymathic skills and exciting discoveries of scientific protagonists like Professor Challenger and Sherlock Holmes.<sup>26</sup> A truly scientific world-view, he suggested, was imaginatively inspiring rather than technocratic or materialistic. Reflecting upon the geological origin of gold seams in *Our African Winter* (1929), a late piece of travel writing, Conan Doyle remarked that “the world is full of wonderments, and when you cease to appreciate the fact your brain is ceasing to function.”<sup>27</sup> The survival of a Jurassic reptile off the island of Aegina was, presumably, one such wonderment.

Conan Doyle's most notorious assertions of the harmony of scientific investigation and anti-materialistic awe were his detailed defences of the "Cottingley Fairy" photographs taken by Elsie Wright and Frances Griffiths in 1917 and 1920.<sup>28</sup> His somewhat bathetic suggestion that Wright and Griffiths's momentous discovery of fairies would "give romantic interest to every country walk" is suggestive, given his longstanding relationship with romance fiction.<sup>29</sup> The word "romance" held multifarious connotations, including the longstanding idea of the romance as a more fantastical literary alternative to the realistic novel. Conan Doyle's frequent use of the term also drew upon a more general sense that emerged in the eighteenth century: "wonder, mystery, and remoteness from everyday life."<sup>30</sup> Romance and fairies had commonly been invoked by popularizers of science during the Victorian period to suggest that scientific knowledge led to a reasoned enchantment. Conan Doyle himself, for instance, told medical students in 1910 that the "opsonic [immune system] researches of Professor [Almroth] Wright" made for a story that "transcends romance and seems rather to approach the fairyland of science."<sup>31</sup> In his later writing on "actual" fairies, Conan Doyle highlighted how empirical investigation could, quite literally, turn the world into a fairyland of science. Even the rationalistic Holmes, famously a sceptic of the supernatural, lived in "the fairy kingdom of romance."<sup>32</sup>

Just as the mystery of romance was entwined with the solidity of science, romance fiction was not, for Conan Doyle, necessarily generically distinct from fact. The author persistently undermined the distinctions between romance and reality, whether in non-fictional articles like "Stranger Than Fiction" (1915); in historical romances, which he claimed his research had imbued with accurate detail surpassing existing historical accounts; or even in his discussions of the "romance" of spiritualist writing.<sup>33</sup> The Challenger cycle provides apt examples of Conan Doyle's mischievous play at the borderlands of believability.<sup>34</sup> While the first Challenger novel, *The Lost World*, famously made somewhat ironic use of Forbes and Ransford's realistic



apparatus, the later *Land of Mist* (serialized 1925–26) asked readers to ignore precedent and interpret its paratexts quite differently. This sequel, in which protagonists Challenger and Malone convert to spiritualism, included an earnest appendix explaining that even its most outlandish elements were based on verified psychical phenomena and, in the *Strand* edition, readers could compare one illustration of spiritual materialization to a reproduction of “[t]he actual photo, taken at the Institut Métaphysique.”<sup>35</sup> Loyal *Strand* buyers who had read *The Lost World* were now being asked to believe that this image, potentially produced by the same composite photographic processes Ransford had used, were not simply another hoax. Even this view assumes that they were certain that Conan Doyle was not asking them to engage their ironic imagination.<sup>36</sup>

The disparity between the hoaxing of *The Lost World* and the truth-value of *The Land of Mist* may be less stark than it first appears. Forbes’s comments, quoted at the beginning of this article, show that *The Lost World*’s visual and textual humor complemented more sincere intimations. Contemporary reviewers recognized and attempted to pinpoint the novel’s tonal duplicity. *The New York Times*, for instance, questioned whether it was an imperial romance or a parody of one, while the *Bookman* felt that Malone’s “Defoé-like [*sic*], matter-of-fact” narration made it “at once one of the most realistic and one of the most romantic of [Conan Doyle’s] books.”<sup>37</sup> Conor Reid captures the tensions running through the Challenger cycle—which also includes the apocalyptic novel *The Poison Belt* (1913) and the darkly comic short stories “When the World Screamed” (1928) and “The Disintegration Machine” (1929)—perceptively commenting that the stories examine “the overlaps and fractures between the lost and the undiscovered, the scientific and the spiritual, in a manner which is in turns playful, inquisitive, and wholly serious.”<sup>38</sup> In other words, they throw together but do not reconcile Conan Doyle’s trust in the potential power of science, his anti-intellectualism, his anti-materialism, and his sense of humor. They did not need to reconcile these factors. As Simon

Natale has shown, the tension between fraudulence and conviction was a key theme in the spiritualist writing that Conan Doyle would consume and produce with increasing avidity. Natale argues that, in spiritualist media and more widely, “belief and entertainment are not alternatives, but may coexist in a cultural form that stimulates curiosity and wonder in believers and nonbelievers alike.”<sup>39</sup> In the Challenger series, Conan Doyle experimented with this relationship between belief and entertainment. He probed the reader’s credulity, making romantic impossibilities possible and sometimes even asking the reader to reassess their understanding of what was possible.

At the end of *The Lost World*, Challenger proves that his tale of adventure is true by unveiling a live pterodactyl at the Queen’s Hall in London. The fact that the animal then escapes, leaving no trace behind, is emblematic of the yearning logic of the Challenger stories, which all end either as soon as Challenger’s discoveries are revealed or without them becoming measurable, formalized scientific proofs.<sup>40</sup> For the romantic Conan Doyle as for Stark Munro, the triumph of verification grated against the mystique of the unknown or unknowable, whether in the stars, at Cottingley, or in the Aegean Sea. Romance was real, but it was also fragile and might be undone if one delved too deeply. As we shall see, Conan Doyle attempted to translate this logic—with the help of Forbes and Ransford—to the physical book of *The Lost World*.

## **A Martyr to Realism**

Conan Doyle began writing *The Lost World* in October 1911 and had finished a draft by 3 December.<sup>41</sup> Although he glibly told his mother that the decision to make book’s “pictures realistic” was the result of “an impish mood,” the process was costly, painstaking, and took several months to complete.<sup>42</sup> His precise instructions to Forbes and Ransford reveal that, rather than a frivolous caprice, Conan Doyle’s work on the apparatus to his novel was a minutely-planned exercise with a very specific vision. This section will thus explore the collaborative

work on *The Lost World*'s illustrations in detail. Other important aspects of the novel's origins and composition, including Conan Doyle's fascination with imperial exploration, his forays into paleontology, and his boyish correspondence with an old schoolfriend, James Ryan, will not be treated here, having been discussed elsewhere.<sup>43</sup>

Not long before 29 November, Conan Doyle enlisted Forbes to provide his illustrations. Forbes was the husband of Sarah Mildred (or Milly) Forbes, née Leckie, sister of Conan Doyle's wife Jean. Biographical information on Forbes is extremely limited. Previously Honorable Secretary of the Hampstead Art Society and watercolor instructor for the Architectural Association's evening classes, he appears to have been most active in the Edwardian period, during which he frequently exhibited his work to the Royal Academy.<sup>44</sup> His subjects were usually his Hampstead environs and we might reasonably speculate that, in addition to the family connection, it was the artist's preference for realistic rather than fantastic subject matter that made him an appropriate person to deliver what Conan Doyle wanted.

Forbes's task was not primarily an imaginative one. As noted by the only scholars to discuss his contributions in any length, Roy Pilot and Alvin E. Rodin, Conan Doyle marked out a selection of excised book pages with instructions showing how Forbes could combine specific subject matter into original compositions.<sup>45</sup> In one sample, Conan Doyle sent the artist his own mock-up of the Central Lake, scrawling barely-perceptible plesiosaurs onto a photograph of shimmering arctic water (Fig. 4). As Fig. 1 demonstrates, Forbes followed this concept closely. Conan Doyle was looking for highly realistic depictions of light, water, and foliage, as well as authoritative representations of extinct animals. He suggested Forbes visit a photography shop for "a selection of lake and woodland photos" as samples, noting expenses.<sup>46</sup> Around the same time, he provided the artist with annotated pages from *Extinct Animals* (1905), a children's

Fig. 4 A sample of the excised and annotated pages sent to Forbes by Conan Doyle. Left: "These are the monsters of the Central Lake." Right: "Plesiosaurs in the Central Lake. Background would be low shore with woods beyond a line of cliffs in distance."

Manuscripts, Box 125 (Doyle, A.C.; *Lost World*; Letters, etc.), The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

book on paleontology written by the former director of London's Natural History Museum, E. Ray Lankester.<sup>47</sup> These illustrated "restorations" of the life-like forms of prehistoric animals in Lankester's book would show Forbes how to depict the animals living on the novel's South American plateau. The "truthful scientific accuracy" of *The Lost World's* inhabitants was not to be compromised.<sup>48</sup>

Forbes revised each sketch until it was acceptable to his brother-in-law. He was to produce illustrations purportedly representing the work of two of the novel's characters: Maple White, the deceased American explorer and artist who was the first to discover the plateau upon which prehistoric animals survive, and Malone, the novel's narrator. White's sketches are amongst the evidence that persuades Malone to join Challenger's expedition. They consist of a depiction of the dinosaur stegosaurus and two color paintings of the plateau exterior. Malone's sketches appear later in the novel. They are his own attempts to depict the life-forms on the plateau, which Challenger magnanimously names "Maple White Land." These images consist of "Glade of the Iguanodons," "The Swamp of the Pterodactyls," "General View of Plateau from Top of Gingho [*sic*] Tree," and "The Central Lake."<sup>49</sup> The presentation of Forbes's "Malone" sketches in the published book is ambiguous. As implied by his provision of photographic samples, it seems that Conan Doyle had considered presenting at least some of the "Malone" paintings as photographs. He proposed "to photograph & glaze" the pterodactyl swamp "and see how it looks then [...] I think it would look a very passable photo."<sup>50</sup> On 17 December he changed his mind about photorealism, concluding that "I don't see much use photographing the swamp now that Malone is to be capable of drawing."<sup>51</sup> Ultimately, each one was presented in the book publication, less directly, as an image "[r]econstructed by Pat. L. Forbes from sketch by E. D. Malone" and signed "E. D. Malone."<sup>52</sup> A foreword by the fictional Malone thanks Forbes, "of Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, for the skill and sympathy with which he has

worked up the sketches which were brought from South America,” giving the artist his due credit rather than maintaining the strictest of literary illusions.<sup>53</sup>

By 29 November, Forbes had drafted a “Maple White” illustration of the plateau cliff-face as well as the “Malone” sketches of the treetop view and the swamp of pterodactyls (the latter of which, Conan Doyle gushed, “amounts to genius”).<sup>54</sup> Upon receiving Forbes’s efforts, the author gratefully deemed his brother-in-law “a martyr to realism.”<sup>55</sup> He applauded these “studies of fakes,” insisting that the project “will really be the talk of London if we can get it right.”<sup>56</sup> The entire set of Forbes’s pictures appears to have been nearing completion by 17 December.

While Forbes finalized his illustrations, he joined his friend Ransford at the latter’s studio in Elm Row, Hampstead, to take the photographs of the novel’s fictional exploration crew. These photos are more well-known than the Forbes material, but the correspondence in the Berg Collection allows us to reconstruct their composition in greater detail than has previously been possible. In an undated letter, Conan Doyle vetoed Forbes’s suggestion that the former’s son Kingsley might play Malone, explaining that, aside from the fact that his son was too recognizable, he could not get across London on Sunday.<sup>57</sup> On 15 December, a Friday, Conan Doyle wrote to Ransford with his thoughts on the developed photographs. The first shoot, therefore, may have taken place on 10 December, the preceding Sunday. The photograph of Malone, portrayed by Ransford himself in a fake moustache, Conan Doyle found “perfect.”<sup>58</sup> He proposed various alterations to the depiction of the scientist Summerlee and the big game hunter, Lord John Roxton, both played by Forbes and composited into the same frame. The artist’s “sense of humour,” for instance, had introduced a smile to the face of the dour Summerlee which Conan Doyle wished to see erased.<sup>59</sup> He was even more scrupulous about Challenger. The bombastic professor appears to have been portrayed by someone other than Conan Doyle at this point. “Your friend errs in the direction of amiability, good looks, and all

that is nice,” Conan Doyle explained, but “[i]f he would consent to act the human gorilla he would lose his identity but get Challenger’s.”<sup>60</sup> After explaining his particular vision, he concluded that “[i]f you are at your wits’ end for a Challenger I would come out myself, and do it”—as, indeed, he did.<sup>61</sup> Following up two days later he reiterated his most pressing demands, stressing the “essentials,” including Challenger’s “gorilla-like appearance.”<sup>62</sup>

By Christmas Eve, this work was done. Conan Doyle found the results “simply splendid.”<sup>63</sup> On the 27<sup>th</sup> he requested a composite photograph (taken by Challenger in the text) depicting a distant, overexposed view of the plateau, which he received on 11 January 1912, again deeming it “splendid.”<sup>64</sup> Ransford’s picture of the plateau would accompany Conan Doyle’s own photograph of the same subject from the north-east side (taken, in the text, by Malone). An experienced photographer himself, the novelist felt that his own depiction of the plateau was “more convincing than [Ransford’s] tho’ not so grand.”<sup>65</sup> Ransford’s involvement went above and beyond professional obligation and Conan Doyle had to awkwardly advise him to write an invoice “as if I were a complete stranger and you took no interest whatever in the work.”<sup>66</sup>

With this material completed, Conan Doyle attempted to explain his winter’s project to the editors of the magazines in which the novel was to be serialized. In Britain, *The Lost World* would appear in the *Strand*, his venue of choice.<sup>67</sup> In the United States, it was to be serialized in the *Associated Sunday Magazine*, a supplement that appeared in newspapers nationwide. The realities of serial publication, however, would severely compromise Conan Doyle’s authorial authority.

In January, Conan Doyle warned Ransford that his American editors were “pressing.”<sup>68</sup> On 9 February, apparently still rushing to get the corrected materials to the United States, he asked his editor at the *Strand* to “transcribe all the red corrections onto the American proof” to put himself “at ease.”<sup>69</sup> Nonetheless, when the initial chapters appeared in the *Sunday Magazine* on 24 March 1912, it became apparent that numerous discrepancies had emerged in the rush to

print. As a result, parts of the text of the American serialization correspond with the uncorrected manuscript in the Berg Collection. For instance, as in the manuscript, Malone's newspaper appears in the *Sunday Magazine* as the *London Courier* rather than the *Daily Gazette* and various clauses, sentences, and even paragraphs from the manuscript appear which were cut in British versions.<sup>70</sup> Most of Forbes's and several of Ransford's images were, in fact, reproduced as small vignettes in this version, along with Conan Doyle's photograph of the plateau, but these images were drowned out by the much more numerous illustrations by Joseph Clement Coll, a professional who had previously illustrated several of Conan Doyle's stories for American audiences. Conan Doyle's opinion on Coll's work here is unknown but, as he had previously been unaware who was illustrating the important *Return of Sherlock Holmes* (1905) stories in America, he probably had little control over it.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, the formatting of the American serialization hardly maintained the novel's intended mock-journalistic conceits.

In the British *Strand*, Conan Doyle struggled to persuade his editor, Herbert Greenhough Smith, to include Ransford and Forbes's images at all. While Conan Doyle thought that the "trimmings of faked photos, maps, plans, &c" would make *The Lost World* inferior only to the best Holmes serials, Smith was apparently skeptical, raising concerns that they might be accused of hoaxing.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Smith (and even Ransford) wondered why, in the novel's logic, Malone had taken so few photographs. After all, the purpose of his mission was to document Challenger's claims. Conan Doyle assured Smith that "I will explain in the text that the cavemen got at the cameras in the camp. I think our present photos are wonderfully good and that there is a danger in adding to them."<sup>73</sup> In order to justify the deliberate sparsity of photographs he added a passage in which the "unfortunate cameras and plate-carriers" are scattered in an attack by the plateau's vicious ape-men.<sup>74</sup> By 9 February, Conan Doyle was relieved to hear that Smith had decided to print the "halted photos" after all.<sup>75</sup> The chastened



novelist had finally begun “to realize [his] own audacity” in secretly impersonating Challenger, but begged Smith not “to give it away.”<sup>76</sup>

Smith eventually permitted nearly all of Ransford’s photographs to be serialized in the *Strand*, but he printed almost none of Forbes’s sketches. From what can be deduced in Conan Doyle’s surviving replies, it appears that Smith was skeptical about their quality. Discussing the “Maple White” sketches, Conan Doyle admitted that “[t]he cliff sketch may as you say need change” but advised that “I would not touch Stegosaurus,” explaining that the dinosaur’s incongruously small head was accurate (as well as acknowledging an issue both of verisimilitude and potential copyright implications):

He comes from p. 208 of Ray Lankester’s “extinct animals.” I fear if we reproduced the original it would at once become obvious that Maple White’s sketch was taken from it. If the frightened American drew the head too small that is his look out.<sup>77</sup>

Ultimately, Forbes’s tiny-headed dinosaur was the only one of his sketches to actually make it into the *Strand*. Instead, Harry Rountree provided the many illustrations that accompanied this serialization, which ran from April to November 1912, including various replacements for specific sketches by Forbes (including the aforementioned “cliff sketch”). Rountree based his character designs on Ransford’s photographs, although, as Forbes complained, the *Strand* artist’s faithfulness to these likenesses became strained.<sup>78</sup> A disappointed Conan Doyle insisted that, while he was not “crabbing” [sourly criticizing] Rountree’s “splendid” illustrations (despite spelling Rountree’s name incorrectly), “nothing can take the place of corroborative documents” that “increase the illusion so enormously—and in this case were unique.”<sup>79</sup> As most of Ransford’s photographs had, eventually, been included in the British serial, Conan Doyle was substantially referring here to the diminished “illusion” resulting from the removal of Forbes’s sketches.

Given free authorial reign for the British book editions, he would rectify what he perceived to be Smith’s mistaken approach to the serial. Recombining Forbes’s paintings with Ransford’s

photographs, he informed his mother proudly that *The Lost World* would “make a fine book.”<sup>80</sup> The book was published by Hodder & Stoughton in the autumn in both a regular edition and a deluxe one of 1000 copies. The former included most of the material that Conan Doyle, Forbes, and Ransford has produced. The latter also contained two color “Maple White” sketches of the plateau that were missing from the regular edition. These were the sole versions of *The Lost World* to include only images the production of which Conan Doyle had approved.

### **Mysterious & if Possible Beautiful**

This article will now conclude by examining some of Forbes’s sketches of prehistoric animals, drawing out the factors which made Conan Doyle feel so strongly about them. It is worth beginning with a recognition that his unease about Rountree’s professionally-polished replacements can be understood, partially, with regard to the novelist’s attraction to amateurism.<sup>81</sup> This being said, *The Lost World* was not the first piece for which he had worried about the *Strand*’s illustration-heavy format detracting from his storytelling. Conan Doyle had previously complained to Smith about “washy and characterless” illustrations, “unnecessary” images cutting through the text, and story frontispieces “constantly” spoiling his suspenseful plotting.<sup>82</sup> Rountree’s frontispiece in the first instalment of *The Lost World*, for instance, immediately betrayed the fact that Challenger’s claims about surviving dinosaurs were true as well as revealing the presence of the ape-men. Speaking of the mystery story, “The Lost Special” (1898), Conan Doyle had advised that the artist “[l]et his drawing be mysterious like the story so that the reader can’t quite understand it until he has read it.”<sup>83</sup> Given the *Strand*’s emphasis on pictorial plenitude, such requests for subtlety were rarely heeded.

The profusion of pictures by tactless or literal-minded illustrators did not, in Conan Doyle’s view, complement atmospheric storytelling. His instructions to Forbes show exactly what he wanted. For the “Malone” sketches, Forbes was asked to place the prehistoric animals, taken

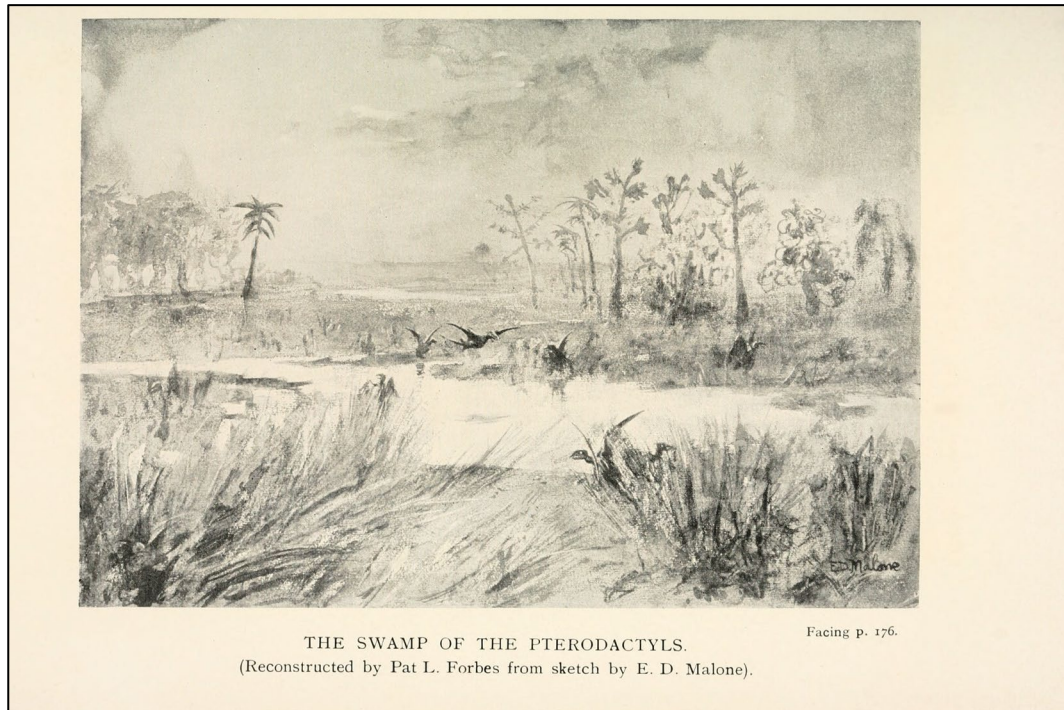


Fig. 5 Patrick Lewis Forbes, “The Swamp of the Pterodactyls”

Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912), facing 176

from *Extinct Animals*, into the hazy background, as we can see in Figs. 4, 5 and 7. Advising Forbes on the swamp’s design, Doyle asked for mere “indications of creatures” resembling pterodactyls in front of the “weird wood.”<sup>84</sup> Although he initially suggested that several *Pteranodon* fly above the swamp, he subsequently asked Forbes to remove them: pronouncing that “the atmosphere is splendid,” he wondered if “the effect would not be more horrible, without the two in the air,” as “[t]he thing you can’t quite see is more weird than the thing exposed.”<sup>85</sup> Forbes was in accord with this approach. He wrote to Conan Doyle that

All along I have felt with you, that the only way to help the mystery which runs all through the story, is to try and make the pictures mysterious & if possible beautiful, the animals only suggested (but truthfully) & let the imagination of each reader fill in the details which his mind conjures up.<sup>86</sup>

Conan Doyle’s advice to Smith that there was “a danger in adding to” the number of Ransford’s photographs reflected a related concern about overpowering the story’s mood with visual stimulation.<sup>87</sup>

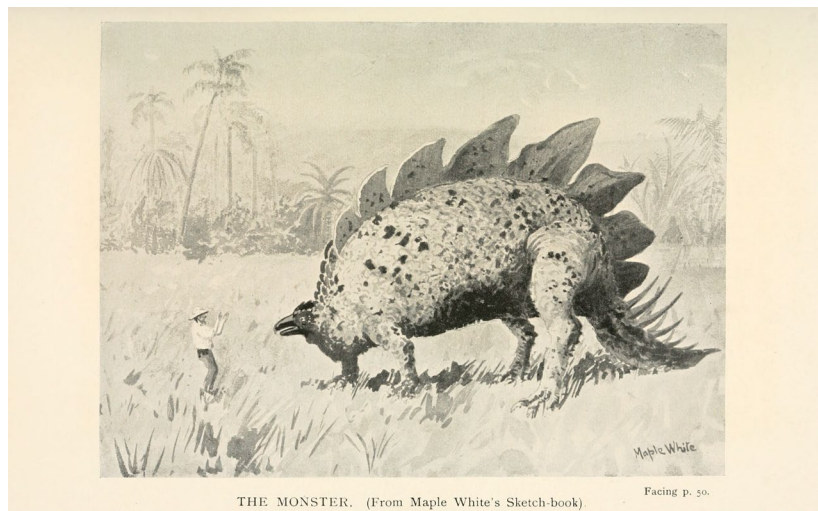
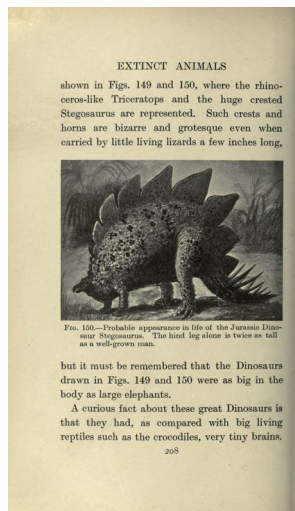


Fig. 6 Left: *Stegosaurus*, *Extinct Animals*. Right: Patrick Lewis Forbes, “The Monster”

E. Ray Lankester, *Extinct Animals* (London: Constable, 1905), 208; and Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912), facing 50

By reconfiguring images from the pages of Lankester’s *Extinct Animals*, *The Lost World* enacts a pictorial shift from the familiar visual codes of popular science writing to the more suggestive ambiguities of romance. Early in all published versions of the novel, Challenger attempts to convince a wary Malone that the sketch of a stegosaurus produced by Maple White was painted from life in South America. To do so, he hands Malone “an excellent monograph by my gifted friend, Ray Lankester” which, we are told, contains an image almost identical to the one sketched by White (Fig. 6).<sup>88</sup> As critics have not failed to note, White’s sketch is a near-exact reproduction of the one in Lankester’s *Extinct Animals*, and Challenger quotes from the book’s text.<sup>89</sup> The reader of *The Lost World* is left to infer that the book handed to Malone is *Extinct Animals* or something very much like it. Even if, as we have seen, Conan Doyle did not want to additionally reproduce the original image from Lankester’s book, he would have expected many readers to recognize White’s stegosaurus: *Extinct Animals* was, after all, a widely-reviewed work based on a famous Royal Institution lecture series, and the same image of a stegosaurus had hung in the London Natural History Museum’s reptile gallery since at least 29 June 1911.<sup>90</sup>

Two important points may be drawn from this scene. Firstly, given that Lankester's preface to *Extinct Animals* explains that he explicitly intended his book (which the ultra-elitist Challenger describes as an austere-sounding "monograph") for "young people," the book's citation may be at least partially ironic.<sup>91</sup> The irony is compounded when we consider that—as the newspapers had reported with glee—the juvenile lectures of which Lankester's book was a transcript had been overwhelmingly attended by adults.<sup>92</sup> Even Conan Doyle was clearly not above purchasing a book that advertised itself towards children. Lankester's inadvertent appeal to both the young and young-at-heart was in keeping with the tone of *The Lost World*: the novel's rhymed epigraph expressed a desire "to give one hour of joy / To the boy who's half a man, / Or the man who's half a boy."<sup>93</sup> The dedication rehearsed the argument, proposed by various Victorian literary critics, that the novels of the Romance Revival appealed to a healthy but quasi-atavistic childishness in adult men.<sup>94</sup> This epigraph thus positioned *The Lost World* as a bridge between the serious adult world and the romantic dreams of boyhood. The intertextual link with *Extinct Animals* animated this idea: for the twenty-three-year-old Malone, *Extinct Animals* marks the beginning of a boyish romantic adventure. The connection also writ large Conan Doyle's ideal view of science writing. Rather than regurgitating the jargon and materialism that he detested, good popular science books were enchanting.

The second important feature of White's stegosaurus is its failure as evidence. When Malone compares White's sketch with Lankester's original, he requires further proof that the dinosaur was drawn from life, remarking that "this American may have seen a picture of the kind and carried it in his memory."<sup>95</sup> White's sketch could simply have been an unconscious recollection of a "restoration," the term used for the life-like images of extinct animals that had long appeared in books, periodicals, and newspapers.<sup>96</sup> Lankester's stegosaurus, like many restorations of the period, was drawn from a lateral perspective, close-up, and in a state of neutral inaction that displayed its unusual anatomical features. Pictorial restorations of extinct

animals were readily available to Edwardian readers who, like White, would potentially have been carrying Lankester's stegosaur in their visual memory.<sup>97</sup> As a direct replication of an image from this familiar visual genre, Maple White's stegosaurus presents deliberately implausible evidence for the existence of a lost world, both to the urbane Malone and to Conan Doyle's readers.

In the novel's later "Malone" sketches, the playful intertextuality of Maple White's stegosaurus, dismissed by a skeptical Malone in the comfort of Challenger's study, gives way to the far more mysterious and even unnerving sights of the plateau. Unlike stegosaurus, the prehistoric animals that appear in subsequent illustrations never dominate the frame but are instead usually half-obscured by water, foliage, and distance. The importance of the obscurity in Forbes's scenes was highlighted by Conan Doyle when he lamented the exclusion of Forbes's sketches from the *Strand*. He peevishly asked Smith "how anyone could prefer Rountree's [*sic*] Central Lake aquarium to the mystery & suggestion of Forbes's picture."<sup>98</sup> Rountree's version of the Central Lake displays a large crocodile, plesiosaur, and turtle in the foreground; in the distant background, Challenger and his allies survey their new domain (Fig. 2). Forbes's original is a panorama of waves in which just a few creatures breach the surface (Fig. 1). Amongst these are a plesiosaur and the distinctive fins of ichthyosaurs, the creatures that Conan Doyle would later claim to have glimpsed on his honeymoon. This lake is a key location in the novel. When Summerlee makes his final report to the assembly in the Queen's Hall, it is the description of the lake that captures the audience's imagination. Malone's friend, Macdona of the *Daily Gazette*, reports:

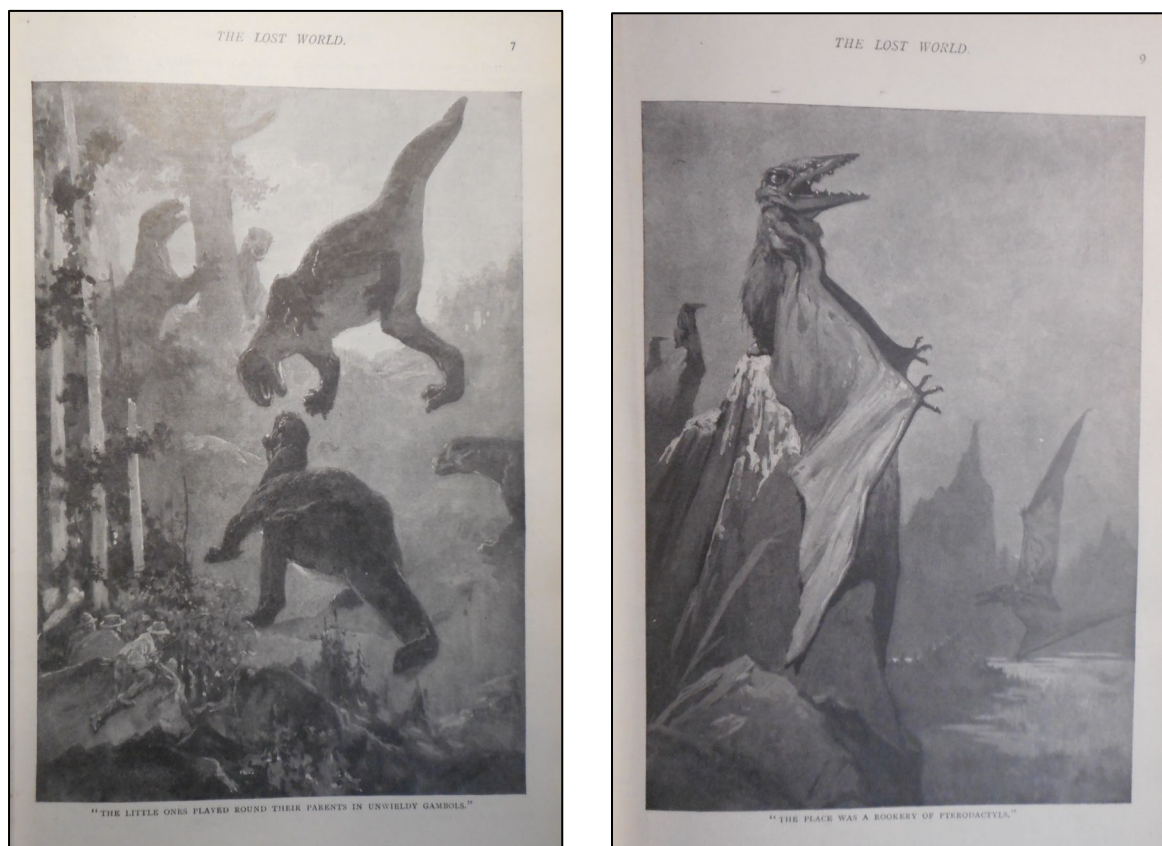
It was not, however, until he sketched the mysteries of the central lake that the full interest and enthusiasm of the audience were aroused. One had to pinch oneself to be sure that one was awake as one heard this sane and practical Professor in cold, measured tones describing the monstrous three-eyed fish-lizards and the huge water-snakes which inhabit this enchanted sheet of water<sup>99</sup>

As the heart of Maple White Land, the Central Lake comes to represent its seductive power.

Conan Doyle's derogatory comparison of Rountree's interpretation of the lake to an "aquarium" is illuminating. The aquarium, invented by the mid-Victorian naturalist Philip Henry Gosse, allowed people to view aquatic animals, close-up and at eye-level, in well-lit domestic or metropolitan settings for the very first time. Gosse argued that, using his device, one could finally "thoroughly" know animals previously "almost inaccessible to such observation."<sup>100</sup> While Gosse's popular writings explicitly appealed to the reader's sense of "romance" by emphasizing the variety and beauty of marine life, aquaria dispelled the mysteries of the deep sea. For Conan Doyle, Rountree's depiction of the Central Lake as an "aquarium," placing the viewer's eye at the heart of the pool, amongst its inhabitants, was wrongheaded. Forbes's version takes the perspective of a shore-side witness, gazing into the lake's vastness without any opportunity of empirical investigation. Conan Doyle wanted his readers to glance at suggestions of creatures in the "rose-tinted waters," perhaps even reenacting his own experience in the Aegean, leaving room for the pleasurable workings of memory, imagination, and even doubt.<sup>101</sup> As Forbes put it, his "small efforts," unlike Rountree's pictures, "may leave something for the reader to do."<sup>102</sup>



Comparing Rountree and Forbes's depictions of the "Glade of the Iguanodons" and the "Swamp of the Pterodactyls" reveals similar disparities (Figs. 7 and 8). These images relate two crucial but contrasting moments when the characters gaze upon the animal inhabitants of Maple White Land: after Roxton remarks that "the glade of the iguanodons will remain with us as a dream," Malone adds that "the swamp of the pterodactyls will for ever be our nightmare."<sup>103</sup> We have already heard Conan Doyle laud the "weird" and "horrible" atmosphere produced by the eerily half-visible forms of the pterodactyls in the swamp (Fig 5).



In contrast, Rountree's version depicts a harsh close-up of this reptile, viewed from an angle that cannot represent the perspective of the characters. Correspondingly, the colossal

Fig. 7 Harry Rountree's depictions of the iguanodon glade and the pterodactyl swamp

Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Lost World [4/8]," *Strand Magazine*, 44 (1912), 7, 9

iguanodons in his menacing illustration of the glade fill the entire frame. The exploration crew

observe the action from the bottom left, dangerously close to a playful juvenile specimen. The illustration stresses the size of the dinosaurs and their violent “unwieldy gambols.”<sup>104</sup> Forbes’s very different interpretation is illuminated by a misty light and places more peaceable dinosaurs in the distance; tiny human figures gesture at them in wonder (Fig 8). The “iguanodons are the herds,” remarked the *Manchester Guardian*’s critic perceptively, in “this rather uncanny Arcadia.”<sup>105</sup> Indeed, the quasi-Arcadian tranquility of Forbes’s picturesque glade emphasizes the strange wonders of Maple White Land rather than its lurking perils.

As Conan Doyle, in the same breath as calling Forbes’s swamp “a very passable

photo,” asked for “another such of the Iguanodon grove,” the stillness of the distant dinosaurs was potentially intended to contribute to the painting’s original function as a half-credible photograph.<sup>106</sup> When this conceit was abandoned, Forbes’s scene continued to capture the dreamlike atmosphere alluded to by Roxton. Rountree faithfully depicted the weighty frolics of the dinosaurs as described in the text, but Forbes attempted to capture the spirit.

The nuances of these illustrations were important to Conan Doyle. The generically-familiar “restorations” represented by Lankester’s stegosaurus are placed before the reader early in the



Fig. 8 Patrick Lewis Forbes, “Glade of the Iguanodons”

Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912), facing 170

story only to be pulled back and submerged in a thick atmosphere of “mystery & suggestion.” In the process, *The Lost World* enacts the divergence from a book of scientific popularization into a book of scientific romance, allowing the story’s prehistoric subjects to reclaim an intrigue damaged by oversaturation or close examination. The experience of reading the *Strand* version is totally different. The dozens of glossy vignettes and panels designed by Rountree for this serialization contravened the author’s call for a deficit, rather than a superfluity, of illustration. Forbes’s sketches, reproduced on a small number of plates, are the only glimpses into Maple White Land that readers of the book version are privileged to see. They allow it to remain a “world of mystery” and a “dreamland of glamour and romance.”<sup>107</sup>

This was the “mysterious poetry,” “high tone,” and “truthful scientific accuracy” of *The Lost World*. Forbes’s illustrations embodied the tantalizing tension between scientific investigation and enchanting ignorance that Conan Doyle grappled with in his own scientific reading, his writing, and his psychic explorations. It cannot be proved that Conan Doyle thought he saw a prehistoric reptile in the Aegean back in 1907, before writing *The Lost World*, as enriching as it would for our reading of images like Forbes’s “Central Lake”; even if he simply convinced himself he had seen this creature subsequent to writing the novel, however, the fact demonstrates how difficult it is to untangle Conan Doyle’s recourse to the pleasures of romance from his experience of the world. In any case, the interaction between the text and the illustrations in the first British book editions of the novel perfectly enacted his mischievous, serious vision. While the sight of Conan Doyle scowling through his Challenger beard in Ransford’s group photograph has become a defining image of *The Lost World*, few readers since have echoed the novelist’s enthusiasm for Forbes’s dreamlike landscapes. As this article has argued, they are worth revisiting.

Although Forbes heartily thanked Conan Doyle for allowing his pictures to appear alongside Ransford’s photographs in the Hodder & Stoughton editions, the collaboration did not end

happily for the artist. Forbes's wife, Milly, would soon leave him to go and live with Ransford.<sup>108</sup> Writing to Milly, Conan Doyle reflected that

I am sorry for poor old Pat also with his thwarted ambition and his empty life—all the more sad & piteous if he has in any way brought it all upon himself. An artist has an artist's failings—do I not remember my own poor father—and it is part of his very self like his skin, but he has usually his own special points as well.<sup>109</sup>

It is unknown what the disappointed watercolorist thought of First National Pictures' *The Lost World* (1925), in which hi-tech stop-motion animation seemingly brought the inhabitants of Maple White Land to life. In this cutting-edge motion picture, unlike in the artist's original illustrations, nothing was left to the imagination.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Patrick Lewis Forbes to Arthur Conan Doyle, 2 August 1912, British Library, Add. MS. 88924/1/16. Rather than follow modern scientific conventions, this article will adopt Conan Doyle's usual habit of neither capitalising nor italicising the names of prehistoric animals. In his work and in the work of other contemporary non-specialists, usage is often inconsistent.

<sup>2</sup> Kate Jackson, *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880–1910: Culture and Profit* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 95.

<sup>3</sup> Forbes to Conan Doyle, 2 August 1912, Add. MS. 88924/1/16.

<sup>4</sup> Ian Duncan, "Note on the Text," in Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), xxii. Conan Doyle's opinion aside, it is not difficult to see why one might prefer Rountree's interpretations.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Patrick Lewis Forbes, 29 November 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged [*sic*] Manuscripts, Box 125 (Doyle, A.C.; *Lost World*; Letters, etc.), The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (cited hereafter as Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS).

<sup>6</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Herbert Greenhough Smith, 8 August 1912, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle Papers, 1893–1985, Accession #10835, Special Collections Dept., University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Va (cited hereafter as UV). Quoted by permission of Toronto Public Library, the holders of the original copy.

<sup>7</sup> The most detailed discussion of Forbes's contributions (and of Ransford's) is Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Annotated Lost World*, Roy Pilot and Alvin E. Rodin, eds. (Indianapolis: Wessex Press, 1996), 247–52. The only edition of the novel since the original printings to reproduce all the images Conan Doyle co-designed is Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, intro. Andrew Lycett (London: Folio Society, 2010).

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of the Romance Revival, see Anna Vaninskaya, "The Late Victorian Romance Revival: A Generic Excursus," *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, 51 (2008), 57–79. For the Revival as "vernacular modernism," see Nicholas Daly, *Modernism, Romance and the Fin de Siècle: Popular Fiction and British Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For imperial romance, enchantment, and imperial decline, see John A. McClure, *Late Imperial Romance* (London: Verso, 1994), 8–29.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Saler, *As If: Modern Enchantment and the Literary Prehistory of Virtual Reality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 15, 39.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>11</sup> For *The Lost World* and contemporary media, see Rosamund Dalziel, "The Curious Case of Sir Everard im Thurn and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle: Exploration & the Imperial Adventure Novel, *The Lost World*," *English Literature in Transition 1880–1920*, 25 (2002), 131–57; Ross G. Forman, "Room for Romance: Playing with Adventure in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World*," *Genre*, 43 (2010), 27–59; Amy R. Wong, "Arthur Conan Doyle's 'Great New Adventure Story': Journalism in *The Lost World*," *Studies in the Novel*, 47 (2015), 60–79; and Patrick Scott Belk, *Adventure Fiction in the Magazines, 1899–1919* (London: Routledge, 2017), 129–62.

<sup>12</sup> For supernatural belief in the early twentieth century, see Jenny Hazelgrove, *Spiritualism and British Society Between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and Owen Davies, *A Supernatural War: Magic, Divination, and Faith during the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

<sup>13</sup> Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures*, 229.

<sup>14</sup> For the once highly credible survival of the giant ground sloth *Mylodon*, see Bernard Heuvelmans, *On The Track of Unknown Animals*, Richard Garnett, trans. (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1958), 253–83. Long after the the *Mylodon*'s fame subsided, Conan Doyle maintained "not the slightest doubt" in its survival. See "'Prehistoric' Beasts: Survival Problem: Sir. A. Conan Doyle Interviewed," *Times of India*, September 23, 1925, 7. For early rumours of surviving dinosaurs, see Daniel Laxton and Donald R. Prothero, *Abominable Science: Origins of the Yeti, Nessie, and Other Famous Cryptids* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 267–77.

<sup>15</sup> "'Prehistoric' Beasts," *Times of India*.

<sup>16</sup> Robert H. Anstruther, "A Strange Sea Reptile," *Spectator*, March 4, 1922, 271.

<sup>17</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Natural History Museum, 28 September 1922, Natural History Museum Archives DF100/111/11, Department of Palaeontology, Departmental Correspondence.

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<sup>18</sup> “‘Prehistoric’ Beasts,” *Times of India*.

<sup>19</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, quoted in David Clark, *Britain’s X-traordinary Files* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 161.

<sup>20</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912), 276. All citations of the novel refer to this edition unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, 264.

<sup>22</sup> For Conan Doyle and the supernatural one might consult numerous sources. Lengthy discussions are included in Douglas Kerr, *Conan Doyle: Writing, Profession, and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 201–54; and Andrew Lycett, *The Man Who Created Sherlock Holmes: The Life and Times of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 2007), 400–61. For twentieth-century anti-materialism, see note 12 and Peter J. Bowler, *Reconciling Science and Religion: The Debate in Early-Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014).

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, *Through the Magic Door* (London: Smith, Elder, 1907), 252; and Arthur Conan Doyle, *Our African Winter* (London: John Murray, 1929), 71–72.

<sup>24</sup> Conan Doyle, *Magic Door*, 248. For the specialization and professionalization of science, see Richard Yeo, *Science in the Public Sphere: Natural Knowledge in British Culture 1800–1860* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); Melinda Baldwin, *Making Nature: The History of a Scientific Journal* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); and Alex Csiszar, *The Scientific Journal: Authorship and the Politics of Knowledge in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

<sup>25</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, *Memories and Adventures* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1924), 72; and Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Stark Munro Letters* (London: Longmans, Green, 1895), 152.

<sup>26</sup> For Holmes as scientific polymath, see Lawrence Frank, *Victorian Detective Fiction and the Nature of Evidence: The Scientific Investigations of Poe, Dickens, and Doyle* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 133–201; and Gowan Dawson, *Show Me the Bone: Reconstructing Prehistoric Monsters in Nineteenth-Century Britain and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 358–63. For Challenger as generalist, see Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Professor Challenger Stories* (London: John Murray, 1956), 547. For these protagonists and the “scientific use of the imagination,” see Kerr, *Conan Doyle*, 129–30.

<sup>27</sup> Conan Doyle, *Our African Winter*, 100.

<sup>28</sup> Alex Owen, “‘Borderland Forms’: Arthur Conan Doyle, Albion’s Daughters, and the Politics of the Cottingley Fairies,” *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994), 48–85.

<sup>29</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, “Fairies Photographed,” *Strand*, 61 (1920), 468.

<sup>30</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v., “romance, *n.* and *adj.*,” accessed January 8, 2019, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/167065?rskey=tlwLzT&result=1&isAdvanced=false>.

<sup>31</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, *Conan Doyle’s Tales of Medical Humanism and Values: Round the Red Lamp*, Alvin E. Rodin and Jack D. Key, eds. (Malabar: Krieger Publishing Company, 1992), 471. In the same talk he warned students about the danger of ‘undue Materialism’, 459. For science and fairies, see Melanie Keene, *Science in Wonderland: The Scientific Fairy Tales of Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

<sup>32</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Case-Book of Sherlock Holmes*, intro. C. P. Snow (London: John Murray, 1974 [1927]), 14.

<sup>33</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, “Stranger Than Fiction,” *Collier’s*, 56 (1915); Kerr, *Conan Doyle*, 127; and Arthur Conan Doyle, “Foreword,” in Violet Tweedale, *Phantoms of the Dawn* (London: John Long, 1924), 7.

<sup>34</sup> For the Challenger stories and anti-materialism, see Thomas R. Tietze, “The Other Worlds of Arthur Conan Doyle: Part One,” *ACD: Journal of the Arthur Conan Doyle Society*, 1 (1990), 203–221; and Alex Moffett, “Swept Over an Etheric Niagara: The Persistence of the Etheric Hypothesis in Arthur Conan Doyle’s Challenger Stories,” *Journal of Literature and Science*, 8 (2015), 36–52. The American dustjacket of *The Poison Belt* (1913) even exploited its supposed scientific possibility: the novel “describes something which might happen any day—but which never has happened.” See Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Poison Belt* (New York: George H. Doran, 1913).

<sup>35</sup> Conan Doyle, *Professor Challenger Stories*, 520–25; and Arthur Conan Doyle, “The Land of Mist [6/9],” *Strand Magazine*, 70 (1925), 606, 610.

<sup>36</sup> For the uncertain truth-value of photography, see Jennifer Tucker, *Nature Exposed: Photography as Eyewitness in Victorian Science* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); and Gerry Beegan, *The Mass Image: A Social History of Photomechanical Reproduction in Victorian London* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

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<sup>37</sup> “Conan Doyle’s Story,” *New York Times*, October 13, 1912, BR572; and Arthur St. John Adcock, “Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,” *Bookman*, 43 (1912), 100.

<sup>38</sup> Conor Reid, “The Lost Worlds of Arthur Conan Doyle’s Professor Challenger Series,” *Journal of the Fantastic in the Arts*, 28 (2017), 282.

<sup>39</sup> Simone Natale, *Supernatural Entertainments: Victorian Spiritualism and the Rise of Modern Media Culture* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 2016), 171.

<sup>40</sup> For this argument, see Kerr, *Conan Doyle*, 115; and Reid, “The Lost Worlds,” 281. The manuscript version of the scene contains the name (albeit scrawled out) of a living scientist: Oliver Lodge, the physicist, President of the British Association, formerly head of the Society for Psychical Research, and, subsequently, Conan Doyle’s ally in the spiritualist crusade. In this draft, Lodge, an open-minded judge of evidence, presumably watches approvingly as Challenger’s pterodactyl flies off into the night. See “[Lost World, The] Holograph. Bound,” Oversize Manuscripts, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle Collection of Papers, The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (cited hereafter as Berg Coll Conan Doyle MSS).

<sup>41</sup> Lycett, *The Man Who Created Sherlock Holmes*, 353; and *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters*, Jon Lellenberg, Daniel Stashower, and Charles Foley, eds. (New York: Penguin, 2007), 580.

<sup>42</sup> *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters*, 583.

<sup>43</sup> For detailed discussions of the novel’s inspiration and composition, see *The Annotated Lost World*, Pilot and Rodin, eds., ix–xxi, 247–52; Lycett, *The Man Who Created Sherlock Holmes*, 345–47, 353–59; and Everett F. Bleiler, “Lost Worlds and Lost Opportunities,” *Science Fiction Studies*, 23 (1996), 355–62.

<sup>44</sup> For a selection of the limited sources on Forbes, see Patrick Lewis Forbes, “Sketches of Old Hampstead,” *Builder*, 75 (1898), 80 and plate; A. C. R. Carter, ed., *The Year’s Art 1898* (London: J. S. Virtue, 1898), 110; *Transactions of the Hampstead Antiquarian and Historical Society for the Year 1899* (Hampstead: S. Mayle, 1900); “The Architectural Association Curriculum,” *Builder*, 79 (1900), 169; *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769 to 1904*, vol 3, ed. Algernon Graves (London: Henry Graves, 1905), 135; and “Meetings for the Ensuing Week,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 61 (1908), 388. An extensive collection of Forbes’s paintings can be found in Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre.

<sup>45</sup> *The Annotated Lost World*, Pilot and Rodin, eds., 250–52. This edition reproduces Conan Doyle’s similarly specific annotations and instructions for the composition of “Swamp of the Pterodactyls.”

<sup>46</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Patrick Lewis Forbes, n.d. (“I feel that we shall make a great joke”), Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.

<sup>47</sup> The pages in the Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS are E. Ray Lankester, *Extinct Animals* (London: Constable, 1905), 198, 208, 224, 231, 235.

<sup>48</sup> Forbes to Conan Doyle, 2 August 1912, Add. MS. 88924/1/16.

<sup>49</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, facing 170, facing 176, facing 204, facing 276.

<sup>50</sup> Conan Doyle to Forbes, 29 November 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.

<sup>51</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Patrick Lewis Forbes, 17 December 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS. The only information about Forbes’s pay is a note in this letter that “the £20 was only a payment on account.”

<sup>52</sup> See note 49.

<sup>53</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, iii.

<sup>54</sup> Conan Doyle to Forbes, 29 November 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.

<sup>55</sup> Conan Doyle to Forbes, 17 December 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.

<sup>56</sup> Conan Doyle to Forbes (“great joke”), Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.

<sup>57</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Patrick Lewis Forbes, n.d. (“I think it wiser”), Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.

<sup>58</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to William Ransford, 15 December 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* While irony cannot be entirely counted out, it is not suggested by his comments in the surrounding text.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*



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- <sup>62</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to William Ransford, 17 December 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.
- <sup>63</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to William Ransford, 24 December 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.
- <sup>64</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to William Ransford, 27 December 1911; and Arthur Conan Doyle to William Ransford, 12 January 1912, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS. Some time before 17 October, Conan Doyle's friend James Ryan sent him a sketch of Mount Roraima, the South American plateau upon which the novel's plateau was largely based. See James Ryan to Arthur Conan Doyle, 17 October 1911, British Library, Add. MS. 88924/1/38–39: 1910–1918.
- <sup>65</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to William Ransford, 15 January 1912, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>67</sup> For Conan Doyle and the *Strand*, see Jonathan Cranfield, *Twentieth-Century Victorian: Arthur Conan Doyle and the Strand Magazine, 1891-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016); and Mike Ashley, *Adventures in the Strand: Arthur Conan Doyle and the Strand Magazine* (London: British Library, 2016).
- <sup>68</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to William Ransford, [?] January 1912, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.
- <sup>69</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Herbert Greenhough Smith, 9 February 1912, Berg Coll Conan Doyle MSS.
- <sup>70</sup> For example, compare Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Lost World [6/19]," *Sunday Magazine of the Sunday Star* [Washington, D.C.], April 28, 1912, 18 with Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Lost World [3/8]," *Strand Magazine*, 43 (1912), 604. Conan Doyle wrote much of the manuscript as if Malone's letters from the plateau were being published serially upon their arrival in London. The *Sunday Magazine* preserves some of these moments, but in the *Strand* and book versions Challenger embargoes the publication of Malone's letters until he has returned.
- <sup>71</sup> Cameron Hollyer, "Author to Editor: Arthur Conan Doyle's Correspondence with H. Greenhough Smith," *ACD: The Journal of the Arthur Conan Doyle Society*, 3 (1992), 27.
- <sup>72</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Herbert Greenhough Smith, n.d. ("Many thanks for M.S."), Berg Coll Conan Doyle MSS. John Dickson Carr dates the letter to December 1911, while the Berg dates it to "after Jan. 19?" 1912. See John Dickson Carr, *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle* (London: John Murray, 1949), 258.
- <sup>73</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Herbert Greenhough Smith, 19 January 1912, Berg Coll Conan Doyle MSS.
- <sup>74</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, 224.
- <sup>75</sup> Conan Doyle to Smith, 9 February 1912, Berg Coll Conan Doyle MSS.
- <sup>76</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Herbert Greenhough Smith, n.d. ("I shall soon be off"), Berg Coll Conan Doyle MSS. Carr dates the letter to 12 February, while the Berg labels it "ca. Feb. 9." See Carr, *The Life of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle*, 259.
- <sup>77</sup> Conan Doyle to Smith, 19 January 1912, Berg Coll Conan Doyle MSS.
- <sup>78</sup> Forbes to Conan Doyle, 2 August 1912, Add. MS. 88924/1/16.
- <sup>79</sup> Conan Doyle to Smith, 8 August 1912, UV.
- <sup>80</sup> *Arthur Conan Doyle: A Life in Letters*, 584.
- <sup>81</sup> Kerr, *Conan Doyle*, 34–40.
- <sup>82</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle, quoted in Hollyer, "Author to Editor," 26–27.
- <sup>83</sup> Ibid, 26.
- <sup>84</sup> Leaves for *Extinct Animals* annotated by Conan Doyle, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.
- <sup>85</sup> Conan Doyle to Forbes, 29 November 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS. Here, Conan Doyle was drawing upon the incipient weird mode, for which see James Machin, *Weird Fiction in Britain 1880-1939* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- <sup>86</sup> Forbes to Conan Doyle, 2 August 1912, Add. MS. 88924/1/16.
- <sup>87</sup> Conan Doyle to Smith, 19 January 1912, Berg Coll Conan Doyle MSS.
- <sup>88</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, 52.
- <sup>89</sup> *The Annotated Lost World*, Pilot and Rodin, eds., 257.
- <sup>90</sup> "Gallery Photograph Album 2: Iguanodon," Natural History Museum Archives PH/3/1/1112, Photograph Collection.
- <sup>91</sup> Lankester, *Extinct Animals*, vi.

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- <sup>92</sup> For instance, see “Our London Correspondence,” *Manchester Guardian*, December 30, 1903, 4; and “The Lecturer and the Children,” *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, January 1, 1904, 5.
- <sup>93</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, ii.
- <sup>94</sup> Vaninskaya, “The Late Victorian Romance Revival,” 67–71.
- <sup>95</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, 52.
- <sup>96</sup> For “restorations,” see Martin J. S. Rudwick, *Scenes from Deep Time: Early Pictorial Representations of the Prehistoric World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- <sup>97</sup> For contemporaneous examples, see “‘Dispelled by a ‘Comfortable Word’: Nightmares of the Past,” *Illustrated London News*, April 20, 1912, 583; and Henry Robert Knipe, *Evolution in the Past* (London: Herbert & Daniel, 1912). For a source studied by Conan Doyle, see Dayna Nuhn, “*The Lost World*: A Masterful Blend of Fact and Fiction,” *The Magic Door*, 14 (2012), 1, 3, 8.
- <sup>98</sup> Conan Doyle to Smith, 8 August 1912, UV.
- <sup>99</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, 302.
- <sup>100</sup> Philip Henry Gosse, *The Aquarium: An Unveiling of the Wonders of the Deep Sea* (London: John van Voorst, 1854), v–vi. For Gosse and the romance of science, see Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 190–214.
- <sup>101</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, 263.
- <sup>102</sup> Forbes to Conan Doyle, 2 August 1912, Add. MS. 88924/1/16.
- <sup>103</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World* 174.
- <sup>104</sup> Ibid, 171.
- <sup>105</sup> A. F. B., “New Novels,” *Manchester Guardian*, October 23, 1912, 5.
- <sup>106</sup> Conan Doyle to Forbes, 29 November 1911, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.
- <sup>107</sup> Conan Doyle, *The Lost World*, 168, 292.
- <sup>108</sup> See Lycett, *The Man Who Created Sherlock Holmes*, 406.
- <sup>109</sup> Arthur Conan Doyle to Milly Forbes, 3 February 1920, Berg Coll Uncataloged MSS.